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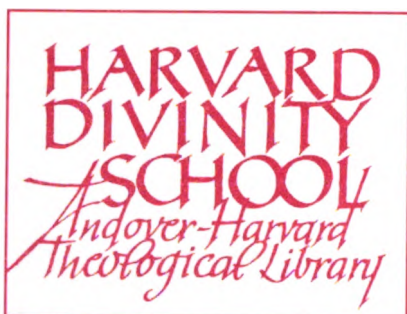
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THE CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. X.

APRIL, 1857.

No. 1.

ART. I.—VOLTAIRE AND GENEVA. *3*

Voltaire et les Genevois; par J. GABEREL, Ancien Pasteur.
Genève et Paris, 1856.

THIS is a work well worthy of attention. It describes the relations which for five and twenty years Voltaire sustained towards the protestant population of Geneva. And as might be anticipated, it not only puts us in possession of much valuable information, but it suggests also many useful lessons, and furnishes food for much profitable reflection. A friend writes, after reading the volume: "The author, whatever his aim, has, in my judgment, rendered eminent service to the Christian world, by exposing the baseness of its greatest enemy. Voltaire has hitherto appeared to us, *en grande tenue*, the most brilliant and courted man of his age, whose vast and varied powers, men deplored to see perverted to the support of infidelity. This little book strips off the mask, and exhibits him in his real character of poltroon, tyrant and demon."

Little or nothing specific had ever before been written on the topic here treated of. And it was this which first induced M. Gaberel to attempt to supply this historical *lacuna*. In carrying out his purpose, he has not only made use of the published correspondence of Voltaire, but also of a mass of 'inedited materials, and of contemporary pamphlets, to be found only in the collections of antiquarians. His list of these is quite re-

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markable, and he has employed them to good purpose; though, unless we are much mistaken, he has accomplished more than he designed, and exhibited, not only the baseness of the philosopher of Ferney, but something also of the weakness of the system with which he found himself confronted in the city of Calvin. It was well for the world that there were other bulwarks against the infidelity of the era of Voltaire, than those which had been reared at Geneva. But without further preface, we shall proceed to lay before our readers an outline sketch of the historical episode which M. Gaberel presents to us.

In 1753, Voltaire found that his criticisms on the poetry of Frederick the Great, had made his departure from Berlin inevitable. While debating the subject of his future residence, he was visited at Colmar by a Genevan bookseller, who proposed to him to publish some of his works at Geneva. Voltaire told him he "looked like a field-marshal," and capricious both in his likes and dislikes, conceived a sudden and violent fancy for him. The idea presented to him he carried out, and in 1755 received from the Council of Geneva permission to establish himself within the territory of the republic, intending to divide his time between Lausanne and Geneva.

When he first came to Lausanne, everything was *couleur de rose*, and he chattered complacently over his situation. His property lay partly in Switzerland, partly in France, and he was charmed with his double nationality. He had a little kingdom in a Swiss valley. He was like the old man of the mountains. He lived on plump fowls, moorcock, and trout. He had his dramas *Adelaide de Guesclin*, *l'Enfant prodigue*, and *Zaire*—his three birds of Lake Lemman, as he called them, acted by the circle of flatterers which surrounded him; and *Zaire*, he declared, was played better than in Paris. In the fullness of his vanity and satisfied conceit, he said: "Cæsar could hardly have foreseen, when he undertook to conquer this little corner of the earth, that one day it would be the home of more *esprit* than Rome!" He was on capital terms, too, with the government of Berne; though their appreciation of him may be estimated by the advice offered him by one of the magistrates, to give up writing so many verses, and try to make something of himself; adding, as an encouragement, "Look at me. I am a Baillie of Berne!"

But no human lot is perfect; and Voltaire's troubles at Lausanne came from an unexpected quarter. His sneering skeptical philosophy, whose great characteristic was ridicule of religion, was received in a way to which in Prussia he had not

been accustomed. He was terribly afraid of Haller, and tried in vain to flatter him into approbation. M. Bertrand, another Swiss *savant*, he found a difficult subject to deal with, and laid himself open to a scathing attack by telling him that the fossil shells found in the Alps, had been dropped there by the pilgrims of the middle ages! Disappointment and chagrin only incited him to rougher raillery, and many of his admirers, unable to stand his rudeness, disappeared from his circle. But what finally broke him up at Lausanne, was a circumstance, which thoroughly illustrates the paltry cunning of his character.

One Saurin, a pastor in the *canton de Vaud*, and a kinsman of the celebrated preacher of that name, had suddenly left his cure and gone to Paris. Here he was converted to popery by Bossuet, and pensioned by Louis XIV. It turned out, however, like a good many other Popish conversions; for when the matter was enquired into, it appeared that he had absconded to escape being tried and condemned as a thief. M. Polier, a pastor of Lausanne, knowing that Voltaire patronized Saurin, placed in his hands the *proces verbal*, establishing the fact that while visiting a sick person, he had stolen a quantity of gold lace from an arm chair. This document Voltaire destroyed *ad majorem philosophiæ gloriæ*, and was at last obliged to confess as much to M. Polier. The family influence and the character of this pastor were such, that the rupture between himself and Voltaire, which, by the way, had its origin in other misconduct of the latter, broke up the circle of the philosopher, already diminished by his rude caprices, and caused him to remove to Ferney.

Of his life at Ferney, our author gives a rapid and amusing sketch. He had a habit of continually mourning over his feeble health; but it appears to have been a mere pretence, to get rid of troublesome visitors, and to make the world wonder how a sick old man could accomplish such an amount of literary labor. He worked hard at composition: in the Summer, out of doors; in the Winter, in his bed. But the great thing with him—that which pervaded, enfolded, animated, and shaped his whole life—was his greedy and inordinate appetite for flattery. Here nothing came amiss. The stronger the dose, the more it was to his taste, so only the language was elegant, and the turn of the compliment striking. Ordinary food pallied on him, and like a diseased epicure, he reveled in taint and incipient decay. Guibert waited at Ferney eight days to see him, and after waiting in vain, sent in to him by a domestic this epigram, which we really cannot translate:

Je croyais voir ici le vrai dieu de genie,
 L'entendre, lui parler, l'admirer en tout point;
 Mais tout semblable au Christ en son Eucharistie,
 On le mange, on le boit, et l'on ne le voit point!

The blasphemy carried Voltaire at once, and he treated the author of it with distinguished honor. A stranger desired to see him. "Tell him," said Voltaire, "that I am away." "But I hear him." "Say I am sick." "I will feel his pulse, it is in my line." "Tell him I am dead." "I will bury him; I shall not be the first of my profession who has done as much; I am a physician." "Obstinate fellow, let him in. Well, Monsieur, do you take me for some strange beast?" "Yes, for a phoenix." "Do you know that a sight of me costs twelve sous?" "Here are twenty-four, and I will come for another look to-morrow."

But he sometimes met with serious mortifications. When Joseph II was traveling through Switzerland, Voltaire, not knowing that Maria Theresa had counseled her son to seek out Haller, and avoid him, was sure that he was to be honored with a royal visit. At Versoix, a guide-post at the angle of the road bore a conspicuous inscription: "ROUTE DE FERNEY;" and he had the road from Versoix to his chateau cleared from stones. A large party was gathered, to witness the imperial honors which were to be showered on the Philosopher. Voltaire was in full force and spirits. But no Joseph appeared. Time wore on—conversation languished; and at last the news came that Joseph had gone direct to Geneva. Voltaire crept stealthily from the apartment, and in a few minutes came back in night cap and dressing gown, and said in a broken voice: "What are all these troublesome people doing here? Can they not let a poor sick old man, die in peace?" At another time his complacency was disturbed from an entirely unexpected quarter. Claude Gay, a Philadelphia quaker, was passing a few days at Geneva. Voltaire's curiosity was aroused, and he invited him to Ferney. Nettled at the sobriety of his guest, the philosopher began to rally him; but he could not disturb the *sang froid* of the quaker. At last the conversation turned on the early inhabitants of the world, and Voltaire began to ridicule revelation. His unmoved guest argued the matter with such cool deliberation, that Voltaire flew into a violent passion. At this the quaker, calmly rising, said: "Friend Voltaire, perhaps some day thou wilt understand these matters better. Meantime, I leave thee. May God preserve thee, and above all, direct and guide thee." The artist, Huber, was dining that day at Ferney, and made a capital

sketch of the scene, which had a great run, as *Les adieux de Claude Gay*.

One thing there is, that throws a gleam of light over the frivolous baseness of Voltaire's life at Ferney, namely, his generous benevolence. And if we could really hope that it was more than a part of his system of self-glorification, it would be an unspeakable relief. Still, come from what motive it might, it was real. He gave some thousand francs, to release a poor laborer from prison: he saved by a gift of fifteen thousand francs, a worthy family from being victimized by the Jesuits; and for the dowry of a niece of Corneille, he published an edition of the works of her celebrated uncle, and gave her the proceeds, amounting to ninety thousand francs.

But his attacks on religion were gross and incessant. At one time he attired himself to represent Mahomet, and suddenly appeared to a body of poor Swiss laborers, who fled precipitately, supposing,—and they might have made a greater mistake—that they beheld Satan. He became a Caupuchin. He played the hypocrite with the Roman Bishop of Annecy, by making arrangements to receive the Easter Communion at Ferney. Even this he made the occasion of insult; for after he had received the wafer, at the time when the sermon was to be delivered, he stepped before the priest, mounted the pulpit, and preached a sermon on theft. A cow had been stolen from him a few days before.

Acts and occurrences like these, together with his continual assaults upon religion in other lines, necessarily drew attention. The Bishop of Annecy threatened him with excommunication, and did nothing. The most *Christian* King, Louis XV, was scandalized, and did nothing. The Court of Rome was shocked, and did nothing. Ferney was a center of attraction for everything, and everybody. It had more pilgrims than Rome. It was the capital of *esprit*. Within a league's distance, however, of this more than royal court, there were twelve Protestant Pastors, and as many magistrates, who began a twenty years' struggle with this brilliant and irreligious power. All honor to them for their bravery and zeal! With a better standing ground, and stronger weapons, they would have done more. But they did battle bravely, and with great results. To the history of this struggle, our author mainly devotes himself.

As a proper introduction to its varying fortunes; he gives us a sketch of the manners and customs of Geneva at this period, so curious, that we shall collect the most striking features of the picture.

Although by the middle of the eighteenth century the le-

gislation of Calvin had undergone many modifications, still, in many quarters its principal characteristics remained. A stringent system of sumptuary laws and regulations, had imparted to Geneva a Spartan character, which is strikingly paralleled in the old Puritan communities of New England. Of course this parallel is in no way surprising; but it is so complete and minute, that in reading the description of Geneva, one might fancy it a sketch of a New England Colony a hundred and fifty years ago. Every citizen was *forced* to profess himself at least, a Christian citizen. And the moral compulsion of the Gospel, was merged in an outside pressure of sumptuary law, of the most rigid, formal and minute character. The whole process was one of external pressure, instead of internal development, and hence the results attained were not only unreal, but they were liable at any moment to a rebound precisely proportioned to the unnatural compression which had produced them. That rebound we have long ago seen, as it has also time and again been beheld in the history of Puritanism; illustrating, ever, the old homely saying, that when the spout of the tea-kettle is stopped up, the lid is sure to be pushed off. Still it must be owned, that this forcing idea was one of the age of Calvin, and that the sumptuary laws of Geneva were made to bear on all alike, with a most entire impartiality.

The day began by law for all, at six in Winter, and four in Summer. Whatever the weather, there was rarely more than one fire in the house, and that in the kitchen. All the furniture was of wood. The law of the Reformation was, that no one should ordinarily have on his table more than two dishes—one of meat, and one of vegetables, without pastry: and our author says that this rule obtains in many families to this day. Masters and servants ate at the same table, and religious subjects, or what were considered such, formed the topics of conversation. All was unnaturally rigid, severe, constrained, and formal. Better, no doubt, it should be so, than to be swamped as we are like to be, in a whirlpool of giddy, dishonest extravagance, and sensual, wicked luxury. But the difficulty is, that such an unnatural simplicity cannot live. It has no root. It is like flower stems thrust into the ground by children, giving good show for a while, and then dying down to make room for noxious weeds. So it turned out in Geneva, and it happened in this wise.

Side by side with this austere simplicity, there was a large literary and intellectual development, in the city of Calvin. And from these two things,—how the parallel holds!—there resulted a spirit of industry and trade. Trade in silks and vel-

vets during the seventeenth century, brought in increasing wealth, though Geneva made noble and almost ruinous sacrifices for the victims of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Still, the extended commercial enterprises of the early part of the eighteenth century, more than compensated for all their losses, and the natural results followed. "Good serge and black cloth" gave way to costlier fabrics, and this change was a type of unnumbered others. Thus by the middle of the eighteenth century,—the period now under review,—there were in Geneva two parties, the one adhering to the old severity, the other carried away by the new civilization. Antagonism naturally widened this breach. The one party grew darker and more somber,—the other gay and more frivolous. Between the two, the true stand-point disappeared; while it was easy to see which was most likely to take with the multitude, and with which Voltaire would range himself. He measured his ground with a careful eye—estimated the forces at work with his usual shrewdness—declared that he would, at all hazards, "corrupt that priggish city;" and so established a theater.

The Drama was not entirely a novelty at Geneva. In 1737, party spirit and political divisions were rife in the republic. There were fearful struggles, and blood was shed. France, Sardinia, and the Swiss Cantons offered their mediation; and the ambassadors, finding a grievous lack of their customary amusements, obtained permission to open a theater for one year. At its close the license was withdrawn, and the theater was shut. But the Genevese, as our author confesses, had an unconquerable *penchant* for dramatic representations; and private theatricals replaced the public exhibitions, and fanned the rising flames. At first Voltaire established his theater just over the French frontier: then he removed it to Chatelaine; and in 1766 obtained a lodgment within the city, through the influence of the French minister. Every inch was contested. The pastors reclaimed against the Drama—the magistrates refused their countenance, and only yielded to a strong pressure—and even Rousseau came forward to oppose it, and declared that the introduction of Comedy was inconsistent with "that personal dignity, and those severe manners," which were the true safeguard of the republic. Voltaire, however, had numerous partisans who applauded the thrusts at the pastors, with which *Tartuffe* abounded, and which they readily applied. But all were not with him. In 1768, his theater was burned, and the general cry was: "Let those who like it, put out the fire." Voltaire was enraged beyond all bounds, and exclaimed: "Ah,

this Geneva! this Geneva! When one thinks he has it, it slips from his fingers!" Still, he persevered, and in 1782 conquered. In that year the theater was permanently established. And at this day, (our author might have added,) it is frequented by the successors of those Pastors, who, a hundred years ago, contended manfully against it: while Theological students are given the *entree* either *gratis* or at a diminished rate,—we are not quite sure which.

In this way, the struggle with Voltaire began. But having begun, it took various directions—worked out in different lines, and was renewed by the most unimaginable incidents and occasions. The philosopher-poet had taken it into his head to deify Catherine II of Russia, and was deeply scandalized at some demonstrations of joy when news arrived of the defeat of her troops. But something more serious was to come. The Empress sent a M. de Bulow to Geneva, to procure a number of schoolmistresses and domestics for the imperial court. He was recommended to Voltaire, whose vanity delighted in just such a fussy importance as a matter like this gave him. But Berne and Geneva steadily refused to permit the emigration, and the envoy returned empty-handed to his mistress. Loud and long were the denunciations of Voltaire on what he called "the five and twenty wigs of Geneva." Rascals, tyrants, and fanatics hardly good enough for flinging into the lake, were the best words he had for them. And thus, through great things and small, the quarrel went on. We have neither time nor space for its details. But three matters deserve attention: the Encyclopedia, Toleration, and Voltaire's Infidel publications.

It was in 1757, that the famous article Geneva appeared in the seventh volume of the Encyclopedia. It was written by D'Alembert, from a memoir which had been placed in his hands, interpreted by the conversation of Voltaire. It gave a favorable view of the morals and manners of the people, and praised, though with a latent vein of satirical misrepresentation, the Clergy. But it contained this memorable passage: "Many ministers do not believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ: they assume that it is never necessary to receive literally, anything in the Holy Scriptures which offends natural humanity and reason: their religion is a complete Socinianism, rejecting all mysteries in revelation. They consider it to be a principle of true religion, that nothing is to be proposed to belief which offends reason." This aroused the strongest indignation. The company of Pastors appointed a commission of eight of their number to answer the assertions of D'Alembert, and set forth

a "declaration of principles." Meantime a furious discussion was in progress. Rousseau took up on the side of the Pastors, and demanded from D'Alembert his authority for his statements. D'Alembert replied that he derived his information from a number of the Pastors themselves. Jacob Vernes called on him for the names. D'Alembert refused to give them, on the ground that the communications were confidential. To this Vernes replied, that only three Pastors, of whom he himself was one, had been in any communication with D'Alembert, and that no foundation whatever for his assertions could be drawn from anything they had said. Finding himself pushed to the wall, D'Alembert finally made the shambling excuse, that he "agreed with Bossuet, in considering any one a Socinian, who did not accept the authority of the Roman Church," and that this was all he meant. He added, that he had left the whole matter in the hands of Voltaire. Voltaire wrote a letter to Vernes, in which he all along slyly assumed that D'Alembert had truth on his side, and that the indignation of the Pastors was mere pretence and sham; and so the discussion ended. At this juncture the declaration of the commission was published, which asserted in strong terms the belief of the Pastors in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the divinity of the Son of God. This declaration was translated into all the languages of Europe, and the calumny was effectually met.

There is a good deal to be said, in connection with this piece of history. The enquiry naturally arises, was there any show of support for the statements of D'Alembert? Our author admits that there was, and states what it was, in these noteworthy words: "The Genevan Pastors proclaim that their Christian faith is founded solely on the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and satisfied with this foundation of their belief, *they express their doctrines in language taken from the Bible alone.*" And again: "The Clergy of Geneva do not give an infallible and divine character to such expressions as the Trinity, original sin, etc., consecrated by the Church, and preserved in the confessions of the Reformation; and this circumstance was seized by the infidel philosopher, as the ground of a charge that they stripped religion of everything supernatural and divine." Of course this was a trick, and a shabby one, and it was easily exposed.

But there is assigned in these admissions an adequate cause for much more than D'Alembert's misrepresentations; and the subject is one which deserves the most thoughtful attention. Not one hundred years had passed away, from the publication of the article in the Encyclopedia, before the

charges in the passage that raised such a tempest, were literally true. Geneva was socinianized. Now, did D'Alembert speak as a prophet? Did he foresee the course of things, and so predict it? Not at all. But yet, one of the chief causes for those coming issues is, beyond all question, to be found in the sentences of M. Gaberel, quoted above. The Faith, indeed, rests ultimately on nothing but the word of God. The terminology of the Catholic Creeds, is not divine and infallible. But be it remembered, when that terminology which the Church of God has devised, to secure the Faith from those heresies which have corrupted the simplicity of the language of the Scriptures—when that terminology is rejected, then, those who reject it, open a wide door for the entrance of the very heresies against which it was promulgated. History testifies to this with an unchanging witness. She records it of Geneva, of Protestant Germany, of English Presbyterianism—and she is recording it most fearfully of our own New England. It sounds well to say, “We will use only the language of God’s Word.” If there were no men or devils to deal with, it would be all right to say it. But God’s Word was committed to God’s Church to keep,—not only in its outward letter, but in the Faith which it enshrines, “whole and undefiled.” And when heresy has corrupted that Faith, and through it, that Written Word—then if men cast away these venerable guarding terms with which the Church has met the foe, they may flatter themselves that they only avoid the giving an undue honor to the Church; but they are really doing despite to the Written Scriptures, and exposing them and their awful verities, to corruption, questioning, and final rejection. And thus, not D'Alembert’s misrepresentation alone, but the melancholy issues of the day when his words came true, are explained. Not that this was the only reason why Geneva could not keep the faith. There are others, which we will not touch on now. But here is one reason—a sufficient one—an unfailing one. Let us, at least, learn from the consideration of it a good lesson for ourselves.

We pass on to our second topic, Religious Toleration in France. In no point of view does Voltaire appear to so much advantage, as here. His efforts were real and effective, and his zeal knew neither diminution nor intermission. There was good reason that some one should take up the subject, for one or two instances of outrageous injustice and persecution are given, which open to us a view of the condition of France in this respect, happily almost beyond our conception, and utterly baffling our comprehension.

At Toulouse, there was a family of the Reformed Commun-

ion, named Calas. The eldest son was a profligate and worthless person, laden with debt, and destitute of credit or principle. A refusal from his father to release him from his difficulties, drove him to desperation and finally to suicide. One of his brothers had become a Papist; and now the story was circulated that he, too, had manifested a strong desire to follow his brother's example, and that to prevent it his father had murdered him with his own hands. The story was absurd in itself, and utterly unsupported by testimony. But it was seized upon by the greedy populace; the flame was fanned by the ecclesiastics; masses were said for the repose of the suicide's soul; pictures were scattered about, in which he was represented holding in one hand the palm of martyrdom, and in the other the pen which was to have signed his imaginary recantation; and the popular fury reached a fearful height. The special charge against Calas grew into a general one against Protestants, that they were in the habit of killing their children, if they showed signs of deserting the reformed religion for Popery. The death of Calas was demanded by the fanatical mob, and the aged and innocent sufferer was broken on the wheel. The accusation even included his widow and daughters, who narrowly escaping with their lives, fled to Geneva. Voltaire warmly interested himself in their misfortunes, and after *four years* of arduous and unremitting exertions, procured a reversal of the decree against Calas, thus rescuing his reputation after his life had been forfeited,—and obtained from the crown a pension for his widow.

Not long after this, a similar case came before him. In a little town of Languedoc, the daughter of one Sirven had been torn from her family under a *lettre de cachet*, and placed in a convent. Here she was subjected to such rigorous treatment that she fled by night, and in her flight fell into a well and was drowned. The unhappy father and mother were charged with her murder. Foreseeing their fate, if they fell into the hands of the ecclesiastics, they fled in the dead of winter. The mother perished among the snows of Jura, but Sirven reached Geneva, and committed his cause to the hands of Voltaire. As soon as this was known at Paris, distinguished advocates offered their services; and after *nine years*, the innocence of Sirven was established.

These instances, and others like these, aroused Voltaire to his labors in behalf of religious freedom. And whatever may have been the motive which animated them, they were thorough and effective. He left no stone unturned. He memorialized, and argued, and satirized. Ministers of state, judges,

courtiers, royalty itself, were approached by him. Even the Holy See was reached; for when some one was visiting him at Ferney and offered to carry any message he wished to send to Clement XIV, Voltaire wrote these words: "His Holiness is entreated to send to the philosopher of Ferney the ears of the grand Inquisitor, in a piece of music." The message was delivered, and Clement smiling and turning the sheet, replied, "His Holiness regrets that he cannot execute your commission, but as things are, the grand Inquisitor has neither eyes nor ears." Clement would of course favor Voltaire's efforts; while as to the story itself, *si non è vero, è ben trovato*.

Our author, however, devotes a curious and interesting chapter, to show that Voltaire's situation and surroundings had much to do with this phase of his character and portion of his life. He proves by selections from a large mass of correspondence, and that not merely made up of published letters, but containing also documents hitherto unpublished, that he by no means labored alone; but found in Geneva able and efficient counselors and co-workers. We cannot attempt to carry our readers through these selections. Let it suffice to state the fact and to add some pertinent reflections of M. Gaberel: "It would be entirely illogical to separate Voltaire's labors in behalf of religious liberty from Geneva. For no man, however great his genius, can isolate himself from the influences of the community in which he lives. Had Voltaire lived in the materialized society of Paris or Berlin, he might doubtless have continued to write his sarcastic pamphlets against the fanaticism of Rome; but would he have united action with words? Would he have undertaken the defense of the Calas, of Sirven and the Protestant galley-slaves? In the midst of the scandalous pleasures of those courts, could he have more than heard of the sufferings of the Reformed of France? Would he have met those refugees, or sons of refugees, who touched the sympathies of his spirit? What could be more natural than that the project of delivering Europe from the scourge of persecution, should be conceived on the threshold of that sanctuary, to which for a hundred years the victims of all persecution had fled?" Let Voltaire and Geneva, then, share deserved and lasting honors for the good work.

We have left ourselves scant space, to speak of Voltaire's infidel publications, and the energetic way in which their baleful influence was resisted. His course, here, is marked with artifice and deceit. In 1755, Jacob Vernes had written to him to say, that the only drawback to the general satisfaction which his arrival had awakened, was the fear that his views of religion

were unsound. On this point he urged him to be explicit ; expressing the hope, that his answer would show, that all the fears entertained were groundless, and that their pleasure in his sojourn with them, might be unalloyed. Voltaire replied, "Your request is only reasonable. I detest intolerance and fanaticism ; I respect your religious laws ; I love and honor your republic ; I am old, ill, and severe as to young people." These words removed the solicitude of the Pastors and others, but they were a mere blind, and designed to be so ; and their worthlessness and contemptible cunning were soon made evident. Hardly was Voltaire established in his new home, when he began his plan of invading the "peevish city," with his infidel *brochures*. The campaign opened with *Joan of Arc*, manuscript copies of which were in 1756 burned by the hand of the executioner. From this time the war went vigorously on. One after another, magistrates, Pastors, savans, even Rousseau himself, whose *Emile* shared the fate of *Joan of Arc*, were drawn into it. Voltaire was as active as his enemies. He smuggled infidel publications into the city in his carriage, caused some of his worst pamphlets to be printed under religious titles, organized a regular system of propagandism, and deluged Geneva with the productions of his perverted genius. The battle was well fought. But the mischief was, notwithstanding, to a considerable extent, accomplished. As the dwelling among men of the holy, brings lasting blessings, so that of the evil, insures an abiding curse. The curse of Voltaire's sojourn in Geneva, did not end when in 1778 he went to Paris never to return. It works still, and will work to the end.

It is a curious and interesting historical episode to which we have been introduced. Twenty-three strange years are comprised in it. But it ended at last, and the vain and presumptuous man who formed its central character, found at last one foe whom he could not flout, and passed beyond the regions of mockery and illusion into the awful realms of the real and the unchanging.

His friends felt uncertain as death came on. D'Alembert, wrote to Tronchin his physician, who had apprised Voltaire of his danger : "You have done what prudence and humanity require ; tranquilize him now if you can ; I passed some time with him yesterday, and he seemed much alarmed, not only on account of his condition, but *because of the disagreeable consequences which it may involve.*" The man was quailing at last, but the coward tried to conceal it. There is no longer any question as to the character of Voltaire's death bed. But we

shall add in confirmation of all the abundant proof extant, a passage from a letter of his physician, first published, we believe, by M. Gaberel. "Had my principles," he says, "needed tying together more firmly, the man whose despair, agony and death I have witnessed, would have bound them in a gordian knot. During his last days, maddened by literary contradictions, he took so many drugs, and committed so many follies, that he fell into a most fearful condition of despair and madness. I cannot recall the scene without horror. Everything which he took in the hope of rallying his strength produced a contrary effect; death was ever before his eyes; and rage took possession of his soul. Recall the furies of Orestes. Such was the death of Voltaire. *Furiis agitatus obiit.*"

This needs no comment; and it is enough to know these facts, without seeking to fathom the thoughts and convictions of an hour like that. It presents the issues of that highest, most satanic, least likely to be forgiven, of all forms of sin,—sin of the intellect. Would to God, an age which more abounds in it than any age, since that earliest on which the Deluge came in judgment, would lay the awful lesson to its heart.

ART. II.—DOES THE BIBLE NEED RETRANSLATING?

1. *Notes on the Revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.* By WILLIAM SELWYN, Canon of Ely. Cambridge: Deighton, Bill & Co.
2. *A Vindication of the Authorized Version of the English Bible.* By the Rev. S. C. MALAN.
3. *The American Bible Union's Improved Version.*

Is it expedient that the Bible should be re-translated? Is our present Version so faulty, or at least so susceptible of emendation from an enlightened criticism, that the Herculean task of interpreting anew the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures into the Vulgar Anglo-Saxon tongue ought to be immediately undertaken? And will Christian Unity be promoted, or the Way of Salvation be elucidated by the process? These are questions which at the present moment are violently agitating the religious public, which, as usual, is divided on the point. Of course, says the tyro in sacred literature, "let there be a new translation more in accordance with modern enlightenment. The Westminster Review is right, let the Bible be critically sifted, and if it can bear the test, well; but if not, let it lose its prestige." The deeply read linguist of orthodox views says, "I have no objection to the publication of an edition of the Bible, revised and corrected; I am not afraid to apply the touchstone of modern erudition to the sacred text; I should be sorry to allow the sceptic such a triumph, as to admit the possibility of danger to Christianity from a re-translation of the Scriptures, and though it would please me better to let King James' Version alone, yet I am too jealous for the reputation of God's word to allow myself to shrink from meeting the Infidel in the fair field of criticism."

It is urged, on the other hand, by men of various religious sentiments, "No possible good can result from a new translation; Deists and scoffers want to undermine the bulwarks of our Creed, and think they can succeed best by throwing discredit on a Book which has been prized as almost perfect in its accuracy in expressing the Will of God. The men who are most prominent in this agitation are not believers in the inspiration of the Volume they wish to criticize so minutely; and this makes us suspicious of their object. We are afraid that

their aim is to bring the text into seeming harmony with their own views, and not to present us with more accurate readings of the original manuscripts, or more faithful rendering of the meaning of Scripture. No advocate for this re-translation presumes to say that man's salvation depends on an improvement in our present Version. The utmost that is urged, is the necessity of removing obsolete expressions, and some stumbling blocks which the antiquated style of the authorized Version throws in the way of the ordinary reader. Now, any benefit derivable from such corrections will be more than counterbalanced by the vantage ground ceded to the unbeliever, who will be ready to say, "The authorized Version held its sway for two hundred and forty-five years; how long will the new one predominate? It is not to be expected that old superstitions should at once give way to true criticism, but now that the axe is laid to the root, the tree must eventually fall. The all but sacred associations which guarded the old Version will be wanting in the new. We shall not have the same prejudices to encounter when we attempt to depreciate the new edition. We can bid the world prepare for another still newer, more enlightened, less inspired. And it will be strange indeed if the ordinary capacities, for whose special benefit the new Version is prepared, be not greatly bewildered when the claims of rival editions are urged as a plea for disbelieving them all." In order, therefore, to withhold from the unbeliever such aid as the publication of a new Version must afford, we think it better to let well alone. We agree also with Lord Shaftesbury, "in deprecating such a result as must ensue from a depreciation of the vast stock of Bibles in existence. Notwithstanding the immense exertions that have been made to print and circulate the Bible, it is computed that there are still seven hundred millions of human beings without a Bible. When the number of copies of the Scriptures (in all languages) is so disproportioned to the world's population, can we afford to render all the Bibles in existence worthless? It would take a century at least to supply the world with a sufficient number of copies of the new Version, to make good the loss of those now in circulation."

The advocates and opponents of a new translation have much to plead in favor of their respective views, but we feel that the weight of argument rests with the opponents. We shall endeavor, therefore, to justify this conclusion, by showing that the advocates of the movement, supposing them to be sincere believers in Revelation, greatly overestimate the advantages derivable from a new translation. And, on the

supposition that the advocates of a new Version are sceptics, we infer that no translation will satisfy them except one which will confirm their scepticism; while *certain* ill results must be borne in order to obtain a very *uncertain* benefit for the Christian world, whether the promoters of the agitation be believers or infidels.

Now, in order to show that the advantages attendant on a new translation are greatly overrated, we would observe, that the greatest of them would be the rendering the meaning of the text more clear, by the substitution of modern phraseology for obsolete modes of expression. This, we contend, is the most important result that we can anticipate. The labors of new translators must be confined to examination of the structure of Scriptural phrases, and to the expression of the meaning of the sacred writers in language more intelligible to the modern ear, than that of King James' Version. We repeat, that all we can expect is such a revision as will make the true sense of each passage more clear to the men of this age, by the use of modern diction. But far more than this is expected by many. It is conjectured or assumed that the two centuries and a half which have elapsed since our present Version was completed, have brought to light much valuable information regarding the *various readings* of the text of Scripture; much knowledge concerning the authenticity of this or that passage. No doubt such is the case, but still this fund of information will rebound but little to the improvement of a new Version. The "*variae lectiones*" of Mill, amounting to thirty thousand in the New Testament alone; the famous collation of five hundred and eighty MSS., by Dr. Kennicott; and the four quarto volumes of various readings published by DeRossi, A. D. 1786, contain an immense amount of philological research, of great use indeed to the scholar, but we suspect of little use to any body of translators. For we have no doubt that the authorized Version would be assumed as the basis of any prospective Version, in the same way as "the Bishops' Bible" was taken as the ground-work of our present Version by the forty-seven translators commissioned by King James. We cannot believe that any body of men, authorized to revise our present Version, would assume the responsibility of substituting for the reading adopted by the translators of 1607, any various reading recommended by a subsequent collation of manuscripts. They could not venture to do so without assigning their reasons and thus swelling the new translation into a size utterly useless to the generality of readers, by reason of the folios that must be written in the shape of notes.

Let us suppose for a moment that our newly commissioned translators should differ from their predecessors, and prefer to follow the Vulgate, the Latin Fathers, and the Alexandrine MSS., changing our present reading of St. Luke so as to read thus, "Δεῖα ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς σὺν ἄνθρωποις εὐδοκίας," would this alteration be received with quiet acquiescence by the Christian public? Would there not be a demand for the reason of the change? One or the other of these alternatives would take place; either the translators would be obliged to enter into a learned and laborious disquisition in a note to the passage, which would perhaps be unintelligible to the majority; or they would not assign their reasons for changing the text, and consequently the proposed emendation would be suspected and disregarded. We say, then, that all those persons who are warmly advocating a re-translation with the idea that the "*textus receptus*" would be altered to suit their Socinianism, their Rationalism, or their widely differing theories of doctrine or discipline, would be sadly disappointed. The transfer of a various reading from the margin of our Bibles into the text may seem an easy one, but it becomes a Herculean task when the question is put, Why is the change made, or what new light has been reflected on us, which was denied to our Fathers? The authority of any new board of translators must be incredibly great, if a change in the original text be made and received without good reasons being assigned. And the impossibility of assigning those reasons, so as to satisfy the mass of Christians, arising from the technical and abstruse nature of the enquiry, must deter from any such alteration. The work will be one, therefore, of improved translation merely; and that in some passages mis-translations are to be found, is undeniable, but the main business will be to make the sense of the sacred volume more intelligible by expressing it in more familiar English, and by the employment of paraphrase, or the substitution of some modern equivalent, get rid of obsolete idioms.

We said that there exist some mis-translations; but they are few, and well known. It is scarcely necessary to sap the very foundations of the Faith, by shaking confidence in the authorized Version, in order to obviate the slight evil of a few trifling inaccuracies. We believe that the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis is mis-translated, and that the Israelites were not directed by Jehovah to *borrow*, but to *demand* from the Egyptians jewels of silver and gold. But in order to correct a few sentences like these, is it expedient to take such a step as will throw discredit on the whole authorized Version? To

what end are we furnished with such multitudes of annotated Bibles, if the Notes do not answer every purpose that a re-translation is expected to subserve? Had the readers of Scripture adhered to the old Protestant watchword, "The Bible without note or comment," then we might understand this outcry for as literal a translation as the wit of man can devise. But when Bibles with Notes and Paraphrases and References, are multiplied without number, and every difficulty in the text is said to be lucidly smoothed down in the margin or Notes, we confess that a change in the text itself seems quite unnecessary to edification or information.

But, how stands the case with those passages in which the sense has not been perverted but obscured, owing to quaint or obsolete diction? Is it not advisable that such texts as this, "The Lord commended the unjust steward," should be rendered, "His Master commended," in order to avoid the semblance of encouragement to dishonesty? Or, should we not read, "Make to yourselves friends, *by means of* the mammon of unrighteousness?" There can be no question that sentences such as these are susceptible of improvement in translation; but we ask again, cannot the obscurity of the text be remedied by the teaching of Sermons, Commentaries and Notes? Is the danger incurred by the publication of a *new* Bible, at all proportioned to the good likely to accrue from increased clearness of meaning, in a few passages? We are aware that one of the benefits expected from a re-translation is the getting rid of many Notes which (it is said) are now rendered necessary by the looseness of the authorized Version. Now it is true that Notes which are explanatory of passages, whose obscurity is owing to imperfect translation, would be unnecessary when the translation is perfected; but it is forgotten that forthwith a new class of Notes becomes indispensable, as the authorities on which every change in the translation is made, must be given in order to satisfy the reader. Thus it is probable (should a revision take place) that "παιδαγωγός" * and "αὐτοπαύρος" † would be translated more correctly "Guardian slave" and "Proconsul," instead of the present rendering, "Schoolmaster" and "Deputy." Notes, however, explaining the change in translation, as well as the terms themselves, must remain to perplex the unlearned many, for whose benefit, it is said, the re-translation is to be made. For these reasons we apprehend that no translation of the Holy Scriptures (except a copious paraphrase) can be achieved of such a character as

* Gal. iii, 24.

† Acts xiii, 7.

to permit us to dispense with Notes, and we therefore repeat the question, why not leave the task of explaining the more difficult and imperfectly translated passages of Scripture to an educated Clergy, and an authorized edition of Notes—authorized, we mean, by that same body, whoever they may be, to whom we look for a new translation? It seems to be assumed by the promoters of a re-translation, that the new Version will be generally received by the Christian public with tacit acquiescence, and deferential respect; why should not a volume of emendations and corrections of the authorized Version, emanating from the same source from which a new translation is expected, be received with similar reverence and veneration?

It will, however, be replied, granting that Notes will still be necessary, yet the great advantage that the revisionists expect is such a transformation of the phraseology generally, as will make the Word of God more clearly “understood of the people.” Against any such change in the language of Scripture we would enter a solemn protest; warned as we are by example, the admonition of the great and learned, and the tendency of familiarity towards contempt. There have been many attempts to improve on our present translation, all of which have but served to enhance our estimation of it. In every instance dignity has been sacrificed to a vapid familiarity, and the personal dogmas of the translators offensively paraded. In Dr. Gedde’s translation of the Pentateuch, we are quite at a loss to discover anything but a pert attempt at exactness, in his substitution of the word Skip-offering for Passover. Indeed it is observable that in almost every attempt at individual translation, the grandeur and lofty tone of Scripture as now received, have been made to give way to modernized diction, however common-place, provided it will be expressive. Bishop Stock’s rendering of Isaiah xxxii, 5, is an illustration of this propensity. He changes our authorized reading, “The vile person shall no more be called liberal,” into “No more *shall* the *sneaking* man be called generous.” Now the term “sneaking” may be more intelligible to ordinary readers than the term vile, but what scholar of taste or elegance would wish for many such substitutions in the WORD OF GOD?

The puerilities of the translation, published by the American Bible Union, are such as to warn us from attempting to degrade the style of the Bible to a level with the language of society. “Be on hand conveniently and inconveniently,” 2 Tim. iv, 2, and “Now, Master, thou lettest thy servant depart in peace,” are given to us by a grave and learned body as improvements in our present Version! but it would be hard to

say in what the improvement consisted, unless it be in the employment of a flippant method of expression approaching to slang.* Even when this degradation of style is avoided, there is often to be apprehended, and in some instances to be found, a studied effort to make the text speak the language of this or that heresy, be it Anabaptism, Deism, or Popery. Who can read Wakefield's translation of the New Testament, without seeing that he was a Socinian, and wished the Bible to be Socinian too? The Douay Bible, again, bears on its face the impress of Roman Catholic translators; while the Baptist Version is to make the Bible preach immersion in plain terms. But it is said, may not a translation be produced which will be free from the imputation of doctrinal partiality? We fear not; it is almost hopeless to expect any Board of Translators to enter upon the task under such favorable circumstances, as King James' Commissioners. They labored at their great undertaking with a strong antipathy, it is true, to Romanism, but with no intention of taking advantage of their position to attack Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Unitarianism, &c., to say nothing of the sects which have arisen since their day. These sectaries had not as yet assumed sufficient importance to make the translators pursue their task with an eye to their heresies. There was then no inducement (had they been base enough to yield to it) to act like the Independents when in power, who did not scruple to insert in Acts vi, 3, the word "*Ye*," in place of the true reading "*We*," in order to give countenance to their peculiar notions of Church Government and the Christian Ministry. The consequence has been that we now possess a translation singularly free from the least bias or partiality; one from which every denomination proves its own dogmas, and with which, in spite of all that has been written, we believe all but a few uneasy sectarists, restless sceptics, or ambitious Philologists, are perfectly satisfied.

But, if we refuse to be taught by the unsuccessful issues of

* It may not be known that this new Version is designed not for Baptists alone. There is on the last page of the cover of "*The Bible Union Reporter*," the following notice:

"*THE AMERICAN BIBLE UNION*.—This institution was organized June 10, 1850. Its object is to procure and circulate the most faithful versions of the Sacred Scriptures, in *all languages*, throughout the world. The scholars in its employ, engaged in the revision of the English Scriptures, are ecclesiastically connected with the following denominations: Church of England, Old School Presbyterians, Disciples, or Reformers, Methodist Episcopal Church, Associate Reformed Presbyterians, Seventh Day Baptists, *American Protestant Episcopalians*, Baptists, German Reformed Church."

Who are these "*Scholars of the American Protestant Episcopalians*?"

attempted modern translations, let us defer in some measure to the authority of those great luminaries who have lived since the year 1611, and who, though possessing additional information, and the aid of newly found Manuscripts, yet one and all bear willing testimony to the substantial accuracy, the majestic gravity, and musical rhythm of our present Version. Swift, a master and judge of terse, vigorous style, declared that "he thought the alterations introduced into the English language, since the completion of King James' Version, had added little to the beauty or strength of our mother tongue, and that our translators were masters of an English style much fitter for that work than any since their day, owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole." It would be a tedious operation to enumerate all the testimonies of such men as Monboddo, Selden, South, Adam Clarke, Horsley, the last of whom though himself a translator of Hosea, yet expressly stated that he had not the least wish that his version should supersede the authorized one in the Public Service of the Church. It requires, indeed, considerable presumption to disparage a work whose fidelity and beauty are eulogized by such a host of Princes in Oriental learning, as Pocock and South; but the present age is not one likely to defer to authority.

The enlightenment of the times, is the idea that pervades almost all who come to the consideration of this question. It is said, the Translation of 1611, was indeed a wonderful work for the day in which it was accomplished, but it is out of date; accurate scholarship is the characteristic of modern Biblical critics, and it is absurd to suppose that there do not exist in the present day, more excellent materials for the translation and revision of the text, than were to be found in the year 1611; numerous MSS. have been found; the Alexandrine, presented by Cyril to Charles the First, is in itself an inestimable treasure; these, and such like considerations, might be indefinitely extended, but the question recurs, has the collation of MSS., or modern acuteness in criticism and philology, proved the text used by our translators, (as the basis of their great work,) to be spurious or defective to such an extent, as to affect materially any article of belief necessary to salvation?

This, after all, is the grand question for practical men, and we think the answer must be in the negative. What new light has been thrown on the genuineness of the celebrated verse in St. John's First Epistle? Has any evidence of importance been elicited by modern research?

We return, then, to the point whence we started, in affirming that *translation* alone will be the business of any set of men who are commissioned to revise the Scriptures, and, in a few places, we have no hesitation in saying, that great improvement might be made, but that no benefit would accrue equivalent to the loss which would be sustained by the severance of those sacred ties with which our present Version is bound up in our affections, and by the misgivings that would be aroused in the minds of multitudes who idolize the volume as their best friend. If, indeed, we were sure that *mis-translations* alone would be corrected, and that ten thousand (what may be termed) minor faults would not be meddled with, we would have less cause of apprehending evil consequences, from a new Bible, though, even with this proviso, we can see no manner of necessity to take so weighty a step to counteract the supposed ill-effects of a few mis-translations.

The rendering of the word *κρῖμα* in St. Paul's account of the Holy Communion, is often urged as an instance of the mischief perpetrated by one wrong translation, and doubtless the passage would not have deterred so many from becoming communicants had it been thus: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh a judgment to himself;" but we are of opinion, that the abstaining of such numbers of professing Christians from the Communion, is much rather to be attributed to the neglect of the Clergy in not explaining the true meaning of the text, and to the studious efforts of so many to represent the Sacraments as privileges to be enjoyed only by persons of high attainments in piety, and not as means of grace to be thankfully received by the Christian who is struggling to do his duty. We are not now defending the translation "damnation," but even if it had been translated "judgment" or "condemnation," there would still have remained quite enough of alarming denunciation in the language to have affrighted multitudes, particularly as "judgment" would have been taken in connection with St. Paul's allusion to bodily afflictions, and thus deterred many from the Communion by the threat of disease or death.

Let us now briefly glance at the ill-results that may be apprehended from lowering the lofty style of the Scriptures to the familiar phraseology of modern times; this is one of the most dangerous consequences that we foresee as likely to issue from a new translation. In proportion as the dialogue or didactic and historic portions of holy writ are modernized in their tone, so may we dread the prevalence of contemptuous disregard for their teaching. We need not be told how inju-

riously falls on the ear of any congregation, the sermon which would, in the language of every day life, paraphrase some solemn text of Scripture. Why not fear the same result from the familiarizing of Scriptural language which would inevitably arise from the substitution of modern, homely phrases, for the grave diction of Milton or Shakespeare? In an age of sneering ribaldry, can we afford to lose any of those artificial helps to solemnity, which sometimes, in the absence of holier motives, operate advantageously? Is the anxious enquirer, or the fastidious sceptic, likely to be attracted by the language of the Bible, because it is common-place or vulgar, instead of sublime and peculiar? We think not; the language in which the awful truths of Christianity are expressed, cannot be too dignified, or too emphatic, and we cannot help imagining that any attempt to interpret the mysterious revelations of the Bible in the language of the day must be positively injurious.

We hasten now to consider some replies to the arguments on which we base our opposition to a new translation. One very plausible excuse is contained in the following considerations: "The changes made in a new Version cannot be supposed likely to bewilder or undermine the faith of the people half as much as constantly hearing from the Pulpit multitudes of tyros in sacred literature, taking upon them to correct our present Version for the information of congregations who have neither inclination nor opportunity of testing the proposed amendments." To this apology we reply, that we can never hope for any Version so perfectly satisfactory and so universally received as perfect, as will prevent Preachers from seeing imperfections, and from proposing improvements in its structure. Besides which, the foregoing argument rests chiefly on the assumption, that mis-translations are numerous, (a position which we refuse to take for granted till proved,) and that the Clergy are in the habit of speaking in their discourses as if the present rendering of many texts was absolutely false. This we cannot believe; it is very natural indeed for a Preacher who wishes to impress deeply some tenet on the minds of his hearers, to show how such and such a text *might have been more forcibly or emphatically rendered*; he may show how, by exact attention to the Greek article, according to Bishop Middleton's rules, the sense of a passage may be more accurately brought out, even to proving more satisfactorily the Divinity of the Saviour; but this we hold to be a very different procedure from affirming to a congregation that such a paragraph or line is *falsely* rendered, an assertion to which we should hope but few teachers often commit themselves. The

effect, moreover, on an audience, of *contradicting* a reading, would differ from that produced by proposing an emendation, as much as the mental uneasiness caused by the discovery of a flaw in a title deed would differ from the feelings aroused on ascertaining a mistake in its grammar, or punctuation. Let us not then have any tampering with translation, founded on the doubts and perplexities raised by pulpit corrections of the text; these latter are improvements of a trivial nature, consisting generally of striking substitutions of expression, and not of total changes in the meaning, and the shock given to the public mind by such elucidations of the Clergy, bears no comparison to that which would be inflicted, were a new edition of the Bible, "revised and re-translated," to be published for the express purpose of superseding a Version received for two hundred and forty-five years, as "containing all things necessary to salvation."

We are aware that it is said in reply, "we have not to consider results, but our duty to perfect the translation as far as possible; the Christian religion will survive any such shock; and let it be remembered that when the authorized Version was published, there were three editions of the Bible in existence besides Wickliffe's, yet they gradually fell into disuse, until our present Bible obtained undisputed authority." But the two periods in Church history are so widely dissimilar that we cannot conceive any argument based on an analogy between them. When the authorized Version was made, the number of copies of the Geneva, Episcopal, or Tyndal edition in existence must have been very small, while the proportion of persons able to read them was very inconsiderable also. Very many copies of the Bible had been destroyed by the Papal party, so that any Version, provided it were in the vulgar tongue, would be gladly welcomed. Add to which, that the people had (with few exceptions) entire confidence in the translators, the Romish controversy being the great point then in agitation, and that the Commissioners would faithfully perform their task with a view to it, the nation had but little doubt. Bearing these considerations in mind, it does seem unreasonable to argue from the quiet supremacy obtained by the authorized over preceding Versions, to the certainty of a re-translation with equal ease, acquiring supremacy in its turn over the hearts and consciences of the present generation. An age which was only too thankful to be furnished with *any* Version of the Scriptures, affords us no precedent for estimating the probable reception that a new translation would meet with in the present day, when men are so fastidious as to

demand the *best* that can be had. Widely-spread schisms have originated in far less provocation than a re-translation would furnish, and we fear that ere long we should find the list of sects augmented by the addition of "the new and old Versionists."

Everything seemed to have combined to render the time in which our authorized Version was made, the most suitable that we can imagine. Everything seems to mark the present day as the most unsuitable for making the attempt of revision. The period in which our present Version was published was the turning point in our Church History, when that greatest of all reforms, the translation of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue, was *the desideratum*. It was the Augustan age of English literature. Providence seems to have raised up at that time a band of classical and Oriental scholars, such as would do no discredit to the present day, notwithstanding the loud assumptions of superior progress in sacred literature. Classical learning, such as would be requisite for a re-translation, is certainly more diffused now-a-days, and perhaps the smattering of such learning that multitudes possess, is the cause of our so constantly hearing of a boasted superiority over the knowledge of King James' translation. It is the number of scholars in the present day, of which we may be proud; but this should not cause us to forget that quality, not quantity, must be sought for in translators, and that though the number of qualified men were comparatively few at the date of our authorized Version, yet that they were truly giants in the knowledge of language.* No parallel, then, can be drawn

* It was well said lately, by a fine scholar, in behalf of our present Version: "The full effect of the revival of the study of the Greek language, was at that very day at its highest point—the very ladies of that day were many of them rare Greek scholars. Lady Jane Grey was absorbed in reading Plato in the original Greek when she was summoned to the tribunal that condemned her to death. Queen Elizabeth was well versed in Greek literature; it was the golden age of classical attainments; they had all the classical authors which we have now, but the study of them had a freshness and interest, enhanced by the scarcity of other works in the vernacular, and the fashion of the times—both which causes of fitness for such a work cannot be said of these times.

"The English tongue in those days was eminently fitted for the purpose. It had emerged from the harshness of the Anglo-Saxon, but still retained in its structure and phrase that robust, honest tongue for its ground work and sub-structure. The language may not have attained to the redundancy and excess of fertility which, while it may subserve some of the purposes of literature, has actually detracted from its strength and distinctness. It may have now more scientific terms, but this is not wanted, for the Bible is not a book of science; it may have more latinity and more slang, but not the same power of expression. I appeal to Bacon, Shakespeare, Sir Philip Sydney, Ben Johnson, Sir Thomas More, and Sir Matthew Hale, and I may add Milton, against Carlyle and Dickens, and Moore and Macaulay."

between the two epochs which will not, on investigation, tend to show a marked superintending Providence in the time, the men, the manner of our translation, which was made at a *time* when men were not disposed to look for blemishes, but to accept the boon with gratitude; by *men* who seemed specially raised up for the great occasion, and in a *manner* which no eulogy has hitherto been found adequately to express.

If the good results issuing from an attempt to re-translate the Bible will be by no means proportioned to the hazard incurred, we would strongly dissuade from the enterprise, but we feel more confident in deprecating the undertaking when we consider who they are who have forced this question on public attention. Is it not notorious, that the Christian world was (with the exception of a few learned Philologists) contented with our present Version, until the cavils and sneers of the Westminster Review, and the prevailing influence of German criticism have made some persons dissatisfied with the text of Scripture as it stands? Was not the motion for a revision made in the English Parliament, by Mr. Heywood, who spoke of the Sacred Volume as an exploded fable, and of the Pentateuch as not having been written by Moses at all? The adage is a good one, "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*;" and if the great mass of practical Christian people can see any blessing as likely to accrue to them from the intended boon of English sceptics and German rationalists, they must either be simplicity itself, or be possessed of incredible foresight. And not only is pressure from sceptics of the school of Germany to be expected, owing to the adoption of German editions of the Classics in the Universities, but even in the Anglican Church itself are to be found men more or less tinged with Rationalism, such as Jowett, McNaught, Hampden, claimed as allies by the Westminster Review, and dangerous to the faith in proportion to their acknowledged learning and ability. But suppose the revision to be accomplished in a manner satisfactory to the orthodox believer, and by a band of scholars competent for the work, and above suspicion; then our position will be precisely this; the great mass of Christian people who had been troubled with no scruples about the authorized Version, will be just in the position they had been before the revision, while the new edition will be still a mark for the critical sneers of the discontented, who can then make their attacks emboldened by their success in having shaken faith in one version (at least) of the Scriptures.

Until then, stronger reasons than any we have seen assigned, are given, we say no, to any re-translation of the Scriptures.

We will suggest a substitute for revision ; one which we think possesses all the advantages of a re-translation of ancient idioms into modern dialect, while also it will supply what a new Version never of itself can, a means whereby the *sense* of the Sacred Penman's language may be presented to the mind. We would then, in all humility, suggest to those accurate Scholiasts whose critical taste is offended by any the least barbarism in translation, and to all those talented enquirers into the blemishes of the authorized Version, that they would devote the talent that God has given them, to the very necessary task of calling public attention to the prejudiced manner in which the Bible is read by almost all Christians, and of exposing to men's view the artificial, unsuspected hindrances which stand in the way of a clear interpretation of God's Word. That is our substitute for re-translation. For it seems to us incredible that any revision of Scripture, no matter how perfect, can bring men into a unity of spirit regarding the meaning of God's revelation, so long as there exist such prejudices and hindrances as do avowedly warp our views and distort the meaning of Scripture. Indeed, it must occur to the mind of any one versed in literary criticism, that a wide difference exists between the method adopted by commentators on Scripture, and that pursued by editors of uninspired writings. To arrive at the meaning in the author's mind at the time he wrote, is the aim of every expositor of the classics. To discover from the words of an inspired writer a plausible pretext for some theory of their own, seems the object in view when the Bible is examined by critics, or read by the Christian public. In the one case, the words are examined and compared in order to ascertain the sense ; in the other, the sense is, for the most part, presumed, and then adapted to the words. The causes of such a contrast are numerous. The Bible is much more interwoven with the wordly interests of its votaries than the works of Horace or Homer ever can be. While the verses of Virgil are criticized only by a few, the Bible is discussed by thousands, and in proportion to the number of persons familiar with Scripture, is the anxiety not to appear singular, by gaining some acquaintance with a book which is in the hands of every one. Next follows the desire to maintain by argument the views which such slight acquaintance has imparted, since pride and the wish to retain the character of consistency often concur in strengthening the determination to hold to tenets men have once avowed. Biblical interpretation is, besides, often hereditary ; oftener the result of education, but most frequently has no stronger foundation than

hearsay. It is not surprising that a pious son should look for his father's opinions on religious matters in the Bible, and his filial affection will quickly find a warrant for some doctrine which (though he knew it not) he was *resolved* to prove from Scripture. The student of some cherished and revered Alma Mater, will exercise his ingenuity in adapting the Bible to the tenets with which his youth was indoctrinated by men who appeared to him giants in erudition. The persevering attendant on the ministrations of a popular Preacher, will mould the Scriptures into perfect harmony with the expositions which so often delighted him. That such a practice exists, of accommodating Biblical texts to suit preconceived views, no thoughtful religionist will deny. Nor is it less self-evident that men who would scorn to be thought partial, dwell especially on those texts which seem to establish their opinions to the exclusion of passages which throw a different light on those views, and greatly modify them. The Bible, in short, is studied now-a-days rather to corroborate than to correct religious prejudices. Practically, at least, such is the result, for omitting the case of multitudes whose interest and opinions go together, or whose pride leads them to act as champions of paradoxes, there are vast numbers of well intentioned, religious men, who are quite unaware of the many temptations and artificial stumbling blocks with which they are impeded in their search after truth. The power of these obstacles to hide or distort the meaning of Scripture, depends, in great part, on the fact that they are unsuspected. They require only to be known and their influence ceases, but so long as they continue unobserved, there is great danger that men will be "ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth."

The danger we are speaking of, lies not so much in the number or strength of the preconceptions with which men strive to make Scripture square, but in the existence of any preconception at all ; because, if we admit that Christianity is a *system* of religion, nothing is more certain than that a false view of one part of the plan affects the whole. The effect of the architecture is lost when the parts are viewed in a false light, or through differing mediums. The Biblical reader who begins his labor with a preconception of any doctrine, will resemble one who, in traveling, has diverged from the right road ; all his future energy is expended in vain, and his very efforts to advance will lead him farther and farther from his destination. It is not, therefore, the number of false impressions with which we approach the study of Scripture that requires to be guarded against, because the existence of *one* is

fatal; if one false step be taken, one groundless notion be entertained, a single untenable theory be adopted, all future efforts are frustrated by the first erroneous idea, and the little leaven of bigotry, prejudice, or mistake, will leaven the whole scheme of divine revelation. What may be termed the natural causes of the failure which so many are doomed to meet with in the investigation of Scriptural truth, are, strange to say, more readily seen and more easily overcome, than those artificial ones to which allusion has been made, and for this reason, that the latter are supposed to be helps to the attainment of the meaning, and we seldom suspect impediments from the means devised to assist our progress.

Thus it is much more easy to convince a student of the Bible, that his education, or the undue influence of authority, may have insensibly modified his researches, than to make him believe that the division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses may have served as an obstacle to the right understanding of them. And yet the latter is no less the fact. For, not to mention the interruption in the narrative caused by the division into chapters, often leading to a sacrifice of the sense for the sake of convenient points for commencing and ending our reading, the system of chapter and verse has, in many other ways, proved a real stumbling stone to the generality of readers. It may not be generally known, that the division into chapters was borrowed by the Jews from the Christians, and the subdivision of chapters into verses by the Christians from the Jews. Cardinal Hugo is said to have been the first publisher of the whole Scriptures in chapters; and Robert Stephanus was the arbitrary inventor of our present verses, A. D. 1550. This arbitrary distribution of the sacred language was adopted for the purpose of facilitating reference from Concordances, which both Hugo and Stephanus were then busily engaged in perfecting; but without the smallest intention of assisting the reader to understand the sense of Scripture. This is not generally reflected on, to the great detriment of the Biblical student. The generality of readers naturally conjecture that such care and trouble would not have been undergone unless for the express purpose of penciling out the text in such a way as to make it appear as intelligible as possible. This idea, however, never entered the minds of the inventors. Indeed the numbers of the verses were at first placed in the margin, so as to interfere but little with the flow of the narrative, but by degrees they were introduced into the body of the text. And it is as absurd to suppose this versification to be an aid to the reader, as it would be to imagine that the division

of a County into Townships and lots, was made for the purpose of facilitating traveling, and not for the convenience of reference and description. The system of verses, thus originally adopted for the facility of reference, has since proved a source of much misapprehension; every verse being regarded as equally important with another, (each being as much the word of God as another,) becomes a maxim or a proverb; and should it contain either a command or admonition, is quoted as positive authority, without reference to its position in the context, or its modification by other verses. That most popular verse, "Search the Scriptures," would be unhesitatingly adduced by nine-tenths of the Christian world as inculcating the duty of reading our Bibles. Now, though this is, to a certain extent, a perversion of the passage, and that, too, to a good and useful purpose, yet nothing is more dangerous than to strain a text of Scripture beyond its legitimate bearing. All the evil consequences which follow from an argument which *proves too much*, are sure to follow; and when the discovery is made that the text does not prove all that the reader so long supposed it did, a reaction sets in, and the text which was once used to prove, and which in reality does prove, a great deal, is thrown aside as proving nothing. The text alluded to above is an instance in point. It is generally quoted in complete forgetfulness of the facts, that the words were addressed to *Jews*, that they might obtain testimony to the Messiahship of Christ, and that "the Scriptures" meant the Old Testament only. Had St. John's Gospel been printed without division into verses, the text would most probably have been applied to its legitimate object; it would have been regarded with a view to the circumstances under which it was uttered, but as it now stands, the Christian world regard it as a pithy, sententious declaration of God's will concerning our obligation to examine the whole Bible.

The imperceptible influence which the verse system exercises on most readers is strengthened by the fact, that rules of universal application, and plain, decisive assertions, *are*, for the most part, given in detached verses. "As ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them;" "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth;" these, and such like texts, are of universal application, independent of the context. The Bible abounds with so many of these passages, which become familiar to the mind, assuming the character of proverbs, that the superficial reader begins to attach to every verse the same oracular and independent import. Verses come to be considered, not as de-

pendent sentences in the history or discourse, but as so many distinct by-laws of the sacred authors. It is also worth considering how far the love of being able to produce a laconic reply in support or refutation of some Scriptural topic, may combine with the distaste felt by so many to follow out a chain of reasoning, and thus tempt men to rest contented with an armory of texts, instead of a treasury of ideas. It is this temptation which prompts some persons to base the claims of the Christian Sabbath on the first clause of the fourth Commandment. The words, "remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," is such a succinct, definite and authoritative verse, that it is much easier to quote it than to follow the line of argument, by which we may prove from Scripture that the Christian Sabbath has the sanction of Inspiration. And thus the Fourth Commandment will be urged as the law under which we observe Sunday, even by those who admit that we neither keep the same day, nor the same description of Sabbath, that was prescribed to the Jews. Again, from childhood, Christians are instructed by means of verses; nor perhaps can this be avoided; but unfortunately verses learned in childhood by rote, insensibly obtain an oracular power over the mind of the adult. Many of these texts operate beneficially, but others injuriously; chiefly those which relate to matters of doctrine; so that we cannot be too careful in our selection of those verses which we oblige the young to commit to memory.

It would be almost needless to prove how much the meaning of Scripture is affected by punctuation. Now, though the words of the Bible in the original tongue are the offspring of inspiration, the punctuation, which is often the key-stone to the sense, is the work of uninspired men, and of comparatively recent invention. The early MSS. contain no such marks as our commas and colons, which did not come into use until the eighth century. When, then, we consider that the chapters are divided into so many separate verses, without much attention to punctuation, while each verse is made to commence with a capital letter, can we wonder if multitudes of superficial readers either mistake the sense, or regard every verse as an independent law, having no more connection with its neighbor than one of the commandments has with the other nine. We have a remarkable instance of the manner in which the verse system has caused complete misapprehension of the writers' meaning, in Col. ii, 21; the words, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," have been often quoted as forbidding the indulgence of the senses of touch and taste on inspired authority; whereas the words are used by the Apostle to

exemplify those ordinances which the Colossians were *not* to regard. Had those words been included in the foregoing verse, or had a (viz) been inserted, there could have been no difficulty in ascertaining the meaning. Again, in the twelfth verse of the same chapter, the words "Buried with him in baptism" are as closely connected with the preceding verse as can possibly be, but as the verses now stand, many fail to see the analogy drawn by the Apostle between baptism and circumcision, and lose the force of the argument in favor of infant baptism, which may be derived from the fact that St. Paul calls baptism, *Christian circumcision*.

But the number of places in which the context is mystified, or altogether ignored on account of the false impressions excited by the verse system, are so great that it would be a tedious task to enumerate them, though he would render theology a valuable service who should give to the world a complete list of those passages. It was, probably, the convenience of having at hand such short themes for sermons, such as verses supply, that induced the Clergy originally to take single verses for their subject of consideration in their discourses, but unquestionably the habit of founding long addresses on single texts has, besides other evils, propagated the error of attaching undue importance to isolated sentences of the inspired Volume. The mass of Christians having been taught to consider all Scripture as given by inspiration of God, by which they understand every verse, one equally with another, and perceiving that the Clergy almost invariably use but one verse to inculcate or forbid any subject in hand, at last begin to think any one verse, without reference to its connection, as decisive authority. Should a person possessed of this idea, get hold of a verse which seems to him a plain command or admonition, or which, by a little accommodation he can make such, there is at once a foundation laid for undying prejudice, verses which explain or modify the text in question being perhaps unlooked for, or unheeded. Again, the influence exercised by proverbs on the mind of man is great and lasting. Now, if Scripture verses through repetition, or any of those causes alluded to above, become proverbial, how great is the danger, lest those texts be selected for the purpose which derive their meaning from, or are, in a great degree, neutralized by other texts! Unless the signification of the verse is complete, "*in se teres atque rotundus*," it will produce all the bad effects of a false proverb. And when, besides this danger, we reflect on the tendency of human nature to select one-sided assertions, and the great probability that the same texts will

not become favorites with all, or even a majority, in any Christian family or congregation, it seems absolutely necessary to call attention to the influential character of verses, as such ; and to warn the reader of the Bible against the mistake of practically interpreting St. Paul's Epistles after the same manner as the Proverbs of Solomon.

We conscientiously believe, that reform, such as we have suggested, in the *printing*, and not in the translation of the Bible, is the one thing needful ; and that no perfection in textual revision, or translation, will be satisfactory, so long as the Bible continues to be arbitrarily divided into sentences without regard to the meaning. For these reasons we hail with pleasure the publication of Annotated Paragraph Bibles, such as are now constantly issuing from the English Press ; and we feel convinced that they will do much to supply the Christian community with every advantage that its advocates expect to derive from a re-translation.

ART. III.—GENTLENESS A CHIEF ELEMENT IN MINISTERIAL SUCCESS.

IN the conduct of the CHURCH REVIEW we have not hesitated to discuss old themes as well as new; for the ever-shifting variety of circumstances makes it necessary, oftentimes, to consider well-established principles in their application to the emergencies of the day.

We have placed no book-title at the head of this Article; and yet our theme is suggested by many a passage scattered here and there in the popular Church books and Newspapers of the present time. In many instances we are happy to observe the courtesy with which error is opposed, the pains taken to conciliate those of the contrary part, and the delicacy exhibited in the choice of words and phrases which may not wound: but *per contra*, in some books and sermons and editorials we wot of, the writers seem to labor hard to make themselves and their principles odious and repulsive. Under the plea of honesty and truth, good men are tempted into wrongheadedness and rudeness: many a minister whose mature experience has taught him the power of persuasion, looks back with half a smile and half a sigh to his youthful efforts to "conquer a peace."

We purpose in this Article to dwell upon the thought, that *a spirit of gentleness and kind consideration for the prejudices and infirmities of men is a chief element in the successful conduct of the ministry*; and to suggest some departments of ministerial labor in which such gentleness deserves specially to be cultivated.

1. *Beginning with that which constitutes the chief Office of the Gospel Ministry, we observe, that gentleness should be used in calling sinners to repentance.*

It is evident that the ambassador of Christ will be successful in proportion as he has caught the spirit and reflects the views of the Holy One by whom he is commissioned. Now in the pages of Revelation, authority is everywhere tempered with kindness, and with consideration for those to whom it is addressed. Its first endeavor is to revive man's confidence in the good will of his Creator. To assure him that miserable and sinful though he be, he is not forgotten nor despised of God. It finds him prone upon the earth and before it utters in his ear the solemn accusation and the dreadful sentence, it

infuses some life into his frame; it sets him at least upon his knees and upon the palms of his hands. It bids him not to despise himself, for he is a most considerable creature, to effect whose safety a mighty scheme has been devised that has run parallel with time and is commensurate with the universe. It assures him the issue of his trial is looked for with intense anxiety by all the host of Heaven, and that his ruin, if he must yet be ruined, will be regarded by them as a most mournful and terrible catastrophe.

When men were weariest and most disheartened, the Captain of our Salvation stepped down into the ranks of humanity, took our burden upon Himself and bare it bravely before us. He marched with us and as one of us, animating us with kindly words and with assurances of present aid and final victory. The good Samaritan not only poured wine and oil into the wounds of the fainting traveler, but he "set him on his own beast;" he gave every advantage to the afflicted one, and selected as his own, the roughest and weariest of the way.

Our Lord had to contend with ignorance and stupidity; His sacred teachings were often interrupted with frivolous objections, with captious and vexatious questions. Yet was He ever gentle. The ignorant He instructed by illustrations level to their capacities. The scorner's pride aroused grief, not anger. "He was grieved because of the hardness of their hearts." With care He removed each reasonable misconception; with silence He endured such as were willful and malicious. He came to a world of sinners and at once assured them, "I am not ashamed to call you brethren." Sometimes He did but utter a word and unseen ministers executed His will; but when He found a leper, one more than others diseased and avoided, the mere word would not suffice; He went near and laid His hand upon such an one: He must needs touch him in recognition of a common humanity.

"The meekness and gentleness of Christ." These are the great arguments of the Gospel. If the hammer of the Law do sometimes break the stony heart in pieces, much oftener is it thawed and melted by the thought that Jesus loved His enemies, and wept over those who would not heed His warnings.

With such an example, our duty is plain. Sin-sick men are around us, and the Gospel remedy is in our hands. Yet what will this avail, unless men will be persuaded to accept it and to apply it to themselves? It is no hardship that we are required to be patient with the wayward; to repeat unheeded instructions, within certain limits, to accommodate ourselves to the prejudices of our people.

We do not claim that gentleness alone is a full description of the man of God: for gentleness itself degenerates into cowardice, when we forget to warn and to rebuke with boldness and authority. Yet is the utmost degree of ministerial fidelity consistent with that spirit which seeks for the softer tones of speech: which tells the truth, but not harshly nor without discrimination of characters.

We dare not hope so to warn, as not sometimes to offend. Better that men should say of us, "I hate him for he doth not prophesy good concerning me but evil," than that they should praise us as liberal and unobtrusive men.

But that word *faithfulness* has been greatly abused. We are not faithful, but most unfaithful to our cause, when we invest it with unnecessary offense: when we lay rude hands upon men's holiest hopes and most anxious fears, and without one sign of pity or compunction hurl upon them the anathemas of a violated Law. We may speak the truth with singular distinctness, and with argument irresistible; while by standing aloof, as it were, from our hearers, by a demeanor unsubdued and uncompassionating, we sever all the links of sympathy, and fill the minds of those whom we address with bitterness and desperation.

But when the Preacher feels himself to be in the same condemnation and speaks as a sinner to brother-sinners; when like some shipwrecked mariner just snatched from death, he stands trembling and panting on the shore, and points his comrades, still struggling amid the breakers, to the means of safety; while compassion warms the heart and trembles on the tongue; or when he comes to the sinner offended at his cross, and bowing by his side, tells him it is indeed a burden—speaks to him encouragingly—bids him brush away that tear and then up with it like a man and bear it after Christ: the sinner finds it hard to resist such importunity; his pride is not alarmed at the semblance of dictation, and he respects the counselor, even if he rejects the counsel.

It would not be difficult to present many beautiful illustrations of the principle for which we are contending. The name of the beloved disciple would well begin the list of gentle spirits, and grace it, too. Leighton, and Legh Richmond, and Henry Martyn, were eminent disciples in that school. In the American Church, there never lived a more gentle-hearted man than the late Bishop Moore, of Virginia. We well remember him, standing with trembling form and silvery locks, by the remains of one cut down in the bloom of youth, and calling upon the survivors to attend to wisdom's voice.

"Often," said he, "have I been summoned to the house of mourning, and mother and sisters have paused in their tears to ask, Oh, sir, is my son, is my brother happy and at rest? And all I could tell them, was, 'My dear children, he has gone to a just and merciful God, who will do what is right.'" "And oh," continued he, lifting his tearful eyes to Heaven, "it almost breaks your old Bishop's heart to think that presently some of you may die, and this poor comfort be all that he can give to the weeping ones around your coffin."

It is true that age and office give much effectiveness to such an appeal, but its tenderness is more effective still. Men have an instinct, by which they discern when we really love their persons and care for their souls: and this voice of gentle entreaty, drowned it may be for a season by the turmoil of passion, will yet in after days breathe like the whisper wind into the still chamber of the soul, and steal sweet and mournful harmony from the shattered chords that had long refused to sound.

We do insist, then, that harsh and violent denunciation is not the language wherein we should address the impenitent; that frozen hearts are not to be melted by an elaborate display of the horrors of eternal death. We believe that in many portions of our country the religious sensibility of the people has actually been worn out by the style of preaching fashionable in some denominations. The sinful man knows what he has to expect: his air is defiant, and seems to say, "Convince me, shame me, frighten me, if you can."

But let a congregation be accustomed to a gentle and persuasive address—and it is wonderful how a word or two of rebuke will startle and sting them—and when occasionally the preacher rises with his theme, and, not deliberately and in cold blood, but in the natural following out of his deepest convictions proclaims how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, and depicts the shame, the wretchedness, the speechless sorrow of the sinner at the Judgment—the very contrast will have its power, and men will appreciate the evil of that sin which demands such language from lips consecrated to utter words of peace and love.

2. *Gentleness is needed in administering the discipline of the Church.*

The Minister of the Church stands pledged not only "to minister the doctrine and Sacraments, and the discipline of Christ," but also "to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole within his cure, as need shall require and occasion shall be given." It

is thus made a most important part of his duty, to preserve the Church from the opprobrium of evil livers, and to promote the utmost holiness of all its members. Nor are circumstances wanting which demand special fidelity in this part of the Priestly Office. It is vain to conceal the fact, that during those long years when the Church in this country was practically without a Bishop, and so without a Judge to whom offenders were amenable, its discipline was most imperfect; so that the same hand sometimes took without remorse, the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils.

And although the Church has long since put away the reproach of her widowhood; although we fear not as we invite not comparison with any religious society in purity of life and practice; yet who does not perceive that there is a tradition very generally prevalent and very assiduously propagated, that in our view, the holiness required of a Christian is nothing more than a refined morality—a decent conformity to certain outward forms and rules. Nay, even where the Gospel trumpet rings out the clearest tones—where our people are most quiet and diligent and abstemious and charitable, we must still bear with the unjust and oft-repeated insinuation, that ours is all lip service—a religion without crosses or privations. The errors of individuals are viewed without allowance, and considered to be fair illustrations of the Church's system.

Besides, then, the duty we owe to the individual, a just regard to the prosperity of the Church demands, that we be very diligent in guarding our people from all evil and from all appearance of evil. And in order to ensure purity and holiness among them, we are taught to rely upon gentleness rather than severity: upon the influence of a pastor, rather than the authority of a judge.

We know how sensitive men are under anything like dictation, how different is the obedience of love from that of fear; how the pride of office has lead even Christian ministers to acts of oppression, and how the exclusion of a man from the privileges of the Church on earth, and his separation from the society of the faithful, is an act of no small moment, and if rightly done, is ratified in Heaven. In view of all these things, we may discern the wisdom of the Church in making suspension from the Holy Communion, the very last resort; in affixing that penalty to such acts alone as shall clearly demonstrate that the offender is reckless of his sacred vows and sinning willfully against the truth.

But there are offenses whose character is not so apparent, to which we may not be indifferent. Without being guilty of

slander or falsehood, or dishonesty or dissoluteness; without neglecting the Word and Sacraments; a man may evince an indifference to holy things, a looseness of views, a degree of frivolity and worldliness, which make us stand greatly in doubt of him, and which reflect no small injury upon the body of which he is a member. To restore such an one we must use, and we have nothing else to use, but doctrine and exhortation taken out of Holy Scripture, and administered with gentleness and compassion.

Many difficulties meet us here. Reproof is an unpleasant medicine, and the aversion excited by it is very apt to extend to him who administers it. Men are prone to raise all manner of side-issues; to complain that we are over-rigid in our views, partial perhaps, or actuated by some dislike or sinister motive; more zealous over others than we are over ourselves; that we presume upon our Office and desire to abridge their rightful liberties. This truth-telling is an ungrateful office. When we probe men's wounds with steady hand, they often think that our hearts must be hard and pitiless. They little know that to speak offensive truth is the severest trial of Christian affection and of Ministerial fidelity.

But sympathy and Christian gentleness can overcome all these difficulties. Cold homilies delivered from the lofty chair of superior virtue, do anger men, and alienate them from us and make them hate the truth. But when we come to them with the holy arts of conciliation, and evince a readiness to make all reasonable allowance, when in our speech we show plainness without pride, and affection without affectation, the words come from the heart to the heart; and our brother, although mortified, wounded and deeply hurt, our brother is gained.

Pointed rebukes in sermons are exceedingly offensive; for there is the shame of a public exposure. Written words are cold and liable to be misunderstood. But when we seek out an erring member of the flock alone, and look him in the face, these evils are avoided; the tone of the voice and the expression of the eye do more avail to assure him that we come in a spirit of kindness, than many professions of esteem and affection.

It is well for the Clergyman to remember that he cannot always appreciate the trials of other people. He whose study lies in holy things can hardly allow for the temptations of a man whose thoughts are necessarily engrossed with worldly cares and business; still less can educated men, whose reputation is dear to them, allow for those whose pleasures are all

sensual, and who have not been taught to set so great value upon character.

A certain Minister, whose modesty would be shocked were he particularly designated, has labored many years among an illiterate population, and built up a large congregation. On one occasion, a brother Clergyman called him somewhat humorously to account for the severity of his discipline; no man's report to the Convention exhibited so many suspensions from the Communion and restorations to it; "your people," said his interrogator, "seem to be always getting out of the fold and getting back again."

The man of discipline admitted that the facts were even so; "but," added he, in explanation, "when the members of your city churches get out of the way and are deceived by the tempter, they sin genteelly; their religious declension is exhibited in stinginess, luxury, frivolity or back-biting; their offenses are not gross or definable in terms of law; and so you can only admonish them. But among my poor people, the temptation is to sins not refined nor genteel; to quarrels, to occasional intemperance, to petty acts of dishonesty. It is not half so strange to my people as it is to yours, to find St. Paul writing to *saints*, 'Lie not one to another, brethren;' 'let him that stole steal no more.' And although I dare not palliate these errors, or suffer them to go unpunished, yet I am by no means certain, that in a just judgment, these men of humble condition are not as sincere and honest, as those whose social position has taught them to use more propriety and self-restraint."

The justice of these considerations must be admitted; and we have need to remember that an act which, committed by a man of intelligence and education, would argue dishonesty of purpose, may in another admit of a milder judgment.

3. *We must exercise gentleness in explaining and defending the Doctrines and Worship of the Church.*

Some have questioned the propriety of introducing these topics among the instructions of the pulpit; but many have little choice in the matter. They perform the Service of the Church to congregations who are ignorant of its very name. In some parts of our country the Prayer Book is a mystery, and our practices an innovation upon all that has been heard or known. The people ask with Athenian curiosity, "May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest is? for thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean." We cannot choose but meet such reasonable demands; nay, more, sad experience

teaches us, that Apostolic Order is so intimately connected with evangelical truth, that when one is lost the other has received the most grievous wounds.

Before we can persuade men to come to this hospital for sinners, (and such the Church is, after all,) we must first satisfy them that it is not a place of pestilence and gloom; we must throw wide open its corridors and halls, and show that its servants are diligently engaged in applying the remedies of the good Physician. Men may know that we extend to them the water of life, but they will not accept it at our hands, so long as they suspect that it has flown through a poisoned and polluted channel.

In no part of our work have we greater need of that sympathy which allows for ignorance and prejudice, which accommodates itself to each man's disposition and casts about for arguments the least offensive to his pride. This consideration for others, may well guide us in the *order* of presenting Church doctrines. We do not use the word *economy*, because, however expressive in itself, it has been used to denote something very different from what we urge. We do not urge concealment. No: there is no part of our Creed which we should not be willing to proclaim upon the house-top. However ungrateful be the precept, we may not hesitate to avow it frankly whenever enquiry is made; and such a course ever induces confidence in our sincerity and candor.

Our message is, however, one of very large compass, and requires time for its delivery. While there are certain principal things which should form the staple of our sermons, there are numerous particulars which we are allowed to introduce and weave in with prudence and discretion. A certain doctrine presented to an uninstructed people, may utterly disgust them and estrange them from us; while by more gentle approaches, by reasoning from something which they already believe, and taking them a step at a time, this identical doctrine, otherwise so offensive, will appear to them reasonable and just.

Great deference is due to the circumstances in which we stand. The Church, in many parts of the United States, is late in the field. The ground is pre-occupied. The entire order and routine of the Church Service is in striking contrast with all to which the people have been accustomed. It is hardly to be desired that men should yield their religious prejudices with facility; in that case how fearful would be the power of the fanatic or the impostor! We cannot expect in a year or two to repair the neglect of a century, or that men will yield their long-cherished convictions at our simple affirmation.

It does not become us, then, to dogmatize, or treat with indignity or levity, the opinions of those around us. We are persuaded that many a Minister of zeal and energy, and honest spirit, has defeated his efforts to build up the Church, not by telling the truth, but by neglecting to consider the feelings and prejudices of a community, and to order his topics with reference to these. Thus we may be defending the use of a Surplice, or of the Cross in Baptism, or of a green wreath upon our walls at Christmas, when, all the time, there is a deep-rooted suspicion that these things constitute our religion. Whereas, once persuaded that we believe firmly and utter plainly the distinctive principles of the Gospel, and men will be readily convinced of the propriety and beauty of what were otherwise deemed superstition and folly.

A like consideration for the feelings of others should guide us in our *manner* of presenting Church doctrines. It needs not, in order to win submission to the Church, to place ourselves in a position of direct *antagonism* to systems by which we are surrounded. We may effect far more by looking out for points which we hold in common, and building our conclusions upon these. This holds good with Christianity itself. "The peculiar glory of what we in Christ possess consists not in this, that it is unlike anything else—the cold denial and contradiction of all that men have been dreaming of through the different ages of the world; but rather the sweet reconciliation and exquisite harmony of all past thoughts, anticipations and revelations. Its prerogative is, that all whereof men had a troubled dream before, did in Him become a waking reality—that what men were devising, and most inadequately for themselves, God has perfectly given us in His Son."

Mr. Trench, from whom we have taken this passage, has, in his Hulsean Lectures, expanded this idea into a direct and formal proof of the truth of Christianity. That it is the complement of a need long and deeply felt: that it is the embodiment of a Divine idea, to which man has labored in vain to give form and expression.

It was thus that St. Paul became a Jew to the Jews, and a Gentile to the Gentiles. To the Jew, he presented the Gospel as the substance of shadows held by him in esteem and veneration. To the Gentile, that same Gospel was presented as the revelation of truths intimated by his own Poets, as the clear transcript of a law whose great features were already faintly written on his conscience.

The altar erected at Athens to the unknown God, afforded him an opportunity which he gladly embraced, to present them

with his doctrine; not as something directly opposed to their religion, but as something well calculated to satisfy the deep and earnest yearnings of their souls after a God worthy of their homage—which yearning their religion had left unsatisfied.

Now, it is in our power oftentimes, to present the doctrines and practices of the Church, as subserving purposes which are aimed at, although imperfectly attained by modern institutions; and one unwilling to be persuaded that he is altogether wrong, will heed us when we show unto him a more excellent way. Every society of human origin has been founded with the view of maintaining some one truth, or set of truths: indeed, this is the error of schism, that it breaks up the harmony of Christian doctrine, until through want of proportion its beauty and excellence are lost. Now, the wise helmsman will avail himself of every wind, so far as it is consistent with the course he has to steer. And we may greatly promote our work by acknowledging the goodness of a principle, even while we show that it has been misdirected and marred in the application.

Many illustrations of this principle might be given. The “Glory” and the “Amen,” so often heard in a Methodist assembly, do but evidence a yearning on the part of the people, for that liberty of response so well provided for by the Church. The Choral Songs are in the place of our venerable Chants. The protracted meeting is a substitute for Lent. The summons to the Altar is but a call to confirm the Baptismal vow, and to procure the prayers of the faithful for the young soldier in Christ. The Class Meeting is a substitute for that free and unreserved communication which the Church advises between a people and their Pastor, for the quieting of conscience and the removing of doubts.

In all these instances we may show that there is a common want—point out the deficiencies of the means used to supply it, and prove that the Church of the Fathers was right, after all. The reverence paid to Wesley’s writings and known opinions, is but the admission of that very opinion for which we contend, viz: that in the interpretation of Scripture, our judgment should be greatly guided and assisted by authority and tradition. Primitive Methodism stands in the place of Primitive Christianity; and Wesley, Clarke, and Asbury occupy the room of the Catholic Fathers.

In the stress laid by another sect upon immersion, we see a principle, just in itself, and which admitted, will serve as a foundation to build upon; that the Sacraments should be ad-

ministered just as our Lord ordained them, and that men have no right to alter His institutions.

In the frequent communion and the acknowledgment of "one Baptism for the remission of sins," as practiced among the followers of Campbell, we may note how reformation after reformation brings men back again to the point from which they started. In fine, a familiar acquaintance with the Confession of Faith, will enable us to show the Presbyterian that upon the points now most seriously controverted in Church doctrine—Ministerial Succession; the Power of the Keys; Baptismal Regeneration; Christian Nurture; the Spiritual Presence in the Eucharist—his Fathers and ours stood side by side.

It is no surrender of the truth thus to deal with men as we find them, and to avail ourselves of any opening we can fairly make. Nor can we discharge our duty to the Church of God, until we have done all that in us lies, with candor and honesty, to present her to the community in the most attractive point of view. How inexcusable must we be, if through harshness or carelessness—if in the indulgence of a whim or notion of our own, we drive away from the Church those who by persuasion and prudence might have been induced to seek a shelter in her courts!

This considerate regard to the prejudices of the community in which we are, is specially necessary in pressing the importance of Sacraments. These, we find, are grievously neglected. It is by no means unusual to find members of Christian societies habitually partaking of their Communion, who are unbaptized, and who suffer large families of children to grow up around them unbaptized. The fact, then, that we urge the importance of using the Sacraments, serves of itself to excite the suspicion that we attribute to them an inherent saving efficacy: the use of expressions elsewhere understood, will deepen this conviction, and fill our hearers with doubt as to the soundness of our faith.

Troublesome as it may be thus to guard our speech, we need always to be careful to declare that we urge them as Duties, as Means, as Signs, as Seals, but not as Saviours: as duties most plainly enjoined; as means sanctified and set apart by God Himself; as signs through which we make the confession of a perfect faith and an assurance of God's pardoning love and tender mercy. But to urge them in an isolated manner, without the distinct affirmation that they are profitable to those alone who rightly use them, is to do injustice to our cause, and to ask an unreasonable degree of indulgence from our hearers.

The same caution is necessary to be used in our teachings upon the subject of experimental Religion. When we declare, as we ought to do most plainly, that the routine of the altar and the anxious bench is a most unwarrantable addition to the conditions of pardon set out in the Gospel, men are easily induced to believe that we deny or keep out of view the necessity of conversion. We can hardly be too careful and too distinct in affirming that men, in order to be saved, must not merely reform their lives, and submit to outward ordinances, but must be renewed in the spirit of their minds. Compelled, as we are, to deny that Religion consists in transports and ecstasies, we are often misunderstood as teaching a system in which the emotions have no part whatever: a system devoid of inward peace and joy and comfort. We must therefore be at pains to show, that while the Church teaches that our Christian character is to be known by self-examination, and not by sensation, she also teaches that love, and joy, and peace, are among the fruits of the Spirit, that the *Sursum Corda* which from remotest antiquity has formed a part of her ritual, is no formal and unmeaning exclamation.

To dwell no longer upon particulars, our system is not cold, and dull, and metaphysical. It is instinct with life, eminently practical, and abounds with a most pleasing variety of forms and symbols. There is something in the Prayer Book that will suit almost every man, and that something should be first presented him. A gentle spirit will lead us to approach him from that quarter where his pride and prejudice are least apt to take alarm, and so to avoid forcing him into an attitude of hostility.

In conclusion of this whole subject, it seems that the Minister of Christ should seek to establish the kindest personal relations with those among whom he ministers, and to avail himself of his personal influence to restrain them from evil, and incite them to good. It is a great mistake indeed, to make attachment to the Pastor the cohesive principle in a congregation, and to urge it as a chief motive of action. Instances can be found where from over-much reliance on this power, and from a neglect to ground men in the principles of the Church, sad revulsions have occurred. When the individual man departed, his works soon began to crumble and fall to ruin. Such instances tempt others to disdain the holy arts of conciliation—to rely on law, authority and ministerial prerogative. They have a right to shear the wolf, and they will shear him.

The example of St. Paul may teach us to avoid both of these errors. Should any suspect that such gentleness as this

is inconsistent with manly independence, or with ministerial fidelity, let the life of this holy man exhibit the injustice of such suspicions. He knew how to assert his dignity as a Roman citizen, and his authority as Christ's Apostle. He could speak with such holy boldness, that guilty rulers trembled at his words, and sinful men blushed to look upon the faithful portrait of their vices. And yet, he would rather win by gentleness, than rule by authority. He would never awaken, but rather soothe that element of resistance in human nature which once aroused so blinds the reason and closes up the heart. Even when he "might be much bold in Christ, to enjoin that which is convenient," yet would he "for love's sake rather beseech, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ."

His own practice well exemplified his precept: "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle toward all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth."

ART. IV.—POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE FUTURE.

1. *The Principles of Political Economy applied to the condition, the resources and the Institutions of the American People.* By FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard College. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 546.
2. *National System of Political Economy.* By FREDERICK LIST. Translated from the German by G. A. MATILE, Doctor of Civil Law; late Professor of Law at Neuchatel; Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Including the Notes of the French Translation, by HENRI RICHELLOT, &c. With a Preliminary Essay and Notes, by STEPHEN COLWELL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 8vo. pp. 497. 1856.
3. *Knowledge is Power: A view of the Productive Forces of Modern Society and the results of labor, capital and skill.* By CHARLES KNIGHT, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 503. 1856.
4. *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing and Commercial.* By HENRY C. CAREY, &c. Second Edition. New York: Myron Finch. 8vo. pp. 229. 1856.
5. *Money: Essays from Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review.* By HENRY C. CAREY. 8vo. pp. 59.

To the above named list of books on the subject of Political Economy, many more might be added, as having appeared within a very short period; enough to show that the subject of which they treat is one of the deepest interest and highest importance in this age; if not enough to show, likewise, that its principles are not yet considered as altogether and satisfactorily settled; and that the science itself—if science it can yet be called—is undergoing most important modifications.

Never was the public mind in so great a ferment on the great problems involved in the department of knowledge and science, which has come to be designated by the title of POLITICAL ECONOMY. There is, indeed, an important sense in which it may be called the theology of our age; for beyond all past precedent or experience is this age devoted to money-making and mammon worship; and Political Economy is the science

of that cultus. It professes to teach how to acquire, how to keep, and how to expend wealth with the greatest success, and for the production of the greatest amount of physical well-being and of happiness, so far as happiness can be promoted by physical conditions and considerations, both for the community or State, and for the persons separately and individually of which the State is made up.

But it is not for this reason—nor for any considerations which arise out of and terminate in man's physical well-being and temporal condition alone—that we feel disposed to occupy to even a very limited extent the pages of our Review. Political Economy presents us with questions far graver in their import and pregnant with issues of far more momentous importance to the future of society and of the condition and fortunes of man, than the mere possession of a little more or a little less of the means to procure the comforts and luxuries of this life. Among all the writers on this subject, no one with whom we are acquainted seems to have realized this fact so fully as Mr. Carey, some of whose works we have named at the head of this Article. Nor does any one seem to have written with so hopeful and so humane and so cheering a view of the future.

The pursuit of wealth, if not essentially and universally a selfish pursuit, is, nevertheless, so nearly related to selfishness, and places one in such a dangerous proximity to that polluting gangrene of the moral nature of man, that but few if any escape the effects of its poisoning virus; and the most of those engaged in its pursuit are more or less estranged thereby from holiness, and all the finer and nobler feelings of humanity. And many are completely absorbed and lost. Doubtless industry is the duty of all. In like manner frugality and economy—by which one can produce from his earnings the means of support to himself and family—are most sacred duties; and the right to property, by which, what one has thus honestly acquired and saved, shall be secured to him and his exclusive use and control forever, is one of the most sacred rights of man and indispensable to the very existence of society. But the duty of acquiring and holding is always, and of inevitable necessity, in direct contrariety to the duty of that alms-giving and compassion which would expend in the relief of distress and for the benefit of others—that which one might otherwise keep for himself and his own behoof. Disguise it as we may and palliate it by whatever euphuistic name we can find or invent, the naked fact stands out undenied and undeniable, that no man ever yet became or can ever become rich without hold-

ing on to and laying by for himself and his own use that which, if it had been given in religion and charity, would have been, under God, the means of converting souls perishing [eternally] in heathenism, or of relieving the distress of a brother or a sister in Christ, who was suffering from want and privation which no fault of their own had brought upon them. This conflict between self and others is unceasing in the bosom of him who is acquiring wealth—whether he keep and hoards it or distributes it in gratuitous generosity to supply the wants and necessities of others. Nor can it be avoided or ended except in that heartlessness of extortion and miserly hoarding, when every impulse of humanity and religion has become extinct.

Still, however, the acquisition—or rather the creation, the conservation and the distribution and consumption of wealth—whether for the purpose of selfish aggrandizement, enjoyment and vanity, or for the purpose of benevolence, of charity and of religion, is a pursuit that does, and of necessity must, occupy the bodily energies and the mental application of a large part of the human race—the thoughts and the acts, the heads and the hearts (if they have any) of all persons at some time in their life, and of most persons at all times. And it has been felt by the thoughtful and philanthropic in all ages—that the progress of humanity, the attainment of any great advance in virtue, in intelligence and in civil and religious freedom, is most intimately connected with, if not absolutely dependent upon the solution of certain of the great and fundamental problems of Political Economy; such as an increased facility in the production of a supply for the rational wants of man, a more equitable distribution of the products of labor and a wiser economy in the consumption of those products, for the purposes for which the labor itself was undertaken and performed.

We speak of man as a free being—and morally and individually he is so—free far enough to constitute him the responsible author of his own acts and to place in his own hands, his guilt or his innocence before God and the final salvation or the final loss of his own soul. And yet his freedom is but a limited freedom. He is free only within a circumscribed sphere. Physically his freedom is confined within limits which are quite narrow when compared with the possibilities among which his acts might be conceived as varying. He cannot fly in the air as do the birds if he would. Nor can he conveniently crawl like the viper and the reptile. He might walk upon all fours, but it would be awkward, ungraceful, and by

no means expeditious. He cannot dispense with the clothing which costs labor and care, and surround himself with furs or feathers. Neither wool nor down will grow at his bidding, however sheepish or goose-like he may make himself in disposition and character. And so metaphysically also the control which he has over his thoughts and actions, is limited. He cannot think or believe except under certain laws and conditions. He cannot believe that two and two are four, or that an object before his eyes is of a color or a shape other and different from what his senses report it to be. The first great principles of morals—that truth ought to be spoken if we speak at all—that justice ought to be done—that benevolence ought to pervade and regulate all our actions, are equally beyond his control. He may disregard these principles in act; but he cannot deny them in thought, the very constitution of his nature surrounds his activity and hedges it in within the differentia of humanity. That differentia he can never pass so as to become one of the brute species around him—an angel above or a demon below. As man he was born, as man he must live—as man, whether a good or a bad one, is indeed within his choice—but as man, good or bad, he must pass the time allotted him for his earthly career; as man he must die, and as man, and to meet man's accountability, he must stand before the judgment seat of God, and be judged according to the deeds done in the body.

But besides those limits to man's free-acting, which exist in the very constitution of his nature, he is also acted upon and moulded to a very great extent by circumstances and influences around him. As poor and defenseless, without the protection of equal laws he will become abject and servile, without self-respect and dignity, deceitful and sycophantic. Placed in a situation of wealth and independence—a situation of aristocracy and domination—he will become proud, haughty, self-willed, insolent and selfish—exceedingly courteous and overflowing with kind words and acts towards his equals or superiors, it may be, but heartless, hardened and unrelenting towards those who are in a servile and dependent position. Exceptions of course there are and always will be. But such are the general and prevalent characteristics of any class of men when placed for a few generations in the conditions we have described. And we might go on to specify a large number of well marked combinations of circumstances in which classes of persons are or have been placed—where these circumstances exert a controlling and determining influence upon the general character of the population; and from a

knowledge of which we could predict that character with about as much certainty and precision, as from a knowledge of the principles of astronomy we can predict the position of a planet or the occurrence of an eclipse.

Now all these influences and combinations and classes of influences, fall within the scope of Political Economy ; they are the forces which determine the movements, the progress, or the retrogressions of society. They limit the possibilities of its attainments and realizations, and form the rock-ribbed barriers within which all schemes of philanthropy, practical benevolence and social reforms must move, and beyond which they can produce no results. Even Christianity itself comes in rather to modify individual character, than to change existing institutions—"to pluck him and them as brands from the burning," rather than to quench the conflagration. Open and avowed polygamy it has condemned—but it, or rather Church authorities, have tolerated concubinage and *cicisbeism*. Idolatry it has condemned, but yet pietism and image-worship, not to say saint-worship, amounting almost if not quite to idolatry, have been long and generally prevalent within Christendom. Notwithstanding the declaration, "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God"—rich and poor remain, as classes, as distinct and as widely separated as ever. Nor has the relation of master and servant, owner and slave, ceased under the doctrine of universal love and condescension taught in the Gospel. It is true that polygamy, adultery and idolatry are expressly condemned by the Scriptures. But beyond some few elements of a corrupt and a corrupting Society like those mentioned, Christianity aims rather to deliver its followers and disciples from the evil that is *in* the institutions that may prevail in Society, than to change the institutions themselves. It enables the lordly noble to be humble, humane, and a servant of servants, even using authority for the good of others, and making his whole life as did his Lord and Master, a sacrifice for his fellow men. It enables the poor to become rich towards God, and the servant to respect himself as one for whom Christ died. But in all this, it changes the inward condition and disposition of the individual rather than the external features and institutions of Society.

It is a grave question and by no means one that is so easily settled as many in our day seem to suppose—What is that condition and constitution of Society in which Christianity is likely to do its work of converting, sanctifying and saving souls, the most effectually ? Beyond a doubt idolatry, polyga-

my and concubinage cannot be included as elements in such a state of Society. And yet we have been repeatedly told by the most reliable observers and students of such things, that in Paris and many other of the larger continental cities, there is no class of persons who are *apparently* so devout, and in all else so proper and decorous in their deportment as the more respectable class of prostitutes. But such considerations aside, we may remark that it is much easier to answer our main question negatively than affirmatively. All of our present indications, and we may add all past history, seem very clearly to show that that state and constitution of Society in which man's material prosperity (and we fear we must add his civil liberty also) are best provided for and secured, is not that in which there will be the greatest amount of earnest, Christian Faith and of sincere obedience to the known will of God. Increased facilities for the acquisition of wealth are found likely to increase worldliness and irreligion, more rapidly than the means for worldly enjoyment, aggrandizement and luxury. Hence the more people have and the more rapidly they are acquiring property, the farther are they from being satisfied, and the less of time do they feel disposed to devote to purposes of personal religion. Money they may give freely, but themselves, their hearts and minds are engrossed in their affairs. So, too, with any increase of civil liberty, and the prevalence of popular education; the abuse of private judgment, individualism, self-assertion, and every varying form of unbelief and misbelief have been found to increase more rapidly than in any due proportion to the increase of the population and of the privileges which the people have come to enjoy. These are sad and startling facts, and in view of them we must either adopt a view of the Christian character and the aims of the great Founder of Christianity, different from that which has hitherto prevailed, or admit that a people does not become more Christian in proportion as it becomes more prosperous in its worldly condition and more enlightened in the arts and sciences that go to make up what the world calls education.

In view of these facts, however, we must ask whether this is to be regarded as the general and dominant law, or merely a transitional phase of human progress. And this, too, is a question which comes within the scope of Political Economy. Or, at least, if it does not properly come within its scope, we must derive from that science some at least of the elements without which no answer to the question itself can ever be given. We are inclined not only from hope, but also from conviction, to adopt the most favorable view, and to believe that

there is, even now, dawning upon us a day whose meridian is indeed far off in the future, in which, however, there is to be a brighter and more blissful period for humanity than it has ever yet seen—in which the antinomies, so to call them, will be so balanced and adjusted as that the highest possible attainment of material and political well-being—a well-being far beyond anything yet attained—shall be accompanied with a christianization of the heart and life of man—a subduing of manhood to the softer and gentler influences of faith, of meekness, of humility, of charity and of the fear of God—which will as far surpass any past or present realizations, as the material prosperity and the enjoyment of political and civil freedom will be unprecedented in the history of man and of the world. But at present we admit that all the patent and obvious indications, and all the prognostications of Science—with the exception of a few things in the writings of Mr. Carey—are in the other direction. And it is our design in this and a subsequent Article, to set forth some of our reasons for such a hope. But first, let us pay our respect to the works and authors named at the head of our Article.

Of Mr. Carey's works it is our design to speak more fully in another Article, and therefore we shall say of them here but little. He is, perhaps, the *only American* Author upon the subject of Political Economy, that has ever made claim to originality of thinking and teaching, or, if not the only one that has made any such pretensions, he is the only one whose claim has attracted much attention or is likely to exert much influence upon the course of thought and teaching in that department of Science. He seems to have studied facts and things more than books, and to have depended more upon his own observation and analysis of facts, and his own inferences from them, than upon the opinions of others. He has made his mark in this country and impressed it still more deeply upon the minds of foreign writers, than even upon those of our own country. And it is a fault which touches our national pride somewhat deeply, that Prof. Bowen should have written a work so elaborate, and one that shows so much research and so great a familiarity with the writers of England and Europe generally, and nowhere mention by name or obviously allude to our own great countryman, whose writings will, as we cannot doubt, even if they have not done so already, place his name as second only to that of Adam Smith, the great founder of the Science. And it is a strong confirmation of the views to which both Mr. Carey and Prof. Bowen have arrived, that they concur and agree so nearly in all those points which

exert so controlling an influence upon the system—the theories of taxation, (indirect,) of population, of rent, of money, &c.

These two authors, Mr. Carey and Prof. Bowen, differ in their style and mode of writing, in just the point indicated. From Mr. Carey's works we should suppose that he was the thoughtful observer and the active man of business who looks carefully and with a penetrating glance upon the facts and operations around him, and looks into the writings of others merely to find how they have interpreted those facts, and to find, if perchance he may, any other facts which will help him to interpret those that have fallen under his observation, or which may modify and illustrate the interpretation he has already given to them. In this way he shows a familiarity with all that has been written; but his works are, and as we believe always will be, chiefly valuable for the vigor and originality of his own thoughts which are scattered with no sparing hand through his printed volumes. Prof. Bowen, on the other hand, seems to have come to the position of a teacher with no special taste or vocation for Political Economy, but with a clear head, a well trained and a well stored mind and a polished, perspicuous style of writing—one which is both graceful and forcible, far beyond what is generally met with in works on Political Economy. Thus qualified, he set himself to study the great writers, mastered their theories—thus possessing himself with what had been written, and modified the current of teaching only so far as the facts, condition, resources and institutions of our own country seemed obviously to require. Carey's work, therefore, is an original reading of the facts; Bowen's the European, adapted to our country. And we repeat again, that it is a source of great confidence in their teachings and of gratification, too, that they so nearly concur.

From this course of remark, it will be obvious that Prof. Bowen's work is specially adapted for a text-book—the very object for which it was designed—an invaluable manual for the learner, whether he be in a College class, or the private student in the law-office, the bank, or behind the merchant's counter. We know of no book so well fitted for the place it was designed to occupy as this. Mr. Carey's works seem to presuppose, in order to their successful use and appreciation, something like Prof. Bowen's. Carey *refers* to the theories of Adam Smith, of Ricardo, of Malthus, &c. Prof. Bowen *gives* them at ample length and in sufficient detail for their full comprehension and appreciation, and criticises them, pointing out their truths and their errors with a fullness of discussion and a patience of elaboration to which Mr. Carey never descends,

but which, however, as a part of the literature of the Science, are indispensable to the comprehension of its present position and teachings. Mr. Carey dwells only, or at least chiefly, on those parts of the Science which have chiefly impressed his own mind and elicited some originality of view of his own. Prof. Bowen discusses with an artistic regard to completeness, whatever point belongs to the Science, or has been made prominent in the writings or discussions of others. Possibly his work will be found a little too full and elaborate for a text-book in schools and Colleges; but if so, this fault, if fault it is to be regarded, will only render it the better adapted to private study—a study to which not only every literary man, but every business man, and especially every man who expects to hold an office or cast an intelligent vote, either in our municipal or national commonwealth, should zealously devote himself.

Mr. Knight's work is one of the same general class as Prof. Bowen's. It is much more diffuse in its style, aims more at the popular taste for reading, that is easy and interesting. It is admirably adapted to the popular mind; is full of illustrations and exemplifications, but hardly aspires to the dignity of a text-book for the educated and scientific mind.

Mr. List's work again belongs to the same general class as Mr. Carey's. He is an original thinker and writer, devoted to "specialities," if we may so use the word; has made a book that no student or writer on Political Economy will ever be without, or speak or write without having been influenced by. The author, a German by birth and a self-made man, had his attention drawn chiefly to the subject of taxation, and the doctrines of free-trade and the protective policy, by the situation of his own country and his position in relation to it. If not the author of the *Zollverein* he was its warm advocate and greatly instrumental in securing its adoption by the Germanic States. His work is chiefly valuable for its doctrines on the subject of tariff and free-trade, and, as it appears to us, he has established by such reasoning and such an array of facts his doctrines, as to leave further error or ignorance without excuse. He has shown that there are three distinct stages in a nation's history when different doctrines are the true policy, so that neither free-trade nor protection can be said *absolutely* to be the true doctrine of Political Economy.

When a nation is new there are of course no manufactures, the laborers are occupied in producing the raw material from the soil. Since they must export raw material in order to be able to buy manufactured goods, and must buy their manufactured goods if they would have any—they want no tariff.

Free-trade is the doctrine for them. A tariff is a double tax upon them—upon their raw-material as it goes from them to the nation who are to manufacture it, (which will of course be paid in the first instance by the manufacturer and then charged by him upon the goods, thus enhancing the price to the consumer,) and then a tax upon these manufactured goods—already burdened with one tariff—as they are brought back for the use of the producer of the raw material. Hence, he in fact pays both taxes in addition to the cost of transportation and the profits of the manufacturer.

But no nation can ever become very prosperous and wealthy and remain so long, without being its own manufacturer, at least so far as the raw materials which itself produces and needs in the shape of manufactured goods for its own consumption are concerned. It needs (1) to save the expense of transportation in the two directions; (2) to save the profits of the manufacturer within its own borders; (3) the inducements and means of enriching the soil which dense population and manufactories afford; and (4) the stimulus which only a dense population can furnish, in order to make any high attainments in wealth and civilization. But its capital never will be invested in manufactures, and manufactures will never flourish, and can never rise into a condition to compete with those which have already risen to some degree of perfection, without a Protective Tariff. And now the double tax operates in favor of the country. By making the raw material dearer to the foreign manufacturer, as well as by enhancing still farther the cost of the manufactured article to the consumer—who was also the producer of the raw material, it enables the home manufacturer to get that start in business and those facilities by means of which he can successfully compete with manufactures in any other nation.

And now comes the third stage. When manufactures are so established that any nation can sell that kind of goods cheaper than others and compete with them in foreign markets; and especially if this matter has gone so far that they can manufacture more raw material than their agricultural resources will supply—a tariff is a double disadvantage again. By means of free-trade such a nation cannot only become the commercial metropolis of the world—but can hold the purse strings of all other nations and make them dependent upon her.

Such is the doctrine abundantly established and luminously set forth by Mr. List. It is also substantially held and taught by the other authors named, especially Messrs. Carey and Bowen—though not so elaborately discussed and illustrated by

them. And Mr. Carey, in his "Harmony of Interests," has pretty thoroughly established the doctrine that "*the material well-being and the civilization of man, so far as it is dependent upon that well-being, advances just in proportion as the producer and consumer are brought together, by the elimination of all interventions.*" The manufacturer is always an intervention between the two. Even in the commonest affairs of life this is necessary. The cook in your kitchen is the manufacturer that intervenes between the potatoes, the apples, &c., as they grow in the fields of the producer and as they appear on the table of the consumer. The wheat must be sent to the miller as another manufacturer. So with cotton, flax, wool, silk, &c., for in all these cases the economy of machinery and the division of labor is such as to render domestic manufacture, that is the manufacture of the articles by each family for its own use, bad economy. But just in proportion as we can eliminate the carriers and the traders, do we advance the well-being of community. Take the case of wheat for example. It must be carried to the mill. Hence a manufacturer, to wit, the miller, and a carrier. But supposing the cost of manufacture—that is the toll for grinding—to be a constant quantity—the same in all mills—then, of course, the cost of converting wheat into flour, ready for the cook in the kitchen or for the baker, will vary with the charges of the carrier; and his charges will of course vary with (1) the distance, (2) facilities of transportation, railroads, canals, &c. And this charge is farther increased if several traders or merchants intervene by purchases and sales, since they also must have pay for their labor and make a profit on their capital and skill. This charge will be divided between the producer and the consumer. For example, let a mill be established in any neighborhood, where before there was none, and immediately wheat will rise in price by the difference in the cost of transportation between the new mill and the old and more distant one; flour also will fall by the difference in transportation, as between the old and the new mill. And hence in so far as any man or community consume in the shape of the manufactured article what they themselves had produced as raw material—the gain effected by the elimination of intervening carriers and traders is very great.

This law may be departed from in two ways. First, in an exclusively agricultural district where the raw material is raised—sent off to be manufactured and returned in part or in whole to be consumed. In that case we shall have inevitably a sparse population kept in comparative poverty and ignorance,

and with a soil constantly decreasing in its ability for production. In the second case we shall have a community manufacturing more than they can raise or consume. We have wealth accumulated in princely fortunes—a vast population reduced to the condition of mere operatives—men and women who spend their whole lives in a single act, as pointing a pin, or watching a cotton loom, and all the misery, vice and shipwreck of humanity and of manhood, inseparable from a large manufacturing metropolis. Nothing is more obvious than that neither of these states of society can be the best for the material well-being of man in general; nor will they either of them allow of the realization of any high ideal of moral, social, intellectual or political condition. The question is not now whether men and women may be Christians—and subject to the renewing effects of divine grace—in these various relations of producer, trader, capitalist, operative, &c., for it is a glorious prerogative of Christianity that it comes to save men *in* the world and *in* any of the conditions and stations of society, wherever men and women may be placed by the allotment of Providence, or the operation of causes and influences which do not emanate from their own will, or over which individually they have no control. But the question is as to the general character for intelligence, for refinement, for self-respect, for the dignity of manhood, and the enjoyment of those manly and womanly prerogatives which distinguish society and the social relations of man from the mere aggregation of brutes, with only the animal instincts of self-preservation and propagation.

This vicinage of the three great coördinates of the material well-being of society—the producer, the manufacturer and the consumer, is a result to which all society must of necessity tend, as the population of the earth progresses to its maximum of density; the soil that is devoted to the production of the raw material exclusively will become impoverished if forced to the production of more than is necessary for the consumption of those engaged in the culture of the soil. The South will become unable in time to raise cotton, and the West to raise wheat for exportation, unless they find some means to manufacture for their home consumption. England must cease to be the manufactory of the world. Her forests are long since gone; and her resources of coal, inexhaustible as they may seem, are limited, and fast being used up, and the God of Nature has decreed that she shall not always rule the nations by her hold upon their purse-strings. From being, as she is now and may remain for a few generations more, *excessively* manu-

facturing, she must, if she persists in that course too long, come to be *exclusively* agricultural again, and unthrifty at that.

In this law and tendency of things we see one important indication and augury of good for the future. The very external forces and course of Nature will force men into that accumulation of population and that distribution of employments, which is best for the virtue, the intelligence, and the civil freedom of man.

We pass now to the consideration of one point more, namely, the theory of Money.

On no subject in Political Economy, has there been more misapprehension than on this. Nor is there a point on which the speculations and theories seem to be more inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The first theory was, that money—that is, gold and silver—were the only and sole wealth. This was natural; for no one would call that wealth which he needed for his own consumption. And whatever he might have for sale would be worth nothing, if there were no money for which it could be sold. The next theory was that money is only an instrument, or machine, or tool, for effecting exchanges. Nor do the best of our modern writers seem to have got much beyond this theory. But it is fundamentally wrong in that it overlooks the material fact that gold and silver, by becoming coin, lose none of that intrinsic value which before coinage they possessed. For example, a man purchases one hundred dollars worth of leather and works it up into shoes. As shoes and for the purpose of wear, they are worth say three hundred dollars. But for any other purpose they are worth nothing. But a bar of silver, worth a hundred dollars to make into spoons, forks, &c., may be made into coin and be worth just the hundred dollars for coin, and worth just the hundred dollars also for the manufacture of forks, spoons, &c. Hence shoes, over and above what are wanted for wear, are a drug and a waste of material. But coin is no great waste. It retains the same intrinsic and exchangeable value for other purposes than coin—none the less than if it had not passed through the mint. Hence the increase of gold and silver, whether coined or not, is by so much an increase of the material wealth of a community—a doctrine which is mid-way between the two theories just stated.

But it is in Banking and the Credit System, that we find the element of the doctrine concerning money, which exerts the greatest amount of influence upon the condition of man. It has been customary to describe banking somewhat as follows: Several individuals in a community having money to lend,

combine in a Bank and employ a President, &c., to lend their money for them. That they issue notes of their own which they lend instead of the money, which for the greater safety they keep in their vaults. But this statement is a very inadequate exhibition of the theory and results of Banking. In order to be more specific in our statements, let us suppose a case; a village with no Bank, and one about being started with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. Now of this one hundred thousand dollars not more than one-tenth, that is, ten thousand dollars, need be paid in or kept on hand in specie. The remaining ninety thousand dollars may be invested in stocks, drawing their proper dividends, or loaned on bond and mortgage—drawing also legal interest, say six per cent. In the State of New York, these stocks and bonds and mortgages may be deposited with the Comptroller of the State; the Bank, however, receives the interest on them, and the State gives the Bank blank bills which they may issue to the amount of the stocks, &c., so deposited. These bills the Bank also lends and receives interest, or rather discount on them, none the less on account of the fact that they are receiving the interest on their capital, ninety thousand dollars of it at least, already invested in stocks, bonds and mortgages, &c., which is the basis of their banking. Then, again, as a Bank of deposit, they are likely to have on hand an average amount of deposits somewhat larger than their capital. On this they of course pay no interest, but of it they can lend on interest, and for short periods a large part, say two-thirds or three-fourths. Thus, with only ten thousand dollars actually in their vaults, they lend (1) ninety thousand dollars of their capital; (2) ninety or a hundred thousand dollars of their own notes, and (3) about as much more out of the deposits of their customers. Of course these amounts will vary, and are stated with no effort at exactness. But yet they are borne out by the Bank statistics which have come under our observation for some years past from the various States of our own Union, and from foreign countries.*

* The amounts given above are stated at random, as the amount is of but little importance, the principle is the chief thing that we are aiming to illustrate. We give, however, the following, as taken from a late quarterly report of the Banks of New York city. For the sake of brevity we give it in round millions of dollars.

Capital \$49,000,000; Specie \$12,000,000; and therefore

Loans from the capital,	\$ 37,000,000
Bills in circulation,	8,000,000
Loans and Discounts,	105,000,000

Total amount,\$150,000,000

Now these one hundred and fifty millions of dollars are doing their work as

Now the striking fact here is, that this ten thousand dollars of specie is made to do the work of some two hundred and fifty thousand, by the machinery of Banking, just as one man with a steam-engine is enabled to do the work of fifty or a hundred without it. And for most of the purposes of life, of civilization and the material well-being of community, it is just as well as though the banker had added so much of gold and silver, or its value in iron, wheat, or cotton, to the wealth of the community; and in some respects it is better. It is, indeed, perfectly true, that the bills and credits are of a merely fictitious value. If they should all be returned at any one time, the capital would pass into the hands of the bill-holders, and the bills themselves become worthless and useless. But while they are out, they add just as much to all the practical purposes of wealth as though they possessed the intrinsic value which they only represent. A man feels as rich and as independent with a thousand dollars in his pocket, consisting of current bank notes, as though he had that amount in specie. If, now, there was a day in which all this paper could be redeemed in gold and silver, or other objects of intrinsic value, and no further loans and discounts could be made, the case would be far otherwise. But there is no such day in the commercial future of any people. One such day there is indeed coming. But when that day comes we shall all have something else to do and to think of, besides the getting of our dues in gold and silver—the paltry lucre of this world's affairs.

But the effects of this economy are obvious. It makes money plenty; the demand for labor is good and wages are high; the general spirit of enterprise which it creates, renders labor highly productive, enabling the capitalist to avail himself, to the utmost extent, of the advantages of the division of labor and the use of machinery, steam-power, &c. Hence manufactured goods are low. The mere laborer gets high wages, and can purchase what he needs for himself and family at a comparatively low rate, and consequently he is on the way to a competence, to independence and to wealth, as fast as any

money and as means of exchange, buying and selling just as effectually as if they had been so many dollars of gold and silver thrown into circulation in the community. And all this is done by the twelve millions of specie. The twelve millions are thus in effect converted into one hundred and fifty millions—each dollar into about nine dollars—by the machinery of banking.

But if we should take the statistics of country instead of city Banks, we should find the proportion of loans and discounts and bills in circulation, to the specie, much greater. In some cases, though not in the State of New York, their bills in circulation amount to three times the amount of their capital; whereas in New York city, it is less than one-fifth.

imaginable state of circumstances will allow, and as fast as, from the peculiarities and infirmities of human nature, it can be best for the laborer himself that he should be.

And here we come again to another of Mr. Carey's doctrines; namely, that any advance in wealth has the effect to increase the relative proportion of the products of labor and capital which shall accrue to the laborer; and, of course, in the same proportion it diminishes that which accrues to the capitalist, and in so far tends to destroy the disparity of condition between these two classes of men in any community. Now any one who has studied society and the social sciences at all, knows that the poverty, destitution, and consequent dependence, loss of self-respect and discouragement, amounting as it often does to desperation and the utmost "recklessness of unclean living," is one great barrier to the progress of Society towards that state of social respectability and enjoyment of civil and political rights which poets have imagined, philosophers contemplated, and philanthropists hoped for—but neither poet, philosopher, nor philanthropist, has ever yet seen to be attainable.

We now pass to one topic more, which we shall try to turn into an augury of good, notwithstanding the theories and predictions of Political Economists. And here we are disposed to go beyond even the hopefulness of Mr. Carey himself. Our topic is the influence of machinery. We will state the dark side in words quoted from Professor Bowen's book. pp. 276, 277.

"A diminished rate of profit" [for the capitalist, and we have just seen that all advance in wealth produces such a result] "tends to throw the great branches of manufacture and commerce exclusively into the hands of large capitalists, and thus to increase that inequality in the distribution of wealth, which was one of the original causes of a fall in the profits. . . . 'It is in the nature of trade and manufacture,' says Mr. Laing, 'that great capital drives small capital out of the field; it can afford to work for smaller returns. It is not impossible that in every branch of trade and manufactures in Great Britain, the great capitalists will, in time, entirely occupy the field and put down small capitalists in the same line of business. . . . It is not an imaginary, nor perhaps a very distant evil, that our middle classes with their small capitals may sink into nothing—may become tradesmen or small dealers, supplying a few great manufacturing and commercial classes with the articles of their household consumption, and rearing supernumerary candidates for unnecessary public functions, civil, military or clerical; and that in trade as in land, a noblesse of capitalists, and a population of serfs working for them, may come to be the two main constituent parts in our social structure.'"

Now, that such is the present tendency is a fact that admits of no doubt. In agriculture, for example, the man with a few acres cannot afford to own and use the labor-saving machines,—drills, mowers, reapers, &c.,—and by consequence he cannot

sell his crops at so low a price, or make so much upon them when they are high, as his richer neighbor, who by cultivating several hundred acres can cultivate to so much better advantage. To a certain extent this fact is operating, as stated above. Everywhere in our agricultural districts small farms are being absorbed, and the number of landholders is becoming smaller and smaller. But this cannot go beyond a certain limit. It constitutes no occasion for the accumulation of such immense estates as belong to the English landed nobility. We suppose that in any of our Northern States a farm of three hundred acres can be cultivated with as much economy and profit as a larger one; or, if not, then certainly one of five hundred acres is as large as any of the purposes of machinery and division of labor can require.

And this very process will elevate the dignity and character of that class of persons immensely. They must be men of intelligence and character, to be able to use so much machinery and to apply the principles of science, as well as men of wealth to be able to own the farm and stock it with the requisite utensils, &c. Now, full well do we know that such a yeomanry will be a barrier to political corruption, and to the aggressions of despotism, such as no nation on this earth ever yet possessed. Let the processes now at work go on developing and raising up such a class of intelligent, self-respecting and independent farmers, and our institutions are safe against any earthly assaults; and if there be a degree of civil liberty, or of social equality not yet attained, but attainable by man, such an element in our population will ensure it to us.

And now for the manufacturers. The tendency pointed out exists, and is everywhere at work among us. This is a fact that cannot be doubted. But let us look a little further. The introduction of machinery has diminished immensely the number of men requisite to the production of any given quantity of manufactured goods. It has, indeed, reduced the price of goods, and increased the demand for them far beyond the proportionate increase of the population. But still the proportionate number that will need to be employed in manufactures, even to supply the increased demand for manufactured goods, will be vastly diminished as the division of labor, and the use of machinery, and the inanimate agents, steam, &c., are carried to the greatest perfection.

From this we shall have two effects of noticeable importance. (1.) Not only will the demand for the agricultural products be increased, and the price raised by the prevalence of a manufacturing class in the immediate neighborhood, *but a much*

larger proportion of the population must be sent to agricultural pursuits. And as we have seen, the dignity and reliability of this class will have been greatly increased by the very process, which is thus seen to be in another way increasing their numbers. We hope that, in this way, our free yeomanry, beyond the reach of city influence and city corruptions, may become the depositary of the wealth and political influence, as they certainly will become the depositaries of the virtue, the intelligence and the intellectual energy of the nation. But, (2,) besides the few who, by the allotment of Providence, are not capable of anything above the merest operative employment, those who will be needed to conduct these manufactures must be also men of intelligence, science, and so of self-respect. In all cases, complicated machinery requires the scientific mind to render it economically productive. Hence, the more extensive the use of machinery the higher the order of intelligence that is required to render its powers available, and so the higher and better the class of persons who will be engaged in manufactures.

What then, we may ask, will become of the ignorant, the debased, the thriftless? Doubtless a large proportion of them will, by these processes, be elevated to the amount of intelligence and virtue which this state of the industrial pursuits will require. Some, the unfortunate, will be content and happy in those subordinate stations which society will always have for them; more content and self-respecting, and self-complacent, too, in the consciousness of their usefulness, and of the share which they contribute to the general welfare of man, than those who occupy the higher and more responsible stations. And some—the indolent, the viciously inclined—for alas! there will always be such, will remain to infest our towns and villages, afford occupation for our police, and prevent our prisons and houses of industry from going to decay and dilapidation. But we may hope that these influences, with others which are always at work, will in time reduce the relative proportion of this class to the whole mass of society so low, that its presence will hardly be felt as a diminution to the general welfare.

We have already noticed the fact, that the very principle which requires the accumulation of landed property into comparatively large estates, contains within itself the law of its own limitation. The moment a farm becomes larger than is necessary for the fullest benefit of machinery, division of labor, &c., it becomes so large that much of its affairs cannot be left to agents, overseers, &c., and, in consequence, it does not increase in productiveness of profit beyond that limit, in proportion to its size. The same is true of manufacturing, of banking,

&c. The maximum of profit is found in that amount of capital which enables one to avail himself of the division of labor and the use of labor-saving machines to the greatest extent. But when the labor is divided so far that the division can be carried no farther, and when each part is so large as to pay for the use of the best machinery known to the art, any increase of business or of capital is bad economy, and renders the production of the manufactured articles more expensive. Thus, suppose that pin-making can be divided into ten parts, six of which will employ one hand each; two, two hands each; and the remaining two, three each, in order to keep them all at work, and that a capital of fifty thousand dollars is sufficient to furnish all the labor-saving machinery that can profitably be used, and also to meet the current expenses of the establishment. No increase of capital could render the production of pins more profitable to that manufacturer or enable him to sell them cheaper. On the other hand, the increase of his business beyond that limit would render it less profitable *pro rata*, on the ground that he could not give his increased business so undivided and efficient personal attention.

It is indeed true that these considerations imply a state of more general wealth than has yet existed, in order that the state of society to which we have referred may be realized. At present, it is true, but comparatively few men are rich enough for those "*model* operations," either in farming or in manufactures. But the world is fast growing in wealth. Our own country, at least, is accumulating wealth much faster than the increase of her population. And we think that it would be easy to show that when these tendencies shall have had time to produce the results of which we have spoken, the standard of wealth will have advanced; and the amount which any man of intelligence, industry and good habits may acquire will be sufficient to enable him to commence operations at a reasonable period of life and under circumstances the most conducive to a successful prosecution of business: the average age at which men will go into business for themselves will doubtless be somewhat later than it is now. But this will secure more experience, more stability and a large share of exemption from the evils that now result from the frequent failures of our "fast" men.

Full well do we know that neither these, nor any influences like these, can bring the millennium of themselves. Firmly do we believe, and again and again have we expressed our belief, that there can be no permanent well-being or civil liberty for a people without that blessing of God, which HE will confer only

on a people submissive and obedient to His WILL. And we design to make this our expression of belief, on every occasion of its utterance, still more explicit by saying, that we believe that for our people in these United States, there is no submission and obedience to the Will of God, such as is requisite for securing that blessing to which we have alluded, except within, and in subordination to, the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States of America. It is, therefore, a grave question, and one without which all these considerations are of but little importance, whether with this increase of intelligence, self-respecting manhood, and material well-being, we are to have also an increase of the self-asserting individualism, so characteristic of our age, and that prevalence of unbelief and misbelief which renders the proper training of the young almost an impossibility. Of course, we are, as already intimated, ready to take the hopeful view of this subject also; and in due time, to give our reasons for the hope that is in us. But the present effort is, as we hope, sufficient to show that the controlling influences that are at work upon man's position as a member of society, indicate a higher and brighter future than has yet been attained; and quite possibly, a better state than has been distinctly conceived or generally believed to be possible.

Meanwhile, in the words of Professor Bowen, we say, and with his words conclude:

"Laissez faire. These interests may be in the hands of individuals who look only to their own immediate profit, and not to the public advantage or to a distant future. They are not only selfish; they are often ignorant, short-sighted and unconscious of much of the work that they do. But society is a complex and delicate machine, the real Author and Governor of which is Divine. Men are often His agents, who do His work, and know it not. He turneth their selfishness to good; and ends which could not be accomplished by the greatest sagacity, the most enlightened and distinguished public spirit, and the most strenuous exertions of human legislators and governors, are effected directly, and incessantly, even through the ignorance, the willfulness, and the avarice of man. While he is thinking only of himself, while he is only playing his own paltry game, he is a mere instrument in the hands of Him who brings good out of evil, and who turns the little passions of man to the purposes of His own benevolence and wisdom."

ART. V.—THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH.

THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH. An Historical Review of the Puritan Government in Massachusetts in its civil and ecclesiastical relations, from its rise to the abrogation of the first Charter. Together with some general reflections on the English Colonial policy, and on the character of Puritanism. By the late PETER OLIVER, of the *Suffolk Bar*. Boston: LITTLE, BROWN & Co. 1856. pp. 502.

THIS book is a very valuable addition to our alcove of New England History, and it will become a hand-book of reference to every person who wishes to study that history impartially. Not that this book is in itself strictly a history; the title-page correctly describes it as an "historical review" of the Puritan government in Massachusetts under the first Charter. The necessity for such a work, in this form, has long been apparent, "for it has been the fashion to bury the errors of our forefathers beneath their many virtues, and to conceal the whole truth by expressing but a part. Every writer, from the earliest times, has done something to hide from our gaze those faults which would lead us to doubt the entire virtue of our ancestors; and so great have been the consequent mistakes, that the ridiculous proposition has been maintained, by both judges and historians, that the Puritans were lovers of religious freedom, and that civil liberty was a principle first understood upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay"—(*Preface*, p. iii-iv.) In this attempt to set history and historians right, it is to be expected that a work of this character will bear something of the character of the argument of counsel, who are called on to reply to an unfair opponent. The one side has already been presented over and over again, in every way which could mislead the judgment, or warp the fancy. Heavily built arguments, in which the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi* continually crowd upon each other, are thrust into histories and holiday orations, and the painter's and the sculptor's art have been invoked to ennoble the fictitious greatness, around which poets and novelists have also gathered, by deceptive fictions and unreal fancies, many of our warmest sympathies. In correcting public opinion in such a case, there is but little occasion to fear that candid readers will be misled in their judgment upon the whole matter.

For this work, Mr. Peter Oliver had many and great qualifications. Belonging to a family whose pedigree runs in the right line through the whole history of Massachusetts, and includes distinguished Puritan divines, worthy merchants and brave soldiers, as well as noted lawyers and physicians, he has all the incitements of family pride and class feeling, to see that full justice is done to the cotemporaries of his ancestors. Thus, he tells us in the preface, he "entered upon the subject *con amore*, and found fresh interest at every step." The particular branch of this family to which our author belonged, came back to the Church of their ancestors as long ago as 1785, and in it they have ever since been counted as among her most faithful children. Taught in the Church from infancy, he was fitted to be her champion. Add to this his own professional training in which his "specialty" was that most exact department of the law, conveyancing, and we could not choose a man better qualified for the difficult task which he undertook and has accomplished. It is a book

"Woven close, both matter, form, and style."

To those of us who knew Mr. Oliver personally, his fitness for the work is more apparent. His mind and character shine out in it. Nothing mean or cowardly is tolerated; frankness and manliness, wherever found, are always appreciated; while subterfuges and evasions are sure to be exposed. There is no refuge from him in deceit; he will not even suffer his adversary to deceive himself. Mr. Oliver it is clear, from the book alone, was also a lover of nature and of all manly sports and exercises. As we read, his manly form and kindling eye become present to our sight, and we renew our grief for his untimely death; a grief which is increased by the very fact that he did not live to carry this work through the press. He has been happy in an editor, his own brother, Dr. F. E. Oliver, of Boston, who has spared no pains to make the volume worthy, in every respect, of his brother's memory.

The paper, printing and style in which the book is gotten out, are extremely creditable to the editor, and to the well-known house by which it is published. We have, however, one criticism to make, and that is with reference to the citation of authorities. A work like this, entering upon a field of controversy, calculated to excite a feeling of resentment among those good people to whom the facts and reasoning are new, should, we submit, be fortified by *minute and precise references* to the books from which the facts are drawn, and in which the passages and phrases quoted may be found. This

has been done to a considerable extent. For those of us who have made this branch of history a study, it is less necessary; but they should be furnished in very careful detail for the benefit of the beginner. Conviction grows with the verification of the startling facts, and every facility should be furnished for this purpose. To the novice in such studies, a general reference to "Bradford," "Hutchinson," "Hazard," "Neal," or the like, is very harassing. Should any one have called upon Mr. Oliver with remonstrances or challenges as to his conclusions or authorities, we undertake to say that the remonstrant would have gone out of his door more crest-fallen than did the delegation of Quakers from Mr. Macaulay's, or the Romanists from their rash challenge to Mr. Southey. Had Mr. Oliver lived to carry his own work through the press, we are confident that he would have done this. In the second edition, which we hear is likely to be soon called for, we hope the Editor will see that this is done, and, perhaps, too, that the references are somewhat multiplied upon some of the most salient points.

It will be seen that we anticipate for this book a severe attack from Puritan critics. Some such have already appeared in a small way, and some more worthy of notice will probably follow in due time. There are two traits of mind which the author exhibits, on each of which they will attempt to excite unreasonable prejudices against him. The first is, his spirit of loyalty; and the second, of course, his thorough Churchmanship. With the first, we will deal very briefly. We can well afford to admit that Mr. Oliver would never have justified any resistance by the Colony to the ruling King of England. Is he the less to be relied on as a republican citizen? Those who argue that it must have been so have but a feeble appreciation of the principle on which a true Churchman builds his allegiance to the State. "The powers that be"—be they what they may—are to him indeed "ordained of God." To him it matters little whether he be placed under one or another form of Government. In all, and to each, he is alike loyal. He recognizes the fact that He who ordains each power may and does put down one and set up another. He sees that these changes are made sometimes in mercy, and sometimes in judgment. With all this, he is unwilling to become the ready instrument of resistance or rebellion. If God ordains the change, it will be made in His good time, and in His own way. This is the spirit of true loyalty. Alas, that the passions and weaknesses of men should so often cloud its exercise! Still, the principle lives, and we may well believe that had all the loyalists who fled this country at the time of its final separation from the mother

country, remained among us, they would have been to-day numbered among the most worthy and reliable citizens of this great democracy. Would that we had more such citizens as Mr. Oliver!

The tone of Mr. Oliver's Churchmanship reveals itself throughout his book. It is marked and uncompromising, but never unjust. He does not pretend to conceal his loathing at some parts of New England Puritanism, as developed in civil and ecclesiastical relations. Thus, (page 6,) he speaks of "that worst of all cant, the cant of New Englandism." On p. 184 he speaks of the "ferocious zeal" with which the Puritan Pilgrims embraced the doctrines of Election and Perseverance, and denied the Sacrament of Baptism to children; and on p. 270 the course of Massachusetts, in embracing the cause of the Parliament against the King of England, is plainly called "diabolical treason." We do not know why he should have concealed his loathing for these things. It seems to us impossible to study the subject, and not to speak as he has spoken. If any one thinks it would have been better to have modified such strong expressions, we will not have any controversy with him upon the subject, neither should he have one with the author. As we have seen, death interrupted his revision of the work, and (says the editor) this will explain an "occasional warmth of expression which may be thought better suited to the character of periodical literature, than to the more sustained dignity of historical composition," (Preface, p. iv.) To what an extent this was done in such parts as passed under his revision, may be readily seen by the curious, by a reference to the numbers of *THE CHURCH REVIEW* in which a portion of this work appeared.*

For ourselves, we confess we should hardly incline to a more mealy-mouthed treatment of the subject. If any person gets, as we know some will, into a rage with the book, a little inquiry will discover to an impartial observer that it is rather at the facts which the book develops, than at the manner in which Mr. Oliver has spoken of them. And after all, no one can, with any justice, attribute to the author any disposition not to give full weight to whatever, (and there was much,) which is worthy of veneration among the early settlers of Massachusetts. Every "touch of nature" in their character or history, he notes with a kindly hand. We will glance rapidly at a few of these. While he calls the stream of the early Puritan im-

* See the numbers for January, April, and July, 1850, and for January and July, 1851.

migration "turbid," it is conceded to be "vigorous." (p. 47.) "Heaven seemed to smile upon the Puritan Pilgrims, * * * and the flowers of the forest shed their richest perfume to welcome the advent of Puritanism." (p. 51.) Much is certainly laid to the charge of the Puritan Ministry, and their short-comings in the missionary work among the Indians, are unsparingly set forth. Yet it is conceded that the latter were "well meant." (p. 233.) The "gentle Mayhew's" labors among the Indians "were crowned with signal success." (p. 237.) "The self-denying Eliot," (p. 244,) though "his first act was prophetic of failure," was "untiring in his zeal," (p. 238;) and just credit for the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the native tongue is given to that "ardent missionary," (p. 241,) as "the crowning glory of his life," (p. 242.) John Cotton is "the great Cotton," (p. 190) and his superior ability is acknowledged over and over again. The Clergy with "stalwart forms and austere countenances" (p. 493) receive what they would probably have considered the highest praise. Thus, at p. 229, "To suffer in a good cause is noble, but to endure without complaint is heroic. And it is easy to believe that Cotton, and Hooker, and Wilson would have given an undying glory to Puritanism had they been called to suffer at the stake." And again, (p. 305,) "Massachusetts found herself alone. But the spirit which the elders infused into her councils made the little commonwealth equal to the emergency." The reader *must* shudder as he reads of the Commonwealth's dealings with the Indians, both in making war and in making peace. "Let us, not be unjust, however, nor attribute the faults of the New England fathers to any other than the right cause; * * * it was the spirit of a false faith which taught the Puritan Pilgrims that heathen blood and lands are lawful motives, as well as lawful spoils of Christian warfare. There was no in-born love of cruelty among them, and frequently when about to start upon one of their bloody excursions, they found it necessary to work themselves up to the necessary pitch, by communion, fasting and prayer." (p. 150-151.) And they are elsewhere spoken of as "gallant soldiers of the wilderness." (p. 307.)

Neither does Mr. Oliver attempt to conceal any good thing which grew up with Puritanism. Speaking of the visit of the Royal Commissioners in 1664, (p. 436,) he says, "Much they saw to excite their warmest admiration. Every town numbering fifty householders was furnished with a common school, in order that 'learning might not be buried in the graves of their forefathers.' And where 'the Lord had increased them to the number of one hundred,' it was ordered that they should set

up a grammar school, that youth might be fitted for the University. Trade was active, agriculture prosperous, and the marks of the wilderness were receding further and further towards the West." Again, at p. 317, "The war with the Dutch and French, which called for a great increase of the British Navy, afforded an opportunity for a gift to the King, of a large number of spars, the freight of which alone amounted to sixteen hundred pounds. This magnificent present was soon followed by a contribution to victual the West Indian fleet, and the great fire in London led to the exertion of a generosity as creditable to the heart as to the head." In short, Mr. Oliver looks at everything in the spirit of a *true* patriot, and with him this is the same as to say, *the spirit of a true Christianity*. Prosperity and civilization with him are of little account, if they be not gilded with the light of a true Christianity.

"We, who are in a transition state, can see how good is finally to come out of evil. The Church is grasping in her embrace the great empire of the West, and her garments are unstained by the blood of the aborigines, while her reputation is untainted with the guilt of disloyalty. Puritanism has been working for her advantage. Fraud, violence, and cunning; enterprise, daring and self-sacrifice; the vices and virtues of the Puritan Pilgrims, have prepared the way for the nobler, the only true Christianity. From the bigotry of a few have arisen the blessings of the many. The guiding wisdom of Omnipotence is now discernible beneath the shallow surface of human fanaticism. Regeneration, the voice that waked the pagan slumbers of the Old World, was to be the genius of a new creation here. The painted savage was no longer to tread his forests in the simple majesty of his nature and strength. His shrill war-whoop was to be echoed back by the thunder of cannon, and his native cunning was to become powerless before the art of civilization. His woods were to be prostrated, his game annihilated, and his wigwam deserted; and he himself was to be driven before a power he understood not, further and further towards the setting sun, until the waves of the Pacific received the last remnants of his race, and his existence had become but a name. A new day was to dawn upon the West, a day carrying with it all the blessings of Christianity. There was to be there a new heaven and a new earth, and the cross of a true faith was to be erected upon every spire, and reflected back to the sky by every lake and stream." (p. 2-3.)

The portions of this book which have heretofore been published in this Review are comprised within the first one hundred and eighty-four pages. We shall not have occasion to enter largely upon the consideration of this part of the book. The judicious discussion of the Indian rights to this continent, and of the conflicting rights of discovery, tempts us. We will, however, barely refer to pages 23, 24, 101-104. Mr. Oliver is a believer in what our newspapers call "manifest destiny;" but he refers it to the true source. "It was no part of the Divine scheme, that Nature should hold longer dominion over the vast regions of the New World." p. 119. We rec-

commend to our readers a careful study of the passages to which we have referred.

While our mind dwells upon this part of the book, we must lay before our readers one or two extracts :

"And how did Puritanism find these red men? Did they drink? Did they lie? Did they gamble? Did they thieve? Were they licentious in morals, or depraved in habits? On the contrary, the simplicity of their habits attracted the notice of all Europeans; and Gorges does not hesitate to say, that he *observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort, and in all their carriages to manifest shewes of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people.*' Their drink was water, their pastime the chase, their property was enjoyed in common, and their fidelity was proverbial. Disease visited them only in the form of old age; and when death released the hoary warrior, his treasures were buried with him in a common grave. Darkened as he was by Paganism, the great vice charged against the Indian by Puritanism was only his cruelty in war. This cruelty was amply retaliated by his Christian adversary; and what the savage intended as a test of the heroism of his captive, was too often inflicted by the English from motives of revenge. Whatever were his relations to his oppressors, his condition was truly deplorable. If he was converted by the Puritan missionaries, he became not a Christian, but a praying Indian, despised by his countrymen, and enslaved by his teachers. If he continued faithful to the religion of the forest, the mountain, and the waters, of whatever was the abode of the Great Spirit whom he ignorantly worshipped, he was accounted no better than a Canaanite, and a fit prey for the 'poor servants of Christ.'" p. 151-2.

"But the red man, though heathen, was not licentious. His morality in peace was more conspicuous than his cruelty in war. 'Nothing unclean or filthy, like the heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any of them.' His very religion, though incomplete, was gentle and harmonious. It was the religion of Nature. He saw the Great Spirit in all his glorious works, and they furnished him with an adequate ritual. And he, too, could find language in which to express his adoration of the mysterious God; not invisible, for had he not expressed himself in flowers, in streams of running water, in the lightning and the tempest? He could worship and praise as well as his white brothers; for the voice of Nature sounded fresh in his ears, and he echoed her truths in strains of glorious eloquence. But, with all this, he was heathen; for revelation had not yet disclosed to him the harmony of her awful voice. His soul was yet dark, like his skin. The origin of mankind was traced by this simple-hearted people to 'a man and woman, made by their great God, of stone, which, upon a dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind.' In such a condition, was this interesting people thrown, by God's Providence, upon the mercy of the Puritan elders." p. 234.

There are some points in the nature and history of Puritanism which cannot be too often held up to us for examination. They will serve as beacon lights to warn us to avoid those dangerous rocks and quicksands on which their goodly schemes for unity were wrecked. And the first and worst of these was the unrestrained exercise of private judgment, and the concomitant doctrine of "development," in which though starting from a different point, the Church of Rome meets that of the Puritans. This was succinctly embodied in the farewell advice of

Robinson to his flock, who were, to be sure, one step in advance of the Massachusetts immigrants. The latter, however, soon came up with them. They were commanded, "If God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break out of his holy word. . . . Also, he put us in mind of our church covenant, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; . . . for saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."* The Massachusetts colonists were worse off in one respect, they had even less to start upon.

What error was there which might not have been expected to spring up from such a root? As we read the record of a synod held at Cambridge in August, 1637, we might almost ask what error was there which did not in fact spring up. That synod drew up a catalogue of eighty-two erroneous opinions "found brought into New England, and spread under hand there." But we must here quote from Mr. Oliver:

"In the Primitive Church, when faith was bright and strong, Christianity shrunk from the presence of a doubt. A single heresy, whenever it exhibited itself, was sufficient to summon from the four corners of Christendom a cloud of witnesses, who, mighty in truth, would cast it forth as an unclean thing! Behold these zealous Puritans, hardly yet weaned from the mother that bore them, and with the experience of scarcely 'a lustre of years,' sitting in judgment on 'eighty-two blasphemous, heretical and erroneous' principles, which, under their own system of culture, had sprung up on the virgin soil of Massachusetts! Three weeks of heated discussion were consumed by this synod. The angriness of disputation was relieved only by the obscurity of expression. The controversialists lost themselves in the most cloudy regions of abstruse theology, and dealt in terms as vague as they were incomprehensible." p. 178, 9.

We hardly dare to say how many synods or similar convocations of the clergy followed upon this, and within fifty years. Certainly there was one in 1648, another in 1662, and others in 1679 and 1680. Mr. Drake† says of the synod of 1662, "It does not appear that this famous synod were able to settle anything." A quiet and deserved sarcasm, which need not have been confined to that particular synod. Each one that was held made their divisions the more apparent. That of 1680 was, perhaps, the most discreditable to them. "Its object was doubtless for effect in England. Some act was

* Winslow's *Brief Narrative* in Young, p. 397.

† *History and Antiquities of Boston*, p. 362.

thought necessary, probably, by which an impression might be produced there that the Church government in New England was tolerant, or in uniformity to the English Church."^{*} If this were so, it was merely to produce *an impression*. The law which prohibited the "observing any such day as Christmas or the like, *either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way,*" was not repealed in fact till 1681.[†]

We cannot undertake to give anything like a connected sketch of all the "developments" which the Puritan Church underwent within even this first fifty years. We will quote Mr. Oliver again for an excellent summary of the confusion which prevailed even after the "covenant" was established :

"To follow the progress of the Puritan Church, from its assumption of extraordinary purity to its acknowledgment of extraordinary weakness and inefficiency, is both curious and instructive. Ere it had left the embrace of its 'dear mother,' it declared that it was going forth into the wilderness to enlarge her authority and to promote her glory. Hardly established in its new home, the Puritan Church avowed that its principles agreed with the faith of the Church of England, and that it separated only from her ceremonies and discipline. Soon, the Antinomian controversies called for a synod of all the churches, to pronounce authoritatively upon the conflicting opinions, which distracted church and state, and threatened the dissolution of both. Yet a few years, and the famous synod of Cambridge, 'taking into consideration the many heresies that were daily broached,' solemnly adopted the Confession of Faith promulgated by the Westminster Assembly, and, crushing the serpent that had crept into the churches of Christ, declared it to be 'holy, orthodox and judicious.' Fourteen years passed away, and the Puritan Church was shaken to its center by a doctrinal strife concerning baptism and communion. Another synod was assembled at Boston, by order of the general court; and the answers it returned to the questions, 'who are the subjects of baptism?' and 'what is the relation of the several churches to each other?' 'were clogged by the dissent of several reverend and judicious persons,' among whom were Chauncey, President of Harvard College, and Davenport. Again, the general laxity of morals, and 'visible decay of the power of godliness,' were the cause of the famous reforming synod, which besides declaring that 'a thorough and hearty reformation was necessary, in order to obtain peace with God,' recommended a revision of the New England Platform, and the renewing of the covenant by the churches. Finally, the same synod, at a second session, promulgated a new Confession of Faith, varying to some extent from that of Westminster, and corresponding to the one set forth by the elders and messengers of the Congregational Churches assembled at the Savoy, in London, more than twenty years before. This last effort of the Puritan Church was soon followed by a general lament over the apostasy and unbelief of the times.

"These frequent meetings of the elders or synods, although by a fundamental principle of the Puritan Church, they could publish no authoritative decrees, show from that very fact, a failure of the ostentatious experiment that Puritanism was trying in the New World; not so much through any important change in the articles of belief, as in a perpetual necessity for resuscitating and increas-

^{*} Drake, p. 438. And see note, with quotation, from *New England Justified*.

[†] The historical works commonly say 1677. But see the original records of Mass. V., 320-322.

ing them. The Puritan Church was always ready to crumble into a dozen sects; and it therefore became necessary that the various factions should conifer together, and arrive at some common results, in order that they might be enforced and established by the civil authority. Most of these synods were called by order of the magistrates, who thereby professed themselves to be in distressing doubt concerning the vital truths of religion. Few of the opinions of these synods were unanimous, and none were universally regarded, for the people followed the elders in diversity of belief. The flood-gates of private opinion were open, and a plausible speaker of heresies was often supported by a strong party, in defiance of every effort to preserve orthodoxy. Indeed, it was no uncommon thing for learned brethren, on their admission to the religious franchise, 'to entertain the churches with notable confessions of their own composing.' And such was the arrogance generated by the chaotic dogmas of Puritanism, that 'young men of low degree' would not scruple, in religious discussions, to assault the positions assumed by the elders and magistrates." pp. 166-7-8.

Closely connected with these differences was the system of persecution which followed upon them. The dominant party ran riot in their excesses; those who differed from them were, at the best, in their judgment, guilty of "impious ignorance."* This story is too well known to need much comment in this Review. But we should be glad to know, in what, if in any thing, the doctrines which Cotton maintains as fully and boldly in his "Bloody Tenet washed," as in the original "Bloody Tenet,"† differs from the doctrine of the Inquisition.

How pleasant to turn back from this view of things to a passage where our author glances at the state of the Church of England, when our forefathers left her to found the Puritan Commonwealth :

"Religion never makes men stocks, says an old Puritan writer. The enterprise, so solemn and so irrevocable, in which a handful of gentlemen were about to engage, was calculated to excite in their minds the most intense anxiety. Hitherto they had remained in the Catholic Church, into which they had been baptized. This Church was national. Its history was identified with all that was glorious in the English name and character. It had imparted dignity and equity to the laws. Its ritual was the familiar language of household worship. Its festivals and fasts were the periods for national rejoicing and mourning. Its articles of faith were, for the most part, pure and conservative; and wherever a blemish could be detected, it was owing to the spirit of indulgence towards Puritan prejudice. Its churches and cathedrals were the ornament and pride of hamlet and city. Its churchyards contained the ashes of friends, relatives and ancestors. No wonder 'their bowels yearned within them,' when they

* It was at a later date that Mather called the doctrine of the Apostolical succession a "vile, senseless, wretched whimsey;" and that a President of Harvard College thought it worth while to insert in his last will and testament, his detestation of the "hell-bred superstitions of the Church of England"

† Cotton complains in the treatise first named, that Roger Williams ought not to have made the original letter, styled by Williams the Bloody Tenet, public, on the ground that it was a private letter written for the satisfaction of a poor prisoner for conscience' sake. But in the letter he refers to a treatise, which had been previously published, with reasons justifying the doctrine of the letter!

thought of bidding it farewell forever. What motive could prompt an undertaking so vast, so unusual, so forbidding? Did the spirit of ambition lurk in their enthusiastic dreams?

"The Church of England was no phantom, conjured up by the diseased imagination of a vicious monarch. Its chants were sung before the barbarians of the North had swept like a tempest over the fertile provinces of degenerate Rome. Tradition, revealing glimpses of truth through the darkness of those early ages, still delights to recount how the great Tentmaker himself carried the laws of Christianity not only to the Romans, but also to the Scythians, the Huns and the Britons. Legends are still extant which relate how British kings, though vassals to Rome, voluntarily submitted to a nobler servitude at the font of the Christian Church. And the venerable Bede narrates with pride the triumph of the first British martyr, ere the light of Christianity had dawned upon the hearts of the Pagan masters of the world." pp. 369-70.

Mr. Oliver follows up this passage with a brilliant sketch of the history of the Church of England. Indeed, the whole of Part I, of Chap. V, is well worthy of careful study.

Mr. Oliver's book is chiefly valuable to Churchmen in the opportunity which it gives them to compare the uniform doctrine and teaching of our Church, with the ever-varying phases of Congregationalism. To those who have had opportunity to take an inside view of modern Congregationalism, it is well known that generally, the most simple-minded and devout of them are practically willing to concede that "for those who prefer it," an Episcopal Ordination is "well enough," and where their Clergy seem in doctrinal teaching to approach those of our Church with whom they come in contact, they cannot understand why those "Episcopalian ministers will not exchange with their ministers." They liked "Doctor" Eastburn's "remarks" at the last Tract Society meeting, where their own minister presided; how does it happen that "Doctor" Eastburn will not let this same minister preach in Trinity Church? They are as tolerant of us as we could wish in our day, if we will meet them on an equal footing. Again and again we have heard these good people say, "What we do not like about you Episcopalians is your exclusiveness; your ministers will not exchange with ours."

But this is not the true Puritanism of our early settlers. They held plainly that the only true Ordination was of and from the congregation which called them; that it was received from them by induction into the parochial pastorate, and ceased when that relation was severed; that it must be again renewed before "the seals," (*i. e.* Baptism and the Lord's Supper,) could be validly administered. It is well known that many Presbyters of the Church of England came to New England, desiring to live in the exercise of their holy calling here, vainly imagining that things might here grow and proceed in a holier way

than they could in their native land. Among them were John Wilson, Thomas Hooker, and John Cotton, all of whom, when arrived here, underwent in due time a new ordination by "the brethren." Some of them lived more strictly up to the rule than others, and not being set in a parish over which laymen had ordained them, would not exercise their ministry. John Cotton, for instance, would not while in that condition baptize his own son, born on the voyage hither; so that the afterwards famous Mr. Sea-born Cotton did not get even that watery name in Baptism, until his father having reached terra firma had been induced by the laymen of this new flock with apostolic power! There were others who were not content to practically ignore their former ordination, but must needs renounce it with words of loathing. Such, among too many others, were Higginson, Skelton, and Phillips, who, as it were, tore their surplices over their own heads, and by the just judgment of their own hands stood forth as "plucked priests."

There were other such presbyters who would not *in terms* renounce their Episcopal Ordination, but held it at the least as good as that received from laymen, and yet attracted hither by the vain hope that personal religion would become more prevalent in a State where the appearance of it was made the test of fitness for every honorable position, and where all the inhabitants should be closely watched, were content under the new order of things to preach and practice for the most part upon the system of Geneva. Such an one Peter Hobart, the first minister at Hingham, seems to have been. The State tolerated him for a time, notwithstanding that "he refused to baptize no children that were tendered to him."* But when it appeared that "he was not so fully persuaded of the Congregational discipline as some others were," the magistrates knowing that "he was a bold man and would speak his mind," forbade him to preach in Boston, even at a wedding.

Of this last class, some lived out their lives, and went to their graves in peace; but with others at times the memory of the past, of their native land and of their native Church, wrought too strongly for silent endurance, and if the Church of England, or any point of her doctrine was mentioned, their hearts leaped for joy, so that they must needs testify to

———"her heavenly ways,
Her sweet communion, solemn vows,
Her hymns of love and praise."

But when any one did so, let him beware! It was barely

* Young's Chronicles, p. 402-3 and Notes.

lawful to *think* so; the *spoken* word was fatal. Whoever uttered such words in Massachusetts, had better at once fly from its jurisdiction! So it was with Mr. Francis Bright, "a godly minister"* at Salem. So it was with "Master Doughty," at Taunton, who ventured to believe that the children of all baptized parents, at the least, should be baptized, "and spake so in public,"† whereupon he was seized by the Constable and dragged out of the assembly in which he had uttered such bold words.

In short, no presbyter of the Church of England was tolerated within the Colony, unless he conformed to the local ecclesiastical views. Thus William Blackstone, the first settler of Boston, who chose the place for its "sweet water," having lived there nine or ten years, was forced to abandon it for the sake of peace, though he was not inclined to exercise his ministry.‡ The place of sweet waters became to him a very *Marah*. He had come to this country to avoid "my lord bishops," but here he found "my lord brethren" more intolerable.

The Church, however, then held as she does now, to the one valid Ordination by Bishops. She did not in her days of persecution acknowledge these ordinations by the people. And now that she has risen from the dust and is acknowledged by all as possessing a true and proper ministry "as good as any other for those who like it," she takes no other position than that which she held in her adversity. The sects of Congregationalism cry out upon her now as a persecutor. She is just what she was when they persecuted her. They are not. If they were true to their principles, they would acknowledge neither Presbyterian nor Episcopal Ordinations. Yet they do acknowledge both.

Mr. Oliver justly gives a large part of his treatise to a juridical and historical inquiry into the nature and effect of the original Charter of the Massachusetts Colony, and a large part of the new matter in this volume consists of a discussion of the events which followed upon its forfeiture. This we have in vain attempted to abridge into some form which should give our readers an opportunity to judge of its force and manner. We find it will not bear abridgment; the matter is too solid, and the parts are too well fitted together; and we must content ourselves with such a sketch of these events as we can frame from such materials as we have furnished to us. We do this the more willingly, however, because after a

* Hubbard's New England, p. 113.

† Lechford's Plain Dealing, p. 42.

‡ Drake's History, p. 96 and Notes.

patient study of the subject we are convinced that at least one principal actor in those scenes has never yet had full justice done to him. We refer to SIR EDMUND ANDROS, a Memoir of whom, (God willing,) we hope at some future day to lay before the public. Even Mr. Oliver has not, we think, done him the full justice which he merits. Let us look at the position in which he was placed, and the facts and circumstances which surrounded him in his New England government, and then judge of his acts in the light of such general traits of his character as have come down to us. We shall readily combine this with our sketch of the Charter Government.

This "Charter" was, in its origin, one granted to a private Company; but under it a public Government had been set up. The right to colonize under it was granted in subordination to the Crown; the Government set up under it assumed to act independently of the Crown. The Charter was granted in subordination to the laws of England; a fundamental part of those laws established the Church of England; dissent from her ways was rather tolerated than allowed. But the Government set up in Massachusetts under this Charter, persecuted her ministers, and would not tolerate her Holy days. Even in the reign of Charles the First, contempt after contempt was put upon the power which granted the Charter; the Cross was cut from the banner of England; the Crown was trampled under foot. During the period of the English Commonwealth the settlers grew bolder, and after the restoration, though willing to make any *pretences* which should not change their real position, they were in fact as rampant as ever. But the persecutions which Churchmen, as well as others, met in Massachusetts, at last stirred even the dissolute heart of Charles II. In 1664, a Commission came out to examine into the reported abuses. They found them more than true. Their own authority was publicly contemned. The conversion of the Indians "to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind," which the Charter declared to be the "principal end" of the plantation, had been almost lost sight of. The Church of England, which *Magna Charta* provided should "enjoy all her liberties," had here no liberty at all. Her ministers had been barbarously used and driven out.* To seek to establish her Services was a crime. Quakers and Baptists had fared worse. The Puritans of Massachusetts who hated the Book of Common Prayer, and set forth so lustily, as if it had been in derogation of it, that the Scriptures contain

* Drake's Hist., 467.

all things necessary to salvation, did not read those Scriptures in their public services. The unlettered man could gain no knowledge of their precious contents, except as they were seen through the distempered mind of the Puritan minister. Persecution did not end with life. The Church Service was not allowed to be read over the grave of an Episcopalian;* the true Puritan of those days was buried in dumb silence, without a word of hope or prayer, and went down into his grave as if there *were* no Risen and Ascended LORD; and, as if, indeed,

"Darkness, death and long despair
Reigned in eternal silence there."

The political usurpations were as great as the ecclesiastical, and in the end, A. D. 1684, by as just a judgment as was ever rendered in Westminster Hall, the Charter was vacated. The necessary consequence was the appointment of a Royal Governor. The choice fell upon Sir Edmund Andros. It was a happy choice. Whatever theologians may say in matters within their own province, we venture to assume that in political life, at least, men do not suddenly become either good or bad. Much less do they, having changed the good for the bad, as suddenly revert to the good. But we must believe that Sir Edmund did so, if the calumnies of his cotemporaries among the Puritans of Massachusetts are to be credited. Before he came to New England as its Governor, he had been the acting Governor of New York. There he had used his influence to extend popular rights and the legislative franchise.† In religious matters, he was there appealed to as "the father of the Commonwealth,"—as one through whose influence the "honor of God was likely to be promoted," and the "observance of Sabbaths enforced."‡ While at New York, he had not confined his care for his fellow subjects to his own Province, but, according to Governor Dongan,§ saved 'New England from ruin by the war-like tribes of Indians. His influence among the Indians was great and well deserved; and his judgment in their affairs excellent. Had his advice been followed, King Philip's bloody War would never have occurred. As it was, he averted the conflict until there was strength enough in the Colonies to protect themselves. Such was his character *before* he came to Massachusetts as its Governor.

* 1 Hutchinson, 319.

† 2 Bancroft, p. 406. 2. Hildreth, 56.

‡ 4 Documentary Hist. of N. Y., p. 191, octavo ed. p. 119, quarto ed.

§ 1 Documentary Hist. N. Y., p. 154, octavo ed. p. 99 quarto ed. See also his frank and friendly letter to the authorities at Boston, in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 476.

Soon *after* his departure from New England, he was made the Governor of Virginia. The account which history gives of him there is, that he was "actuated in his administration by a sound judgment and a liberal policy; exact, diligent and methodical in the management of business, of a conciliating deportment, and of great generosity."*

But he was more than this. A true servant of the Crown, but hating the dissipation of the Court, he chose to fly from its wickedness to serve his King as a soldier in the ends of the earth. He did his whole duty in the best spirit of old fashioned knight-errantry. No one ever doubted his courage, and in his roughest military expeditions he shared the accommodations of the commonest soldiers.† He was as benevolent, too, when occasion served,‡ as he was bold in the face of an enemy.

But he was more than *this*; or rather, the holy fire within his heart warmed and gave lustre to these virtues. He was a true and loyal Churchman, and carried his whole character into his Churchmanship. Judging thus of him, let us endeavor to put ourselves into his place—to surround ourselves with all the circumstances and memories which crowded on him, and work out in our own minds the interpretation of his acts, and enter into those feelings which, without doubt, agitated his mind and directed those actions. We do not expect those who are not of our communion to appreciate this view of one who has been so often styled "tyrant" and "monster," and only those who are thorough and true Churchmen can be expected to enter deeply into it. We shall for the present be content, if to such men we can vindicate the memory of Governor Andros.

It was the twentieth day of December, A. D. 1686, almost on the eve of Christmas, when Andros landed at Boston. With all its hallowed associations in his heart and mind, what a contrast was here before him! The penalty for keeping that day holy, it is true, no longer existed, but no one as yet had dared to keep it publicly. His first care, after landing, seems to have been to provide for the religious celebration of that day. He at once "convented" the principal men of the town, and demanded that one of the places for public worship should be assigned to him for the Church's Service. Argument and entreaty could not prevail so far, and, indeed, it was not long before he learned that the Church was even then tolerated only

* 2 Burke's Virginia, p. 316.

† 1 Hutchinson's Massachusetts, p. 331.

‡ Beverly's Virginia, p. 91-92.

through fear of the royal power, and that it would be necessary, in order to secure the Church's rights, first of all, to establish that power. A room in the State House was all he could obtain in season for the celebration of the Nativity, and the feast was there kept, in the second story of an old wooden building at the noisiest spot in Boston.

We take it that, after all, it matters but little to the devout Churchman where his Christmas is kept. If it be in the stateliest cathedral, he hardly thinks of that; and if it be in an awkward upper room, unceiled and unpainted, it is a far better place than the lowly manger on which our thoughts are concentrated. We are so occupied with His humility in stooping so low to save us, that we can hardly stop to think of, or care for our circumstances. The open sky and the poor shepherds' chilly watch are most in harmony with our meditations and feelings. Sir Edmund, then, bore this in patience; but in that year the Christmas holidays were at their shortest measure. Epiphany brought to his mind how the pledges for the making Christ "manifest to the Gentiles," which the Charter of Massachusetts recited, had been broken. He saw the poor aborigines learning only the white man's vices, and learning, on account of these vices, to hate the white man's God. He had hardly time to ponder this, when the foreshadowing of an early Lent fell upon him. Lent came, and the Christmas wreaths removed, was kept with daily prayer. Each day, the indignities to which the Church was subjected, became more apparent to him. As Lent advances, every faithful Churchman grows more sensitive for the Church's honor. Each day these indignities grew more unendurable. Passion Week at last came, in all its gloom; and now these insults to the Church seemed to be appropriated and to become an insult to the Blessed Lord Himself. To endure it longer was too much for a Churchman's heart.

We have said, that it matters but little where one's Christmas is kept; but, on Good Friday, we seem to need all the consolations which place and art can supply; such consolation as Mary must have felt when she broke the costly box of ointment "very precious" and anointed Him for His burial. If we can worship in some lofty pile which a noble heart has reared in memory of His all-atoning sacrifice, we begin to feel that now at least He is not wholly forsaken, even by His disciples. We need at *this* season all the support which outward circumstances can give. And we may be sure that under such circumstances as we have been considering, Sir Edmund's heart swelled at all these indignities, put, as it seemed to him, directly upon his Lord and Master. If he allowed this to continue, he

seemed to himself to in some sort countenance those who mocked and buffeted his Saviour. *It could not, should not be!* On Wednesday of Passion Week, he sent for the Puritan Clergy and deacons of the best meeting-house in Boston—the Old South Church—and asked in civil terms for the use of it on Good Friday. They could not plead their own wants, for they had no Friday services. Having exhausted their power of evasion, on Thursday they were driven to declare the bold, bad truth. They hated the Liturgy of the Church of England, and in conscience could not, and would not voluntarily, allow it to be read within what were to them holy walls.* To his loyal spirit, and to his mind, in which the legal principle† that all titles to land by the forfeiture of the Charter had revested in the King was plain and clear, this was little better than treason. The thing was settled. He *could* make use of the power which this forfeiture gave to the King's representative, to obtain possession—at all events, he *would* have possession, for the next day's Services at least, and he threatened that force should effect what his entreaties and commands could not. The Clergy and their friends would not yield; the sexton, however, yielded to the power either of grace or gold, and at his Excellency's command on Friday the Church was opened.

Once in possession, the Governor found that by a little care he could, except on Easter, Whitsunday, or some special occasion, continue his services without at all disturbing the usual course of the Parish services. Sewall ‡ confesses that in general it proved "little hindrance, save as to ringing the first bell and straitning y^e deacons in removal of y^e table." Upon some complaint subsequently, his Excellency, to the surprise of the Puritans, offered to have the Morning Service at eight o'clock, and accommodated them by such hours early and late for the Evening Service, that they had "very convenient time."§ We are tempted to extend our remarks upon this occupation of the Church, but we will not now do so. It is too clear from Judge Sewall's diary, and from all the circumstances, that what troubled them was not the actual interruption, but ¶ the "profanation" of their house by the "Cross in Baptism, and y^e holy days." This interruption continued the longer from the persistent refusal of this same Judge, and others, to sell

* Sewall's Diary, in "Wisner's History of the Old South Church," p. 93, 94.

† 1 Hutchineon, p. 330, and Notes.

‡ Wisner's Hist. &c., p. 94.

§ Ib., p. 95.

¶ Ib., p. 95, Note.

land enough for the erection of a Church for the use of the English Communion. This, however, Andros accomplished before he was deposed by the mob.* The populace, however, instigated by the violent language of the men who should have set a better example, were ready to wreak their vengeance upon the material fabric of the new building. "Whoever," says a cotemporary writer, "will take the pains to survey the glass windows, will discern the marks of a malice not common."†

We have dwelt at length upon this act of Governor Andros, because it is one for which he has been most violently censured. But the other acts of his administration perhaps will be found to have been, even if violent in manner, to be well grounded in principles of law. There is good ground to contend that the Indian deeds were in law, had the point been made seasonably in the courts, "no better than the scratch of a bear's paw." And how could one corporation, like that established by the Charter for the colony, create another corporation? Sir Edmund seems to have especially enjoyed the application to the unloyal inhabitants of Massachusetts of some technical principles of law. When he declared so positively "there's ne'er a town in New England," he was technically correct; for if these municipalities *had* been created by a sufficient power within the Charter, they had fallen with that Charter. And so of all his other acts. No one occurs to us now which may not be in some such sort supported, and his rough speeches were uniformly made upon circumstances of great provocation. As one instance of the injustice done to him, we may refer to Randolph's famous saying, which it is customary to quote as if said of Andros' administration,—viz, that "they were as arbitrary as the great Turk." Hutchinson himself quotes this as if said "with an air of triumph,"—1 vol., p. 330, note. But in fact it was written by Randolph, by way of disapprobation of the acts of certain agents of Colonel Dongan at Pemmiquid, as appears by the letter printed in full in Hutchinson's collection of original papers—pp. 561–565. The persistence of our historians in this matter is the more censurable, since attention was called to it in a foot-note added to p. 330, in the third edition [1795] of Hutchinson's history. It would seem from a passage in Hutchinson,‡ that unpopular as the administration of Andros was with the Puritan settlers, matters still went for-

* This took place April 18, 1687.

† Palmer's Narrative.

‡ 1 vol., p. 324.

ward more regularly and systematically than our writers usually represent. The insurrection of the people prevented the perfection of the intended new model of Government, which we may readily believe from the course of Andros in New York would have been a great gain to the rights of the great body of the people. The old laws of the Colony continued, in the main, the rule for the administration of justice. The new Judges appointed by Andros himself were not disposed to go to extremes, and law proceedings were more formal than they had been. We cannot doubt that if the "great number of bills passed by the council, and approved by the governor,"* which are *said* to have been "lost," could be now exhibited to us, they would help us to interpret many of the acts of the administration of Governor Andros, in a way which would harmonize entirely with his known gentleness and love of order.

The subject grows upon us. But we must stop without giving even a glance at Mr. Oliver's excellent and instructive chapter, entitled "General Reflections on the English Colonial Policy and on the character of Puritanism." It is worthy of careful study. Before we close, however, we will take the liberty to use the words of Mr. Oliver, which indicate not only the spirit in which he has written his book, but that also in which we have endeavored to review it:—"It can never be grateful to men to learn that those whom they have been accustomed to reverence are rather open to censure;" but while on the subject of this early history of Massachusetts, we confess that our first duty is owing to THE CHURCH, "the mother of us all;" and that we should be unworthy sons, if in attempting to observe rules of respect to our forefathers' memory, we should allow their misdoings to be so set forth in history as to defame *her* good name, and obscure *her* just glory.

* 1 Hutchinson, 324. Where and what are the minutes of those bills which existed, it seems, in Hutchinson's day! Are they, too, now "lost!"

ART. VI.—WHAT THE FREE-CHURCH SYSTEM REQUIRES.

IN former articles on the subject of the Free Church System, we have been mainly occupied in establishing the principle involved,—a principle which lies at the root of all really efficient progress in carrying the Church among the masses of our population. To this extension, the Pew-system is a wide-pervading and deadening obstruction, which “letteth and will let, until it be taken out of the way.” Our whole business, hitherto, however, has been only the *removal of obstructions*. We have not shown, practically, how the work is to be done. We have but set the bones of the system in their right places. We have not covered them with flesh and blood, and breathed into them the breath of life. We shall now give the outline of the other changes needed—so it seems to us—to make the Free Church System the mighty weapon of war that it was of old, and that it may be made again, even in our day.

Many of the most enthusiastic and sanguine friends of the Free-Church System, have an idea that all that is needed is merely to have the *seats free*, and a minister willing to live on the proceeds of the Offertory, and that then the thing is done ; success must be certain. The work of removing obstructions, therefore, is not yet over. Much of it has been needed in replying to the advocates of pews. Something of it is also required among those who have ranked themselves among the advocates of Free Churches.

In the first place, then, it is idle to provide a Church so Free that no collection is ever made there for any purpose. This might be the proper idea of a Chapel for an Alms House, or some other institution of public paupers. It is an implied insult to all who go there. For it means, either that those who worship there are so miserably poverty-stricken that they cannot give even the widow’s two mites (which no congregation, even of laboring men, like to be told ;) or else it means, that though they may be able to give, and though the love of God in their hearts may constrain them to give, yet *you* take it for granted that they are so niggardly that they would rather keep their money in their pockets. And taking any such thing for granted, is the surest way in the world to make a congregation niggardly, whether or no. The idea, therefore, is only tolerable in places where the Gospel is as yet a mere stranger—

where no converts have ever been made, no communicants exist, and there is no body of the "faithful," rich or poor, who have any offering of Faith, Hope or Love, to make unto the Lord. In some places where the Church is just starting in hired Halls and School-houses, and has as yet no substantive strength to stand on, it will be well to postpone for a while the calling on the people to contribute to the support of the Church. We do not read that any alms-bason was passed round among the multitude on the Day of Pentecost. But the postponement should be only until there are converts fully enrolled as "believers," "baptized," and "faithful;" and no longer. Of such, it is the duty, the right, the privilege, to offer for the service of Him who hath chosen them; and those who have cure of souls are false to their trust, if they cheat them out of the opportunity. Though there was no collection made on the Day of Pentecost itself, yet, after reading of the conversion of the three thousand souls on that day, we are obliged to travel only three verses further on in the sacred narrative, to discover that "all that *believed* were together and had all things common." Let us look for a moment at the connection thus beautifully and closely established in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles:

41. Then they that gladly received his word, were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.

42. And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.

43. And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles.

44. And all that believed were together, and had all things common;

45. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.

46. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,

47. Praising God, and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.

Here we see how long, and how long only, the good work of contribution should be postponed. It is only until there are converts made and baptized. But then those thus admitted as members of the Church, must immediately thereafter begin to let their light shine before men. Nay, the acts and manifestations of love are needful for the life and growth of love. Love pines away, and starves, and dies, if you give it not somewhat to do. It thrives on what it *does* and *gives*; for that is the only substantial way in which it can appropriate unto itself what it receives of the fulness of God. This heav-

only nourishment, therefore, should be supplied to the children of God, so soon as they become so. In this, as in so many other points, regeneration should follow the beautiful analogy of the natural birth. The mother has no provision for the babe while yet unborn; but no sooner is the man-child born into the world, than nature fills her fragrant bosom to overflowing.

But besides these paupers' Churches, where the people are to have the Gospel so perfectly free that they never have a chance to give anything whatever, there are other cases of a notion but little nearer the truth. It is that Free Churches are very good for the lower classes, and that therefore they ought to be built for the accommodation of that portion of our population. To this is generally added the corollary, that such Churches should be plain, if not mean, in the style of their architecture, because poor people feel more at home in a shabby Church than in one which has the air of gentility about it. There is a certain amount of truth in this. If the air of a Church is the air of "gentility," instead of the atmosphere of dignity, beauty, solemnity and holiness, it will certainly repel the poor. This gentility, however, will be found to reside mainly in the mode of finishing and furnishing the pews. If they are elaborately carved, paneled, cushioned and carpeted, and supplied with Prayer-books in Turkey-morocco, and heavily gilt, the poor man will certainly feel that it is not the place for *him* to make himself at home, for he will know that it belongs to somebody else. But if the seats and furnishings be plain, simple, homelike, nobody need fear that any repelling power will be found in any other part of the edifice, however beautiful. Nay, the aids of architecture, and music, and solemn ritual, are incomparably more powerful upon the feelings of the uneducated, than of those who are more highly refined, and whose critical faculty has been educated so highly, that they behold only with mild approval, those things which, —with coarser, perchance, yet far stronger and really nobler characters—are like the grappling-hooks of the soul, hugging it fast to the Rock amid all the storms and tempests of life. Poor people *love* to see beauty in the house of God, and only the more so, because their condition in life forbids them the hope of ever seeing much of its attractiveness, or dignity, or glory, in their own humble homes. The man of wealth may enjoy at concerts and the opera, or at his own house, the highest triumphs of vocal and instrumental art,—the subtlest and most complicated wonders of scientific skill: and to him, therefore, the Sunday psalm or even anthem, seems dull and tame.

But the poor man, whose highest week-day musical enjoyment is the horrible village fiddle, or the Italian stroller's interminable hand-organ, or perhaps merely his own solitary singing or whistling over his work : to *him* the swell of the organ, and the mingling of his own voice in the multitudinous psalm, is like a going out from himself into a nobler life,—is a lifting him up into a sphere above this common earth, and somewhere near the skies. His own low flat ceiling and narrow lodging-rooms make him feel all the week through, the meanness of his earthly portion, but when he stands in the great Church, on the solemn feast day, in the midst of the congregation, he feels the expansive power of the words of the Psalmist : “Thou hast set my feet in a large room.” The breadth of the noble nave, the upward-running lines of the tall shafts and arches—the loftiness of the darkling valley of the roof with its timbered arms and braces—the rich colors of the painted windows—all these tell him wonderful things of the majesty and glory of heaven,—all these he feels are his own as a child of God, as a son in his Father's house : if so be the cruel “gentility” of more hard-hearted “dearly beloved brethren” does not drive him away, saying in manner, if not in words,—“You've no business here. This is the private property of respectable and genteel ‘miserable sinners.’ Go where you will feel more at home than among us !”

Christ's religion is the grand equalizer of all the irregularities and diversities of earth. Its truths are to be used, and rightly used, not to aggravate, but to *compensate* for the crooked operations of time and chance. Each station of life has its duties, indeed ; and they are carefully inculcated, and must be faithfully performed, as unto the Lord and not to man. But these are of the more formal (not less necessary) part of religion. They are its outer body. The *soul* of it, however, will be found in the glorious compensating principle, which tends to *do away* these temporary divisions and irregularities, and prepare us for the more perfect manifestation hereafter. Thus the slave, while commanded to perfect submission and patient religious fidelity to his master, is ennobled by being taught that he is “the Lord's freeman :” and what higher title to liberty than that can be found ? The master, on the other hand, is humbled by being bidden to remember that he is, not the Lord's freeman, but the Lord's *servant* or *slave* ; and that he also hath a Master in heaven. The religion of Christ is not only to “put down the mighty from their seats,” but also to “exalt them of low degree.” “He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.” It is,

therefore, a reversal of the whole spirit of the Gospel, to attempt to keep the poor down—"where they belong," forsooth—in those things which concern their religion. That religion is the patent of their nobility: and in it, therefore, ought to be concentrated, for them, all the dignity, beauty, glory, that earth can consecrate to the service of heaven.

We have, indeed, known some instances in which this striking spirit of the Gospel was strongly present, but strangely perverted in action. It has been in the case of wealthy persons, yet deeply pious, who felt with all their hearts, that the true operation of religion *with them* ought to be, to bring them down and humble them, to produce in them that "poverty of spirit" which is a hard thing for any man to acquire, but especially difficult for those who are rich in this world's goods. These friends were living in a condition of great comfort, if not of luxury; but they have told us that they loved best to go to church in some upper room wretchedly furnished, or some school-house where everything looked poor and shabby. They said that they always felt more sincere and devout when kneeling on a bare, dusty floor, than in a grand and beautiful Church, where everything was done decently and in order. This was the working of the true spirit of the Gospel, but it was a perverted working. The *true* working would be to apply the poverty and meanness on the *private residence*, now the model of elegance and luxury, and reserve the beauty and rich adornment wholly for the sanctuary of God, which is so much better worthy of it. But it is with deep and true feelings as with pent up waters. If the right outlet is not made for them, they will tear their own way through, and devastate and destroy that which the very gathering of them together was intended to nourish and adorn. Solomon, in all his glory, was not content until he had made the Temple of God far to surpass even his royal palace; and the same *true* feeling would soon show our wealthy Christians which was the more proper place for magnificence, and which for plainness—God's house or their own. It is the same perversion of a similar true feeling which makes the same sort of good Christians change the Lord's day from the chief of Holy Festivals, into a rigid and melancholy Fast.

Free Churches, then, must not necessarily be mean and shabby buildings, with poor music and worse preaching. They must be *the best that we can offer* unto the Lord. Nothing is too good for Him, or His service. And as He was reckoned among the poor of earth while on earth Himself; and as we are taught that he who doeth good works unto the hungry, the thirsty,

the naked and the stranger,—the “least of these His brethren”—doeth them *unto the Lord* ; therefore they ought to be *well* done. No cost, no adornment, no alabaster, no ointment of spikenard very precious, will be out of place, or in vain. Grant that these “poor” are the lowest of the members of His earthly Church, grant that they are neither the royal head, nor the wealthy heart, nor the sceptred hand, but are rather for lowliness, only as the *feet* of His Body ; yet remember that upon His uncomely parts He bestoweth more abundant honor ; and that, therefore, it was the *feet* of Jesus that the blessed Mary anointed : and lo ! the whole House “was filled with the odor of the ointment.”

But even with proper buildings, and the true sort of preaching and singing for popular use, the work is only well begun. Not a few have tried it thus far, and have achieved a moderate share of success,—much more than others believed to be possible :—but they have felt a lack. They have been convinced that there was a something or other altogether unsatisfactory in the working of the machinery. They have been satisfied that they had not yet attained unto what the Church system was intended to be. They have tried to devise now one remedy, and now another ; and yet nothing seems quite to succeed. Let us examine this thing closely, for it touches the matter to the quick. And although what we have to say on the subject, will be found to have its fullest application in populations that are somewhat numerous, yet, with more or less of modification, it will apply to every country village of moderate size.

The Priest of a Parish is a Pastor, a Shepherd. He it is who has special charge over a special flock, and who must watch over their souls as one that giveth account. For this purpose it is necessary that he, after the pattern of the Good Shepherd, should “*know*” his sheep, and also be known of them. He must be able to recognize the members of his flock, as distinguished from those who are under the charge of some other shepherd. He must be able, therefore, in some way, to put his *mark* upon them, that he may “*know*” them. This is done on the pew-system, by their enrollment on the list of pew-holders. All who own or rent pews are reckoned to belong to the parish, and few or none other. “Taking a pew,” therefore, on that system, is formally receiving the mark by which a member of one parish is distinguished from the members of other parishes. The formation of this definite and well understood *tie* between Pastor and people is one of the very few points in which there seems to be anything good in the pew-system at

all. But it is purchased at a tremendous price,—and woefully debased, too, in the very purchase.

For what does it amount to in practice, for a congregation of goodly size? Parish Priests consider themselves bound—most of them do, at any rate, perhaps not all—to visit each family or individual of their flock *once*, or perhaps three or four times, in a year. In large city parishes, it is only once, and very hard work to accomplish *that*. It is commonly done at the beginning of the year, the industrious priest undertaking to get through so many each day, of the families on his pew-list. His visits must be short. They are liable to a multitude of interruptions and mischances which may prevent them from being profitable, either to himself or his parishioners. They come to be as general and as utterly formal as the auricular confession once a year, before Easter, has become in most cases in the Church of Rome. There are hundreds to be “confessed” within a given time. The sins of a whole year cannot be detailed with anything like the desirable speed. So each penitent is conveniently hurried through a “general formula,” receives absolution, and makes way for the next comer. Occasionally, beyond question, good is done, and much good, even in a brief interview, once a year—provided circumstances be favorable. But these cases are only the exceptions.

There are, of course, a certain number of the flock, whom the Pastor sees much more frequently, nay, habitually, during the year. But these are the more zealous and helpful of his people. These are his Wardens and Vestrymen, his District Visitors, his Tract Distributors, his Sunday School Teachers;—these are the choice ones of all he has, those who are the furthest advanced along the way of life, so that they can help others also in turn. And therefore these, who see most of their Pastor, are really those who *need him least*; while those whom he sees—or finds to be “not at home”—once in the twelve months, are precisely those who need looking after the most. They are the dullards, the laggards, the sluggards;—those in whose heads or hearts some nail of error sticks, as between stones;—those who nibble a few green blades along the road side, but need the encouraging voice or even the gentle violence of the Shepherd’s hand, to make them enter into the midst of those who are on the way to the green pastures;—those in whom the chronic chill upon the soul hinders the warm word from the pulpit, and will not let it penetrate beyond the outer court of the ear;—those in whom the sense of spiritual loneliness, or of undeserved neglect and desertion, or the mere absence of cordial sympathy with fellow-Christians, renders the whole circula-

tion of the spiritual life torpid and slow, if it does not make it at length to become stagnant altogether, and finally to dry up and disappear. Such sheep there are, in considerable number, in almost every flock. They need *cherishing*; and they do not receive it. They hang on for a while,—perchance for a long while,—and at length, when they drop off by death or removal, few know it, and still fewer care. Beyond the Priest's more immediate circle of friends and fellow-helpers, therefore, it is generally the case that not a little of apathy, indifference, deadness, prevails,—a want of sympathy both spiritual and social—and a consequent want of coöperation in all good works. This is more or less the case, even in the best and most zealous and flourishing of our pewed Churches everywhere. And it is the case, moreover, even where the Pastor knows all his own sheep, at least well enough to catalogue their names and residences from the pew-list.

But on the Free-Church system, as at present tried among us, not even this advantage is enjoyed, so far as the definiteness of the pastoral tie is concerned. On the Pew-system that tie is wofully debased, from being a purely spiritual relation, to the being a mere pecuniary bond. So long as pew-rent is paid at one Church, the parishioner is "spiritually" connected with the Priest of that Church. So soon as rent ceases, and is paid for another pew in another Church, the "spiritual" jurisdiction changes also. It is therefore graviously debased. It ought to be a three-fold cord of Love, instead of being merely a bit of golden wire. But—good, bad, or indifferent—it is a positive, definite, tangible *tie*. In our Free-Churches, as at present conducted, that pew-tie is broken, and nothing equally definite has yet taken its place. Where the building, the music, the preaching, are what they ought to be, or anywhere near it, there is never a lack of a congregation. Fairly full, or crowded, is the general rule for all such Churches, morning, afternoon, night,—we were going to say Sundays and *week-days*, and it would be true, as compared with pewed Churches which are open for dull, monotonous, unmusical week-day services. But how to bring all these people into definite personal relation with the Priest as their Pastor?—that is the question. The crowd throngs around him,—on every side some well-known, faithful, familiar faces; but among and beyond these, hundreds whom he does not know, and whom he can find out no practicable means of reaching. He scatters the seed broad-cast, and these strangers may receive it in an honest and good heart; but he, with the best will in the world, cannot follow them up, to watch the springing and the growing, to remove the weeds, to pluck up the

thorns, and to give all the benefits of good husbandry, that it may bring forth an hundredfold for the harvest. Such strangers, especially if they habitually occupy the remoter parts of the Church, may attend its solemn services for months and years together, and the Priest never know anything about them all the while.

It will not do to say that this is all the fault of the Priest. It is no such thing. Priests are but men, and they cannot do everything at once. They have the proper function of their own Order heavy upon them, and *that* it is their duty to attend to first. And that is, "prayer and the ministry of the Word." They must be "apt to teach." The good Priest is a man "holding fast the faithful Word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." He must break to them the bread of life. This is indeed the proper business of a *Pastor*, which means, *one who feeds*. The study and care which this requires, must necessarily occupy a very large share of his time. The general government of his parish, and all the charities and good works that may be connected with it, the visiting of such of the sick as may need his priestly ministrations, the conversing with those who are specially troubled in mind by sins, or confused and perplexed with doubts or difficulties needing his experienced skill to remove: those will occupy him to such a degree, that, being only a man, and there being only twenty-four hours in his day, the detailed total of the personal work of the parish will be utterly beyond his power. And yet there *ought to be* that personal contact with each individual, frequent enough to produce full acquaintance, and so much, at least, of cordial confidence and sympathy, as will produce a zealous, strenuous and habitual coöperation in all good works.

The system requires, therefore, another Order of Ministers—for Ministers they must be, that they may be clothed with proper authority—an Order intermediate between the Priest and the People. It is a simple, indispensable, absolute necessity, if the work is ever to be done at all. The pew-list, with its miserable little thin twine, spun out of the bowels of Mammon, may persuade men that there is, in it alone, coherence enough for all ordinary parochial purposes; and this cheat is one of the worst parts of a bad system. But the Free-Church plan, *in operation*, finds itself face to face with the great gap between Priest and People, and the very honest and straightforward reality of the system itself, renders any dodging or blinking of the issue altogether impossible. That *great gap between the Priest and the People must be filled up*, or, for all

purposes of conquest, to say nothing of Pastoral care, our parochial system must be set down as, in a great measure, a failure.

True, nearly everywhere now—at least in every place where the revival of earnest Church work has begun to operate—we hear loud and emphatic confessions of this *great gap*; and we find one attempt after another made to fill it up *with laymen*. In England very extensively, and here to some extent, the plan of Scripture Readers has been tried; and with some measure of success. Sunday-school teachers, Guilds, Brotherhoods, and various similar Societies, have been pressed into the traces. The *active coöperation of the laity* is called for in all quarters, as indispensable. The faithful women of our congregations are, to some extent, in most of our Parishes, organized for operations among the distressed. But, in the first place, where such agencies are really at work with hearty energy and success, they manufacture work for the Priest faster than any one man can attend to it, (for there is much which a Minister may do satisfactorily, but which a layman cannot;) and finding this *embarras de richesses* really oppressive to a well-meaning Rector, if not likely soon to break him down altogether from overwork,—or, perhaps, at the same time, finding their own zeal cooling a little, and bethinking themselves that as they are not in Orders, it cannot be their absolute duty, as mere laymen, to undertake so much;—they gradually slacken their exertions, and before very long, everything has slipped back into the old track. Or where overmuch zeal in the lay-workers outruns a slender amount of knowledge, and an enthusiastic energy of temperament is relied upon as a full warrant to set lawful authority at defiance; then disorders, bordering on fanaticism, corrupt the good that is done, and in all probability the last state is worse than the first. Mere zeal, without self-restraint, recognition of authority, steadiness of training, and reliability of character, is not so much a help as a hindrance. There is no humility in it on either side—either the leaders or the led. It has been the cause of nearly all the sects now in the world, or that are likely to be born hereafter from the same prolific parents of schism and confusion, and these are *Spiritual Ignorance and Spiritual Pride*, brought together in the heat of well-meaning but self-willed and excited temper, and thus deceiving themselves and deceiving others too, into all sorts of pernicious and obstinate errors.

For the root idea of the whole work of the ministry and the external machinery of the Church, is contained in the one word *Apostle*, even as the tree is contained in the germ. An

Apostle is one *sent*. The pool of Siloam, in which the natural-born blindness of fallen man is to be washed away, is by interpretation *sent*. There is no volunteering, no acting out of one's own head, about it. The authority comes from God to man, and is not a thing which originates with men, and which God will therefore receive at their hands. And God's way of speaking and acting is through His Church, with which He has promised to be until the end of the world; whereas He has made no such promise to any special individuals among the laity of that Church, however well-meaning or zealous. Ministerial power, therefore,—the right to act towards men on God's behalf, in things pertaining to God,—must come, and can come, only through the appointed ministry of the Church—through those whom Christ hath *sent*, and to whom alone He hath confided the power of *sending* others. And this sending, to be fully effectual, must be in the way which He has appointed, and in order to fulfill the ends which He has designed.

Those ends are absolutely indispensable for the living energy of any large, and conquering, and *compact* system. Methodism may teach us a wise lesson in this. The gap between Minister and people was filled up by Wesley, with the *class-leaders*—an Order of sub-ministers who were the vital power in the growth of that zealous body of Christians, and whose energy and vigor produced and maintained the energy and vigor of the whole body. They are now, in many parts of the land, falling into abeyance or inactivity—dropping gradually out of the system; and as they disappear, the full life and glory of the denomination is departing with them. In vain did Wesley incorporate this part of his plan as a fundamental feature in his Book of Discipline. He was but a man. And if the voice of the Holy Ghost in Holy Scripture has not been enough to keep the Order of Deacons in a state of practical efficiency in the Church of Christ, it is no wonder that a mere man like Wesley has not been able to keep his class-leaders effective in the Methodist denomination.

And if he could not succeed, even when incorporating this feature into the fundamental frame-work of his society, how can we expect to do it, when our various devices for lay-agency are not only omitted from our Prayer-Book and Constitution, but are not even mentioned in the Canons, or formally recognized in any way whatever? They depend upon the purest and merest voluntarism of the hour. They derive their sole authority—such as it is—from the verbal consent, or approval, or incitement, of the Priest of the Parish for the

time being. The lay-agents in the work have no commission to show but a willing heart, a ready tongue, and a zeal which this Pastor may approve—the next may not. Our Sunday-school system, our Parochial Societies, our district visitors, tract-distributors, colporteurs, brotherhoods, guilds, &c., are the purest and merest voluntarism—not in the ordinary sense of a religion supported without aid from the state; but of operations carried on in the Church, without any regular authority further than the will and good-pleasure of those who take part in them. This is qualified, in some degree, by the personal approval and coöperation of the Priest of the Parish—by his oversight and authorization. But these are not enough. They yet leave the work open merely to the inclination and good-will of individuals for the time being. And every Pastor knows how insufficient this is. He knows how often he has labored with young men and young women to induce them to take a class in the Sunday-school, and how hard he found it to be, to convince them that it was their duty. And he knows, too, that the idea of getting any Scriptural proof that such labors *are* the *duty* of lay people in general of both sexes, is altogether preposterous. No such proof can be found. He knows, too, how very hard it is to get Sunday-school teachers to feel any pastoral *responsibility* over the members of their class. They know that what they *do* in the matter is, as it were, a work of supererogation; not having any amount of transferable *merit* indeed, but nevertheless being more than is necessary for the salvation of their own souls—or at least more than is necessary that other people should do. They see that other good Christians are considered as sure of being saved without teaching Sunday-school, and it is not clear why *they* should take all this trouble about other people's children. It is not their *duty*; and no Clergyman can prove that it *is* their *duty*, because they are not in *Orders*, or *under Orders*; they have not been duly *sent*. And they know it perfectly well. They know that they are mere volunteers; and that it is of the essence of volunteerism that one may come *and go* as he *pleases*, there being on him no obligation to remain except his *own will*.

To make this matter a little plainer. Suppose that we undertake to supply the work of the *priesthood* itself in the same way; what should we have? In the first place, we should have no person *ordained* for that work. We should have no special training for that work, beyond the mere being a devout communicant. We should have no one making it the special duty of his life to "minister the Word." We should have

men preaching just as the Spirit moved them—that is, just when they felt like it;—and having no obligation beyond their own internal promptings. We should have, in other words, neither more nor less than *Quaker preaching* and *Quaker priesthood*. And we do not know how it can be made to appear that a Quaker *Diaconate* is any more in accordance with God's word or God's will, than a Quaker Priesthood.

With a proper *Diaconate in Orders*, however, all these difficulties will vanish. The Priest, alone, has no ordaining power. He has the modified power of the keys for the discipline of the laity; but he can make no layman a Clergyman, he can confer nothing higher than the powers of a layman. No matter how many lay-helpers he may get, he cannot make them *Deacons*. All the arrangements of subordinate parochial assistance, therefore, no matter how fully he may authorize them personally, are *without full authority*. They are resolvable into nonentity at a word. There is nothing substantial about them.

But a *Diaconate in Orders* is an entirely different thing. It is at once understood that *there* is authority from the same hands that ordained the Priest himself—*there* is power; *there* is duty; *there* is responsibility; *there* is perpetual obligation; *there* is no mere whim of the hour, no mere temporary zeal from within, but the embodiment of a power from Christ;—a power to be exercised under the bonds and solemnities of vows before God and man, and positive written laws of obligation and limitation, and direct accountability both to Priest and Bishop here, as well as to God hereafter. Such a *Diaconate*, therefore, is an element of vast and reliable power; while our present system is only a confession of want and weakness—an unreality striving vainly to *be* something. We are suffering on all sides from a Quaker *Diaconate*; and we obstinately refuse to restore the true *Diaconate* ordained by the Holy Ghost, although we have happily retained the name,—the shadow,—and although the substance of the full and glorious reality is within our reach—*whenever it shall be the will of our rulers*.

The Free-Church System will help on the restoration, because it cuts away the miserable pretense of pew-rent as a sufficient bond between Pastor and people, and leaves the unbridged gap yawning, wide and undeniable, between priest and people. The priest *must* have some assistance by which he can properly *manipulate* his work in detail, as no man can do it alone. He must give *himself* to “prayer and the ministry of the Word;” but he must have his deacons, meanwhile,—somewhat like the Methodist class-leaders,—familiarizing them-

selves by daily and constant contact with the people—each Deacon having his own proper portion of the work marked out for him. Thus the changes and chances of the public congregations may be utilized; the strangers will be looked after, visited, interested, and drawn in one by one to be living, working members of the one Body; the floating masses that are now carried like drift-wood from Church to Church, from meeting-house to meeting-house, and finally eddy into some out-of-the-way corner of utter and dead indifference, will be rescued, attracted, attached, and so built up as timbers in the House of God, fitly framed together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. The sick and needy will be constantly visited, read to, prayed with, and ministered unto in temporals as well as spirituals, with a regularity and tenderness now simply impossible. The whole congregation, individually, will then be regularly canvassed and personally applied to, in aid of all good works, general and special; and the fruits of such hand-tilth will be wonderfully richer than the present mode of merely scattering the seed broadcast on Sunday, on ground not even scratched up before hand so as to give the seed a chance to strike into the soil; and with little or no husbandry afterwards to bring the fruit to perfection. The Sunday-schools and Parish-schools will be faithfully attended to, with a steady care now impossible to the most laborious of Priests; and the catechetical training be made as thorough and complete as it is now shallow, fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The straying ones—those who from weakness or exposure to sharp temptation—are caught and likely to be led away by errors, or fanaticism, or mere worldliness, will be sought after individually, as was the one lost sheep in the wilderness, and brought home again with rejoicing. The public services may then be multiplied to almost any extent, both on Sundays and week days, without exhausting fatigue or over-exertion to any one, and with spiritual benefit to all. The affairs of the Dispensary, the Infirmary, the Church Home, the Sisterhood, and any other of the numerous voluntary helps, may then be looked after with that ministerial assiduity which is indispensable to their full efficiency, but which a solitary Priest in a Parish is utterly unable sufficiently to give.

Nor must it be supposed that all this is to be done independently of the Priest. By no means. He is to be the head of all that is done by the deacons; but they are to be his hands. He is the *Pastor*, one who *feeds*; they are *Deacons*, those who *minister*. He will lay out all their work for them; and hear their report of it after it is done. Cases of conscience or

of sickness that need his special ministrations, will be brought to him, or he to them. Reference will be made everywhere to him and his authority ; and the multitudes will ever be brought up to the Church to receive the word at his mouth, and baptism and the Holy Eucharist at his hands. And when the Bishop comes, it is the Priest who presents to him those who are to be sealed unto the Lord through him. Thus the Priest is not set aside, but rather multiplies his power and efficiency among his people ; he is not removed far from them, but bound to them by fresher and stronger bands ; he gathers them in with longer arms, and more numerous hands, and follows after them with more indefatigable feet, than any one man alone can boast, without these helpers whom God has provided. The great gap between Priest and people is thus filled up—and filled up, too, by that which is itself not dead matter, not a mere machine, a piece of formal organization only—but by that which is a living portion of the Ministry of the Holy Ghost, renewing, strengthening and revivifying both priesthood and people, by binding them thus closely together in one.

Without this restoration of the Diaconate, the Free-Church System will be, measurably, a failure. It will attract full congregations, but will give them no coherence or organic power. They will be chaotic crowds—ropes of sand. They will come and go, ebb and flow, like the tides of the restless, rolling sea ; but the building up of the mighty, complex, beautiful fabric of the Temple of the Lord's Church will go on but slowly—slowly ; for the master-builder will be laboring all alone upon the walls. The stones and the wood lie thickly around him ; but where are his underworkmen ? his skilled artificers ? Who can build so great a house with his own two hands alone ?

Nor will this be all that the full carrying out of the Free-Church System requires. If our Parishes had some two or three, or six or seven Deacons each, the number of the clerical force would be so greatly augmented as to throw much additional labor of every sort upon the Bishops. With a Diaconate thus numerous, it would necessarily be composed mainly of those who have not what are now reckoned "full qualifications." They would be men of the grade of education now possessed by well-read and well-trained laymen—such as would be advisable for Sunday-school teachers and superintendents, and such as are now gladly placed in the foremost rank among the lay-workers of a Parish. There would naturally arise an increase in the number of cases of discipline, calling for more or less of the time of a Bishop—for such

Deacons would doubtless be human, even as Priests (and Bishops themselves) are now. Besides this, the vigor thus gained would make the visitations and confirmations much more numerous and laborious. It would be found impossible for any Bishops to administer such enormous dioceses as they attempt to administer now. These great Dioceses would therefore be broken up into small pieces—small in direct proportion to the thoroughness with which the work in them was to be done. And with the Episcopate thus increased in numbers, so as to render it, in each portion of the Church, the ever active source of influence, life and power, which it was intended to be, and *not* the routine affair which it has too generally become; and also with the Diaconate restored, as once more a *reality* in the Church instead of a *vox et preterea nihil*: we should then see the Free-Church once more what it was of old, gathering in of both bad and good, and filling itself with as wondrous draughts as were taken in the nets of the Eleven, when the risen Jesus was with them on the Sea of Galilee.

It is, indeed, all nonsense to suppose that one leading feature alone, of the early age of the Church, can be restored successfully *by itself*, and grafted, like a piece of new cloth on our old garments, leaving all else the same as now. It cannot be done. That early system of the Church was established as the external form of a living Body, which was incessantly active with the most earnest and successful aggression everywhere. It was instinct with the power of the Holy Ghost. Inspiration gave it metes and bounds, its laws and rules of practice. Every part was indispensable to the whole. There was no superfluity, no mere antiquarianism; but the new and plastic power fashioned all things to answer its own high needs, and facilitate its conquest of the world. We have gradually slidden away, in our modern times, from the theory, as well as from the practice, of those early ages. And we cannot restore half-way. We must indeed begin at one point, and gradually work onwards to the others. But what we mean to say is, that the parts of that system are so absolutely independent, practically,—each one so bound up in all the rest,—that we shall not have reached the end of our work until we have restored all. At present, our Bishops are overburdened with cares, so that they are limited almost wholly to routine work, and are hardly able to keep up even with that. Our Priests are charged with the whole of our pastoral and parochial labor, except what is done by the Bishop, and a few of the laity. Deacons are simply nowhere: and the pew-list is relied upon to tie the sheep to the

knowledge and conscience of their shepherd. If we sever this miserable pretense of a pastoral tie, we make the restoration of the Diaconate manifestly a *practical necessity*. If we restore the Diaconate, the restoration of the ancient Episcopate becomes likewise a *practical necessity*. For the Primitive system was full of the practical logic of a vigorous Divine Life. As men of science now, from one bone of an extinct animal, will perfect his skeleton and tell us all about him; so one single element of the Primitive system, fairly realized, will include all the rest. There was no dead-wood in it. Every part had its use, and was placed there because it was wanted. Man is the same now that he was then. The Church is the same. The ministry is the same. The work of the Church and of the ministry is also the same. When Life and Strength are fully revived, therefore, they will find that they *must* work again in the *old forms*, because none other will answer the purpose. The same premises, and the same processes, will inevitably bring men to the same conclusions. Let not our Free-Church friends, therefore, be disheartened when they find a lack,—a great practical gap—in the working of their system. Let them know that such a want *must needs be developed in their experience*, not in order to drive them back to the dead-and-alive barrenness of the pew-system, but in order to make necessary the *next step in the process of restoration,—the Diaconate*; and when that is obtained, it also will cry out for “more Bishops and smaller Dioceses.”

And they will come. These means and channels of grace unto men, are like the natural streams that water the face of the earth. The scorching sun, and the drying winds, and the sultry air, may with long and dreary drought consume the streams, and the waters shrink in their channels, and so long as the skies are bare of clouds, the gracious moisture disappears altogether, and leaves but the pebbly bed of its former course to tell where once its crystal waters overflowed. But when the heavy clouds arise from out the great sea, and the windows of heaven are opened, and the gracious rains descend once more, and run down in little rills towards every lower ground, gathering their drops together, and swelling, leaping, laughing as they go; think you that they must needs form *new* channels for themselves, and leave the old as bare as if the earth were yet dried up with drought? Not so! From every knoll, as by a divine and irresistible instinct,—down from every hill, and along the moistening midst of every valley, the runnels feel their way back at once to their ancient beds; and

soon the white pebbles are covered ; and every little pool, and eddy, and ripple and waterfall is filled up with its ancient life and beauty, as if no drought had ever been seen or heard of. And up to the fullness of its former banks the rushing waters rise and swell. And again, as of old, the pastures are green by the waters of comfort : and again the Tree that grows by the River of Life bears its twelve manner of fruits, and on all the winds of Heaven sends forth its wondrous leaves for the healing of the Nations.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

ART. VII.—EARLY CHURCH IN CONNECTICUT.

THE following Petition and Memorial, by the early Churchmen in Connecticut to the Government of the Puritan Connecticut Colony, have never before been published. They are valuable, both as showing the disabilities and annoyances with which the early Churchmen of Connecticut were obliged to contend; and, also, as preserving the names of every Churchman in Connecticut one hundred and twenty years ago. The Church language and tone of the second document are note-worthy. We presume it was drawn up by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, father of the first Bishop of Connecticut; or, more likely, by that learned and distinguished man, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D., a name dear to the hearts of Connecticut Churchmen. We are indebted for a copy of these papers to C. J. Hoadley, Esq., connected with the State Department.

CONNECTICUT STATE PAPERS. ECCLESIASTICAL. VOL. I. DOC. 106.

To the Honrd the Gen^l Assembly of the Corporation of Connecticott in New England:

The Humble Address and Petition of sundry persons of and belonging to the same Corporation,

Sheweth; That whereas wee whose names are subscribed Being Professors of the Protestant Christian Relidgion, Members of the Church of England, And subjects to our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by God's Grace King of England, &c, And under those sacred tyes mentioned and contained in our covenant sealed with our Baptism, Having seriously pondered our past and present want of those Ordinances w^{ch} to us and our Children as members of Christs vissible Church ought to bee administered, Which wee apprehend to bee to the Dishonour of God and the obstruction of our owne and our Childrens good (contrary to the pious will of our Lord the King in his maine purpose in settling these plantations as by the Charter and his mat^{ties} Letter to the Bay June 20th 1662, and otherwayes is most evidently manifest.) to our great grieffe—The sence of our Duty towards God, The relation wee stand in to our mother Church, our gratefull acceptance of his maties Royal favor, The edification of our owne and our childrens soules and many other good, Christian and profitable ends, (as allso at a late session of this Honrd. Assembly having received a favorable encouragement from the Wor^{ll} Dep. Gov:) Hereunto moving us, Wee are bold by this our Address to declare our Agreivances, and to Petition for a redress of the same.

Our Agreivance is that we and ours are not under the Due care of an Orthodox Ministry that will in a due manner administer to us those

ordinances that wee stand capeable of, as the Baptizing of our Children, our being admitted (as we according to Christs Order may bee found meete) to the Lords table, And a carefull watch over us in our wayes and suteable dealing with us as wee do, well or ill, Withall whatsoever benifitts and Advantages belong to us as members of Christs visible Church which ought to bee dispenced by the officers of the same, of wch: wee beeing destitute

We humbly request, That this Honrd Court would take into serious consideration our present state in this respect that wee are thus as sheep scattered haveing no shepheard, and compare it with what wee conceive you cannot but know both God and our King would have it different from what it now is. And take some speedy and effectual course for redress herein, And put us in a full and free capacity of injoying those forementioned Advantages which to us as members of Christs visible Church doe of right belong, By establishing some wholesome Law in this Corporation by vertue whereof wee may both clame and receive of such officers as are, or shall be by Law set over us in the Church or churches where wee have our abode or residence those forementioned priviledges and advantages.

Furthermore we humbly request that for the future no Law in this corporation may be of any force to make us pay or contribute to the maintenance of any Minister or officer in the Church that will neglect or refuse to baptize our Children, and to take care of us as of such members of the Church as are under his or thair charge and care.

Thus in hope that your carefull and speedy consideration and ishue hereof will bee answerable to the weight of the matter and our necessity, and that matters of less moment may be omitted till this bee ishued wee waits for a good answer. And for this Honrd Court wee shall ever pray &c:

October 17th: 1664.

Admitted freeman Oct. 9th. 1662.

Admitted freeman May 21. 1657.

Admitted freeman May 18. 1654. (Hartford)

Admitted freeman May 20. 1658.

Admitted freeman May 20. 1658.

Wm. Pitkin

Michael Humphrey

John Stedman

James Enno

Robert Reeve

John Moses

Jonas Westover

Trumbull's
Colonial Records,
Vol. I, 487-8.

At a General Assembly held at Hartford October
13th, 1664—

This Court understanding by a writing presented to them from severall persons in this Colony that they are agrieved that they are not interteined in Church fellowship; this Court having duly considered the same, desiring that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony to consider whither it be not their duty to enterteine all such persons, whoe are of an honest and godly conversation, haveing a competency of knowledg in the principles of re—

CONNECTICUT STATE PAPERS, ECCLESIASTICAL, VOL. X., DOC. 224.

To the Honorable the Governour Council & Representatives of His Majesties English Colony of *Connecticut* in General Court to be assembled at *Hartford* in the sd Colony, on the second *Thursday* of *May* next, being in the year of our Lord 1738. The *Humble Address* of the members & professors of that part of Christs Church called the *Church of England*, living in & under the Government of the sd Colony.

May it please your Honor & this Honorable General Court,

We the subscribers, members & professors of the *Church of England* living in this His Majesties Colony of *Connecticut*, being His Majesties most dutiful & loyal subjects, & sincerely well attached to the Constitution of this Government, do humbly beg leave to lay an Address before your Honour & this Assembly, relating to an affair which as we apprehend, does very nearly concern us.—

And that this our Address may meet with the more favorable reception, we would in the entrance thereof, assure your Honour & this Assembly, That, (however we may be misrepresented,) we are in no wise disaffected to *this Corporation as it is incorporated by Royal Charter*, but do bear an hearty affection to its constitution, & the privileges thereof; & do therefore beg that nothing we have to offer may be interpreted as savoring of any disaffection, or any aim at undermining it or interrupting the peace of it, *in the peace whereof we seek our peace*.

In this good opinion & cordial affection to the Constitution & Government of this corporation, we have been much confirmed from the consideration of that impartial justice observable from time to time in the members of this Assembly, constituting the Legislative power of this Colony: a particular instance whereof we have experienced in that generous & just *Act of Assembly*, passed in *May*, in the year 1727, whereby the professors of the *Church of England* are exempted from contributing to the support of the ministers of the *Congregational* or *Presbyterian* persuasion, which are those that are peculiarly countenanced by the Laws of this Government, & from paying towards building Meeting Houses, where such Professors of the *Church of England* have the advantage of attending Divine Service according to the rules & methods of Public Worship established in *England*; and the same Act provides for the support of their own ministers & their own method of worshipping GOD.

From whence we conclude, that it is the opinion of the Legislature of this Government, That it is not only not right to compel people to the support of that worship and ministry which they soberly differ from: But also that it is just and right for every one to have the benefit of his own way of Worship, & of his own Labor & estate to support that way of worship which he sincerely believes to be right; and therefore we persuade ourselves that it is inconsistent with the received & allowed principles of this Legislature to oblige us, by any ways or means to contribute to the support of the Churches or ministry peculiarly countenanced by the Laws of this Government.

That therefore which gives occasion to this Address is, That we have been informed that an Act was passed in the *Last Assembly* held at *New Haven*, respecting the *Seven Townships* laid out in the Western Lands belonging to this corporation of which we are members, whereby the monies to be raised from the sale of those lands were appropriated either to the use of the Schools or to the support of the ministers of the *Presbyterian or Congregational* persuasion (being those that are peculiarly countenanced by the laws of this Government) to be divided to the several Parishes in proportion to their several lists; & this in such a manner that we of the *Church of England*, cannot lay claim to any share of them for the support of our ministers or schools: and that there was a bill prepared & passed in the *Lower House*, which we are told may probably pass through the whole Legislature at this Assembly, whereby the public moneys arising from the loan of the *Last Emission*, were also to be appropriated to the support of the ministers afores^d, peculiarly countenanced by the Laws of this Government, in a manner that would exclude us from having any share in the same for the support of the ministers of the *Church of England*.

Now these proceedings of the last General Assembly are what we humbly beg leave with all due deference to your Honour & this Assembly to object to—Not that we are in the least invidious towards our Brethren of the *Congregational persuasion*, or would aim at hindering the passing of the bill last mentioned into an Act: so far from this that we do heartily applaud so good & generous a disposition in that Assembly in being concerned to provide a certain & sufficient support for the Ministers of Religion in this Colony: But because it appears to us that it would be a manifest Injustice for us to be denied our share in those public monies for the support of our ministers; and that therefore according to the known & received principles of this Legislature, (as appears by the Act above mentioned,) the s^d Act & Bill ought to have been formed in such a manner as to secure to us our proportion in the s^d public monies, as well as to our Brethren of any other Denomination—and that for these reasons,

1. Because the *Doctrines & Principles of the Church of England* do professedly & most certainly tend, (at least equally with those of any other persuasion,) not only to fit & prepare men for Eternal Happiness in the life to come, but also to promote the public good of Society in this world by teaching them to be sober, virtuous & industrious in their callings, serious & devout towards GOD, & just & charitable towards men, & in every respect to be good christians, kind neighbours, upright magistrates, dutiful subjects, & faithful & conscientious in every relation & condition of life: and consequently their professors ought to have the like equitable & favorable treatment with those of any Denomination of Christians.—

2. Because the *Church of England* is that profession & persuasion which is established at home in our mother country, & which His most sacred majesty professes & hath bound himself by oath to maintain, from whom we received, & under whom we hold our Charter privi-

leges, & who therefore, with those in the Government & administration under him will be apt to resent any unequal treatment which the members of that Church may receive from the provinces abroad under his Majesties government & protection: and we should be very sorry to have anything done among us that may tend to bring his majesties displeasure upon this corporation.

3. Because the welfare & happiness of this, as well as all other Governments, depends upon the union & joint endeavors of all the members of it, in promoting one & the same common good & general interest, Whereas an unequal treatment of different Denominations of Christians is apt to breed envies animosities & contentions, which necessarily tend to weaken the hands of Government, destroy the public tranquility, & procure a great many disadvantages to the general weal & prosperity of the Government.—

4. Because it has been once & again delivered as the judgement of the *Attorney & Solicitor General* at Home, & by the *Lords Justices* (during the Kings absence in 1725,) in their letter to the *Lieutenant Governour of Boston*, (all which we are ready to produce,) that there is not & cannot be any such thing as a regular establishment of any one Denomination of Christians to the exclusion of the rest, without an explicit consent of his Sacred Majesty, (the same also appears from the late *Letters of the Bishop of London & Society* to the ministers of Hampshire :) and consequently, we standing, at least, upon an equal foot with our Brethren of any other Denomination, have an equal right with them in any common interest, & particularly to have our proportional share in any public monies that have or may be granted for the support of the ministry or schools.—

5. Because, (as we humbly presume,) we have equally a right in equity to our proportion in those unoccupied Lands with our Brethren of any other Denomination: Forasmuch as all the lands within the bounds of this Government, being purchased or conquered by our common progenitors or ancestors, were by the *Royal Charter* alike granted and confirmed according to their several proportions of right, to the *whole corporation*, consisting of the *Body of the People*; that is, to all that are free of this Government, with their *successors & assigns, to be held for their common use and benefit*: and this without limiting them to those of any particular sentiments in matters of Religion: & consequently those unoccupied Lands are their common estate & interest: so that none of their descendants or assigns can be equitably excluded from the benefit of any sale or disposition to be made of them, whatever denomination they are of in matters of religion.—

6. Because we bear an equal proportion of the public taxes for supporting the Government & for paying the members of the Assembly which are our common representatives, & that while they are consulting and passing acts for the public weal; yea even while they are consulting measures for the disposing of this very money; as also for defraying of the cost of any emissions of the public bills of credit & for supporting of the credit of them: (which taxes we have always been cheerfully willing to pay :) and consequently the loan of any emission of

them being a common interest; we presume we have a right to an equally proportionable share in the benefit accruing therefrom with those of any other denomination, according to that just maxim in the Law *Qui sentit onus sentire debet & commodum*, i. e. He that feels a share in the burthen, ought also to enjoy his share in the advantage—and

7^{thly} and lastly, That which gives us the greater reason to insist upon this, is, That the s^d Act & Bill appears to us to have a manifest inconsistency with the intent of the Act first above mentioned, passed in the last year of his late Majesty's reign, whereby the members of the *Church of England* were exempted from paying to the support of the ministers of the Congregational persuasion & provision was made that their proportion of the ministers' rate should go to the support of their own ministers: Whereas according to the tenor of the act & Bill above mentioned, we should be obliged to contribute our proportion towards the support of the Congregational ministers, from which by this act, we had been exempted.—And by the way we would take this occasion to observe, that the like inconsistency we humbly apprehend there is between the intent of the s^d act, & the grants that have been made by some late acts of assembly, of certain sums of money out of the Treasury of this Colony to the Parishes of *West Haven & North Groton*, of which we are laid under a necessity of paying our proportion, by paying our Country Rates,—not to mention the contrivance that has been made use of in some places to elude the intent of this Act by comprehending the ministers' support in the Town Rate, & thereby obliging us to contribute to the support of the Congregational ministers by paying our Town Rates.—

Upon the whole therefore, what we humbly entreat and for these reasons beg leave to expect from your Honour & this General Assembly, is, That some alteration may be made in our favour of the Act above mentioned, and that some amendment may be made of the Bill proposed by the late House of Representatives, if it should again come under consideration, so that we may be secured of our proportion of those public monies towards the support of our ministers, & that our schools also, where we have any peculiar to ourselves, may have their proportionable benefit of the s^d Act, as also of the 40 shillings on the £1000, which has hitherto been denied to the school of the *Church of England* at Stratford.—

And to conclude, as we should be very sorry to be laid under any temptation to complain of any unequal treatment from the Government under whose protection we live, so we do most humbly entreat, that not only on this but all other occasions that may at any time occur, your Honours would be pleased to consider us as a part of yourselves, & that we may have equal justice done us, & the like favours shewed us with the rest of our brethren, with whom we desire to live in peace & charity & to join heart and hand in promoting the public weal of this Government, (on which that of ourselves & posterity does also depend,) as being fellow members of this corporation, & fellow subjects of His Majesty, under the jurisdiction of this Colony—In hopes of which, (as

in duty bound,) we shall ever pray for the health and happiness of your Honours, and all the members of this Assembly and for the peace & prosperity of this Colony.—

The names subscribed in the List hereunto annexed as follows, to the number of about 636, [in *nine* Parishes and under *seven* Missionaries.]

Under the care of Rev. Mr. Wetmore, [Greenwich and Stamford, etc.,] in No. 50 :

Gershom Lockwood,
Samuel Mills,
Caleb Knap,
Abraham Nicholes,
John Lockwood,
William King,
Henry James,
Ben Knap,
James Knap,
Joe Knap,
Jeremy Peck,
Hezekiah Lockwood,
Jonathan Lockwood,
Jonathan Austen,
Thomas Johnson,
Thomas Bullis,
David Reynolds,

John Avery,
John Johnson,
John Hall,
Samuel Wilson,
Benjamin Young,
Robert Arnold,
John Burley,
Nathaniel Hubbard,
Peter Demilt,
John Finch,
Benjamin Day,
John Hicks,
Miles Riggs,
Israel Knapp,
Charles Southerland,
Richard Chalton,
Samuel Morine,

Isaac Quinterd,
Joseph Barton,
John Kirkam,
Thomas Roberts,
Abraham Rundal, junior,
Nathaniel Lockwood,
Nathaniel Wo—,
James Anderson,
Jeremiah Anderson,
John Slaughter,
Joseph Galpin,
William Anderson,
Joseph Anderson,
John Lloyd,
Thomas Youngs,
Abraham Everet.

Under the care of the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Punderson, Minister in Groton, [etc.,] to the number 104 :

Ephraim Minor,
Thomas Rose,
Thomas Minor,
William Hide,
William Fountain,
William Williams, junior,
John Waterman,
Thomas Grist,
Robert Geer,
Robert Geer, junior,
Ebenezer Geer,
Henry Pelton,
Christopher Thiton,
James Forsee,
James Forsee, junior,
Philip Turner,
Will. Spicer,
Ignatius Barker,
Samuel Dickinson,
Samuel Minor,
Samuel Ranger,
Edward Hancock,
John Larkin,
Robert Williams,
Joseph Bondish,
Samuel Capron,
John Davis,
Thomas Starkweather,
Benajah Starkweather,
John Ames, junior,
Daniel Ames,
Daniel Starkweather,
Calvin Barnard,
Edmund Fanning,
Christopher Crouch,

Thomas Leeds,
Richard Crouch,
Robert Stodard,
Gershom Holdridge,
Benjamin Holley,
Jonathan Williams,
Jonathan Williams, junior,
John Williams,
John Samson,
Ebenezer Norton,
Robert Lancaster,
Joshua Weeks,
John Allyn,
Jonathan Randal,
William Turner,
Ebenezer Welsh,
Joseph Lee,
Ezra Hide,
Benjamin Lee,
Benjamin Hide,
Peter Waterman,
Alexander Doyle,
John Basset,
Robert Rose,
William Rouse,
Alpheus Wickwire,
Joseph Willoughby,
Bliss Willoughby,
Adam Cranmer,
Thomas Pelton,
Christopher Houghton,
Joseph Malason, junior,
Moses Stodard,
Zachariah Rude,
Barzillai Dean,

Samuel Hutchison,
Jeremiah Spicer,
William Spicer, junior,
Walter Capron,
John Ames,
Mathias Button,
John Killam,
Joseph Rude,
William Meach,
Jacob Park,
Joseph Rose,
Adam Park,
Phineas Killam,
Oliver Rude,
John Wilkinson,
John Wilkinson, junior,
Jedediah Frink,
Jonathan Raynolds,
Josiah Park,
John Ashcraft,
Jacob Rude,
Stephen Rude,
Jonathan Downing,
Edward Cleveland,
Daniel M'Cloughton,
Joseph Pariah,
John Dood, junior,
Philip Gray,
Ebenezer Nuton,
Paul Pelton,
Ebenezer Waterman,
Robert Stodard, junior,
Samuel Utley,
Daniel Bennet.

Under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Seabury, of New London, [etc.], to the number 85 :

Peter Buor,
Thomas Mumford,
N. Stewart,
Samuel Edgcombe,
John Shackmaple,
John Braddick,
Isaac Ledyard,
Richard Wells,
Giles Goddard,
Guy Palmes,
Merrell Smith,
John Seabury, jun.,
Nathaniel Seabury,
Wetherell Penison,
John Mumford,
John Jeffrey,

Joseph Powers,
Ichabod Powers,
John Haley,
John Haley, junior,
Joshua Haley,
Thomas Eldredg,
James Packer,
Joseph Latham,
Philip Bill,
Benjamin Bill,
James Packer, junior,
John Packer, junior,
John Roberttes,
Jonathan Turner,
Pain Turner,
Israel Folsom,

Samuel Boroughs,
George Jeffries,
John Hobart,
Daniel Tutel,
Joseph Tallman,
James Smith,
Samuel Powers,
Thomas Manwaring,
Elisha Wright,
John Dixon,
John Wiat.

There were 10 more that had not opportunity to subscribe.

Inhabitants of Hebron and places adjacent, under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Seabury :

John Bliss,
Samuel Curtice,
John Taylor,
Abraham Fancher,
Richard Curtice,
Richard Curtice, junior,
Thomas Brown,
William Slade,
Ebenezer Haughton,
Samuel Waters,
Joshua Tillotson,

Daniel Jones,
John Chamberlin, junior,
Jonathan Wood,
Thomas Wells,
Samuel Penick,
John Knox,
— Dale,
— Warren,
Laurance Powers,
John Chamberlin,
Samuel Ingham,

Nathan Rowle,
Seth Sutton,
Jonathan Brown,
Robert Cocks,
Moses Hutchisson,
Benjamin Neeland,
Hezekiah Hutchisson,
Edmund Wells,
J— Waters,
John Bliss, junior.

Under the Rev. Mr. Arnold, [at Waterbury, West Haven and Derby,]
No. 73 :

Samuel Clark, junior,
Edward Allen,
John Smith,
Thomas Stevens,
Shubal Clinton,
Ebenezer Thompson,
Thomas Clinton,
Henry Tolles,
Daniel Thomas,
Thomas Stevens, junior,
Eliphalet Stevens,
John Thomas,
Daniel Hodg,
Ephraim Gillit,
Mordecai Marks,
Samuel Hull,
Samuel Plum,
Ebenezer Chatfield,
Ephraim Warner,
James Humphries,
Samuel Humphrys,
Nathaniel Wooster,
John Harger,
Jonathan Miles,
Jonah Smith,

Abel Gunn,
John Holbrook,
John Whelan,
Antony Wisbery,
Benjamin Fairchild,
Joseph Smith,
Thomas Barns,
Samuel Brown,
Ephraim Bisell,
Robert Johnson,
James Browne,
James Browne, junior,
Joseph Browne,
James Blakale,
Abraham Warner,
William Law,
John Grand,
Peter Pond,
Nathaniel Johnson,
Daniel Thomas,
John Humphrevile,
Samuel Toals,
Daniel Bristol,
Timothy Bontecou,
Nathaniel Browne,

James Vandemarke,
Ebenezer Blakeslee,
Abraham Blakeslee,
Nicholas Manvel,
Aaron Tuttle,
William Walter,
Thomas Walter,
Enos Smith,
Thomas Ives,
John Mackey,
Daniel Porter,
Moses Brownson,
Samuel Lewis,
Caleb Thompson,
Richard Welton,
Jonathan Scott,
Ephraim Warner,
Benjamin Warner,
Thomas Walstone,
David Waughty,
James Williams,
Nathaniel Merit,
North Ingham.

Under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Beach, [of Newtown,] to the number 92 :

Daniel Sherman,
Stephen Burwell,
James Fordice,
Thomas Pears,
Benoni Sherman,
John ffort,
James Heard,
Lemuel Camp,
Benjamin Curtiss,
Benjamin Glover,
Ebenezer Sanford,
Thomas Northrup,
John Sanford,
John Beers,
Henry Glover,
Nehemiah Seely,
John Glover,
Job Sanford,
Robert Seely,
Robert Seely, junior,
Daniel Glover,
Daniel Jackson,
Abner Heard,
John Hard,
Samuel Brown,
Samuel Brown, junior,
James Hard, junior,
Joseph Hard,
John Brown,
Samuel Sherman,

John Foot, junior,
Nathan Foot,
William Lyon,
Moses Lyon,
Benjamin Burt,
Joshua Lobdell,
Richard Osburn,
James Wallis,
Daniel Sherwood,
Alexander Rossequie,
Peter Rossequie,
Abraham Rossequie,
Samuel Lobdell,
Jabes Northrup,
Joshua Lobdell, junior,
John Lobdell,
David Osburn,
Seaborn Burt,
Benjamin Burt, junior,
Caleb Lobdell,
Ebenezer Lobdell,
Gabriel Morehouse,
Lemuel Morehouse,
John Pickit,
Alexander Rossequie, jun.,
Moses Knap,
David Knap,
Jonathan Knap,
Francis Hanarix,
Daniel Lyon, junior,

Jonathan Squier,
Zachariah Squier,
Reuben Squier,
Thomas Taylor,
Asa Hall,
Samuel M'Henryx,
Ichabod Squier,
Jonathan Lyon,
Jonathan , junior,
Benoni Henryx,
David Henryx,
Adam Clarke,
—than Lyon,
Daniel Crofut,
Stephen Morehouse,
Nathaniel Henerix,
Josh Hall,
Israel Rowland,
Thomas Rowland,
William Stephens,
William Hill,
Daniel Adame, junior,
Benjamin Sturge,
Henry Vaughan,
Jeremy Turner,
John ferria,
Henry Garlick,
John Seely,
Benjamin Vaughan,
Peter Easeman.

Under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Johnson of Stratford, [etc.,] to the number of 102 :

Church Wardens.

Samuel Fairchild,
James Laborie,
Charles Lane.

Vestry.

William Beach,
Gershom Edwards,
Miller Frost,
Thomas Lattey,
John Benjamins,
Abraham Beardsley,
John Kees,
Samuel Blagge,
Samuel French,
William Wilcockson,
Joseph Browne,
William Smith,
Eliphalet Curtiss,
Francis Barlow,
Zechariah Clarke.

The other people.

James Wakeley,
John Wilcockson,
David Wakeley,

Ebenezer Wakeley,
Israel Bardsley,
Edmund Booth,
James Fairchild,
Samuel Fairchild, junior,
Ephraim Fairchild,
George Tyley,
Paul Mavericke,
Samuel Hawley,
Edward Hinman,
John Mitchell,
Richard Burton,
Zechariah Baldwin,
Andrew Beardsley,
John Lane,
Jacob Lane,
Timothy Tittarton,
Timothy Tittarton, junior,
Jehiel Beardsley,
Joseph Wilcockson,
Charles Curtiss,
Benjamin Blackman,
Timothy Blackman,
John Hawley,
Thomas Stratton,
En Tree,
P. Loring,
Benjamin Pearce,
Thomas Silby,

Francis Barlow,
William Smith,
William Smith, jun.,
William Beardsley,
William Beardsley, junior,
Ebenezer Beardsley,
Samuel Beardsley,
Enos Beardsley,
John Wheeler,
Ebenezer Hubbel,
David Peat,
Joseph Peat,
Samuel French, junior,
Jeremiah French,
Thomas Salmon,
Thomas Scudamore,
William Stannard,
John French,
Jonathan French,
Isaac Clarke,
John Clarke,
Samuel Preston,
Stephen frost,
Nathan Horn,
Richard Hubbel,
Richard Blackleach,
Robert Wheeler,
John Mallit, junior,
George Wyldman,

Joseph Shilton,
Daniel Shilton,
Thaddeus Shilton,
Samuel Shilton,
James Shilton,
Josiah Shilton,
Ichabod Clarke,
Ebenezer Sherman,

Caleb Beardsley,
John Beardalay,
Francis Hawley,
Jonathan Hawley,
Jacob Baldwin,
Benjamin Cogswell,
Abraham Pulling,
Elisha Blagge,

Joseph Collins,
W. Nicholl,
Benjamin Edwards,
Benjamin Nicholl,
George Clarke,
Nathaniel Linna,
Joseph Nichols,
Hugh Curley.

Under the care of Rev. Mr. Caner, to the number of 124 :

At Norwalk.

Joseph Hitchcock,
Joseph Lockwood,
Isaac Brown,
Ralph ———,
Jonathan Camp,
Nathaniel Fitch,
Lindie Fitch,
James Bette,
John Williams,
Nathan Smith,
Hugh Stone,
William Pearson,
Nathan Olmsted,
Anthony Berr,
Edward Nash,
Nathaniel Hayes,
James Hayes,
John Hayes,
Joseph Ketchum,
Haynes Hanford,
Joseph Hitchcock, junior,
Joseph Ketchum, junior,
Nathan Nash, senior,
George Sanders,
Samuel Jarvis,
Samuel Jarvis, junior,
Jonathan Atherton,
John Sherwood,
John Beers,
John Beers, junior,
Andrew Mills,
Nathan Burill,
William Jarvis,
John Banks,
Micajah Nash,
Thomas Jelliff,
Richard Partrick,
John Partrick,
Benjamin Keeler,
Ephraim Lockwood,
David Whelpy,

David Kelog.

At Fairfield.

Nathan Adams,
James Linesay,
David Sturgis,
Josiah Gilbert,
Joshua Jannigs,
Benjemen Turney,
John Knap,
Daniel Knap,
Caleb Lyon,
Richard Caner,
Jonathan Cutler,
Stephen Addam,
John Whiteor,
Ignatius Nicol,
Benjamin Sturges, junior,
Samuel Davis,
Ebenezer Hubbel,
Zabulon Waklon,
John Sturgis, junior,
Sarah Menzy,
Robert Cord,
John Mathews,
Moses Downing,
Peter Coley,
Samuel Squire,
Alexander Green,
Samuel Barlow,
Moses Ward,
Samuel Lyon,
Joseph Beers,
Ebenezer Lord,
Samuel Ward,
William Taylor,
William Osbarn,
John Bell,
David Bostwick, junior,
Daniel Thompson,
Abigail Thompson,
Abraham Pulling,

William Hill,
Thomas Turney,
Nathaniel Whitehead,
Nathan Meker,
Ebenezer Hale,
Samuel Jennings,
Luke Guire,
Ebenezer Guire,
Abigail Whitlok,
Samuel Adams,
Ebenezer Lyon, junior,
George Barlow,
Abraham Whitlock,
Buckland Williams,
Ephraim Nicholls,
Elnathan Sturges,
Daniel Adams,
George McEwen,
Samuel Hill,
Elnathan Loyn,
John Ni——,
Charles Duncombe,
George Hawart,
John Jennings,
Nathan Jennings,
—— Linesay,
David Bostwick,
Nathan Thompson,
Hester Lines,
John Pound,
Benjamin Lines,
Samuel Barlow, junior,
Joseph Barlow,
Joseph Lockwood,
Joseph Beers, junior,
David Beers,
Nathaniel Adams,
John Whitlock,
Ebenezer Lyon,
John Smith,
Mathew Howa,
Nathan Adams, junior,
David Adams.

May, 1738, the consideration of this Memorial was referred to the General Assembly, to be holden at New Haven in October next.

October, 1738, the question was put whether anything should be granted on this Memorial, and *resolved in the negative* by both houses.

The Memorial of Samuel Johnson, J. Wetmore, Henry Caner, John Beach, Jonathan Arnold, Samuel Seabury, and Ebenezer Punderson, (Doc. 336) [May, 1740,] alludes to the above as including all the Members of the Church of England in this Government.

A STATISTICAL APPROXIMATION TO THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH
IN KENTUCKY, EMBRACING ITS DIOCESAN HISTORY, A PERIOD OF
TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

BY A PRESBYTER OF KENTUCKY.

THE Right Rev. BENJAMIN BOSWORTH SMITH, D. D., Bishop; born at Bristol, R. I., June 13, 1794; graduated at Brown University, 1816; Ordered Deacon, 1817; Priested, 1818; Consecrated first Bishop of Kentucky, Oct. 31, 1832, in St. Paul's Chapel, New York. Consecrators:

Bishop WHITE, of Pennsylvania,
" BROWNELL, of Connecticut,
" H. U. ONDERDONK, Assistant, Pennsylvania.

The principles which are claimed to have governed the Bishop in his entire ecclesiastical course, are those imbibed under his venerable preceptor, the late Bishop Griswold.

When the present incumbent of the Episcopate went to Kentucky (as Presbyter) in 1830, he found six Clergy belonging to the diocese; now, in 1856, there are thirty. Then there were three organized parishes; now there are twenty-five—an increase averaging something less than one *per annum*. Of those three parishes, neither had a service of plate for the orderly celebration of the Lord's Supper, although one of the three had been organized more than thirty years. Two of the three had neither bell nor organ. Besides these twenty-five living parishes, about ten others were organized at different periods, but are now extinct.

The Baptisms, in this region of the most rigid heresies of the anabaptistic type, for the twenty-seven years past, number about three thousand seven hundred and ninety-three; less than one hundred and thirty-nine annually; an average which, during the last three Convention-years, has been more than doubled; the number total for that period being ten hundred and sixty-four, the annual average of which is three hundred and fifty-five; the number reported for the last year was above this average, being three hundred and seventy-five.

The Confirmations for the same period of twenty-seven years, have been one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one in number;—less than the number *annually* confirmed in the diocese of New York. The average number is sixty-nine *per annum*; but during the past three years, they have been annually more than double the entire average; for, five hundred and fourteen persons were confirmed during the last three years, of which the average is one hundred and seventy-one annually; the number reported for the last Conventional year was one hundred and seventy-eight. During the past eleven years, the Bishop confirmed one thousand one hundred and eighty-one; whilst in the first eleven

years of his Episcopate, the number was only four hundred and sixteen. Here again, the advance has not only been, as in the case of the Baptisms, more than double, but nearly triple, during the diocesan history of Kentucky.

The number of Communicants in the diocese, in 1829, at its organization, was scarcely two hundred; now, in 1856, there are about one thousand four hundred and sixty, being an average increase of fifty-four every year. The number on record, during that entire period is an average of six hundred and forty-six annually; but during the past three years one thousand three hundred and two *per annum*; which, once more, doubles and more the progress of the diocese.

The number of Ordinations have been for that time, of Deacons, forty; of these, seven remain in the diocese; of Priests, twenty-two. The Candidates for Orders have been fifty-four in number; an average of two annually: fourteen of this number received Orders elsewhere, or not at all. Two Institutions of Rectors have taken place, viz: those of Rev. Messrs. Pitkin, and Merrick: the rareness of which is explained by the Bishop in his last Episcopal Address: "The Diocese has not yet arrived at that stage of maturity, which would render such services generally desirable."

A Church College, and a Diocesan Theological Seminary are in existence, but in a languid condition; they are at present located at Shelbyville, and are possessed of a noble library and astronomical apparatus. The Fraunhofer Telescope of this institution is the fourth in magnitude and power in America.

The Offerings for Church purposes for the period of half its entire diocesan history, (the amounts in the earlier Journals being omitted,) average less than \$10,320 *per annum*; the average for the past three years is \$17,830; and the amount reported for the past year \$24,350, in which we have another illustration of Kentucky's progress, notwithstanding its internal factions.

The establishment of the present Bishopric was preceded by visits of reconnoissance on the part of Bishops Ravenscroft, in 1829, and Meade, in 1831, who jointly confirmed in Kentucky about one hundred and fifty persons, not counted in the foregoing estimate. These Prelates, in conjunction with the Rev. Dr. Chapman, and the famous Dr. J. E. Cooke, (the latter, though a laic, one of the governing powers of his day,) promoted the creation of the Episcopate of this Diocese; and when the present Bishop was assigned to his post, it was as the remotest Sentinel of his Order towards the South West. That Episcopate, though nearly a quarter of a century in age, is not yet supported pecuniarily by the Churches of the Diocese; the average amount afforded for the ten years past being scarcely over five hundred dollars annually. Its promise, as evinced by the Offerings of the past three years, shows an increase, the average for that time being about eight hundred dollars annually. During the earlier part of his administration, the Bishop was Rector of Christ Church, Lexington, and was mainly supported by the parish.

The present Clergy number thirty; Churches or Parishes, twenty-five; in the midst of a population of above one million thirty thousand souls; that ministry of thirty men has some influence over probably twenty thousand persons, at the highest estimate. The "Romanist" claims two Bishops, seventy-nine other Clergy, seventy-seven Churches, and a population of fifty thousand. The regular "Baptists" have four hundred and nine ministers, twenty-six licentiates, eight hundred and thirty-three Churches, with a population of seventy-three thousand three hundred and seventy; and including the "Reformed Baptists," otherwise called "Campbellites" or "Christians," they have probably nine hundred ministers, one thousand two hundred and sixty Churches or congregations, and three hundred and fifty-one thousand seven hundred people. The "Methodists" have about three hundred Churches, and one hundred and sixty thousand people. The "Presbyterians" of both schools have about two hundred Churches, and ninety thousand people. Minor sects are estimated at seventy-four Churches, and twenty-four thousand people. Hence there are about six hundred and eighty thousand persons positively in schism, or heresy, or both; nearly three hundred and forty thousand without the ministrations of either Church or sect; and nearly one million more or less destitute of the full blessings of the true Catholic Church, in this vast region over which the Bishop of Kentucky presides.

And now, with all this before us, what can be said of the people of the Church in this Diocese? The facts given will justify the assertion that its movements, though distressingly slow and scarcely perceptible, are yet *onward*; and more so within the last three years than before.

Of the causes of its *slowness* of progress, we may also speculate from given data. It may be ascribed in part to the secularization of a considerable number of somewhat distinguished persons who had been Clergy of the Church, viz: Dr. James Chambers, Dr. Edward Gantt, Mr. Elliott, Judge Sebastian, and others, and the low estimation to which the conduct of several of that Order, (one of those named was killed in a duel!) had reduced the clerical character.

Also, the active and intense hostility of the most numerous sects in Kentucky and Virginia, several of whose preachers had suffered the infliction of severe legal penalties from the dominant Church in Virginia.

Again, the conduct of the earlier Clergy in this and the parent State, who in so many sad instances neglected the poor and flattered the wealthy, leaving the field open to the incursions of those who assimilated with the backwoodsman in his homespun habits and opposition to the dominant Church; this inveterate opposition, ingrained into the Kentuckian nature, is still most loudly manifest.

Another and great detriment now almost and happily extinguished, refers to a series of occurrences in the medial history of this turbulent Diocese, originating in personal and official disagreements. We need not here enter into this subject, but prefer to quote, as an illustration ample enough, the language of a late writer in the *Episcopal Recorder*,

evidently of the controlling party. He is writing (Oct. 11: *Art.* The late Dr. John E. Cooke) concerning "The triumphant Success of the Bishop and his friends in vindicating and sustaining a different policy" than that ascribed to Dr. J. E. Cooke, who once was so conspicuous in the affairs of this Diocese. The writer says: "That policy they (the Bishop and his friends) did sustain. The conflict was long and arduous, but as the result of it, the Diocese has always been and still is *evangelical* in its statistics. *No new comer has succeeded in carrying out a policy different from that of the Diocese.* His ultraism (if attempted to be set up and carried out) has either been greatly modified or abandoned, or *else its champion, like Dr. Cooke, disappears from the scene.*"

A fifth great hindrance in the way of a rapid increase, is that this Episcopal See is located in a portion of country which receives but few accessions by immigration, while other parts of the Great Valley of the West are rapidly filling up in population derived from the Atlantic States and Great Britain, among whom are many who have been more or less trained in the Church. The increase of the Church in Kentucky, is derived from its own reduplication, and from accession of converts. There are other causes of hindrance more or less common to other localities, which need not be adverted to here; such as the indolent remissness or reluctance of many in setting about their work in right good earnest, being content with a mere performance of the bare routine of professional duty, to say nothing of the frequent disregard of the pre-script Order; though there have been instances of gross dereliction of duty which we hope have no parallel in the American Church.

But all these obstacles will, it is believed, yet be removed by an active, noiseless and faithful exhibition of the distinctive truths of "CHRIST AND THE CHURCH;" a conservative policy, displaying largely its *educational* element, with the honest, vigorous industry of a conscientious Clergy, appreciating their Office as "co-workers with Christ," and *seeking out opportunities* whereby souls may be saved.

The accompanying table will be further useful as a permanent record of data:

STATISTICAL TABLE.

Founded.	Name.	Place.	Present Rector.	Baptisms.		Confirmed.		Communicants.		Married.		Buried.		Sunday Scholars.		S. S. Teachers.	
				1853,	1856,	1853,	1856,	1853,	1856,	1853,	1856,	1829,	1856,	1853-6,	1856,	1853,	1856,
1794	Christ Ch. ^a	Lexington, . . .	Ed. F. Berkley, . . .	88	483	40	247	149	151	159		404		100	100	15	
1827	do. ^b	Louisville, . . .	James Graik, D. D., . . .	126	793	88	322	195	197	184		374		248	350	20	
1829	Trinity, ^c	Danville, . . .	M. F. Maury, . . .	11	118	7	76	41	45	71		92		30	30	5	
1831	St Peter's, ^d	Paris, . . .	John A. Merrick, . . .	53	213	18	54	21	40	49		56		25	137	11	
1832	Grace, . . .	Hopkinsville, . . .	J. M. Curtis, . . .	63		31	31	27	27	20		21		35	35	8	
1833	St. Paul's, ^e	Henderson, . . .	D. H. Deacon, . . .	20	99	4	32	51	40	17		43		45	9	9	
1836	do. ^f	Louisville, . . .	H. M. Denison, . . .	71	447	58	209	198	215	93		183		270	500	41	
1840	S. Matthew's ^g	Jefferson Co., . . .	George Beckett, . . .	7	48	18	18	12	12	20		18		58	66	6	
do.	St. John's, ^h	Princeton, . . .	L. Jansen, . . .	81		16	16	16	16	5		80		25	25	6	
do.	Calvary, ⁱ	Smithland, . . .	Vacant, . . .	31		10	10	10	10	10		132		141	130	12	
1841	Ascension, ^j	Frankfort, . . .	John N. Norton, . . .	197	641	123	273	175	175	48		60		103	105	15	
1843	Trinity, ^k	Covington, . . .	Vacant, . . .	52	132	17	43	57	60	42		37		50	50	6	
do.	St. Paul's, ^l	Hickman, . . .	N. N. Cowgill, . . .	7	52	1	16	18	17	46		73		80	80	10	
1844	Christ Ch. ^m	Columbus, . . .	C. A. Foster, . . .	52	101	10	40	50	60	28		6		25	25	6	
do.	St. Paul's, ⁿ	Newport, . . .	D. C. Maybin, . . .	15	38	8	10	14	14	8		2		40	40	6	
1845	Christ Ch. ^o	Elizabeth, . . .	Vacant, . . .	20		21	21	29	30	12		10		25	25	4	
1846	Grace, ^p	Bowling Green, . . .	W. Presbury, . . .	27		15	23	46	40	8		16		66	103	8	
do.	Nativity, ^q	Mayville, . . .	George A. Crooke, . . .	84	49	95	143	146	150	159		208		171	133	23	
1847	St. John's, ^r	Louisville, . . .	George P. Schetty, ^s . . .	207	437	95	143	146	150	159		208		42	60	6	
do.	Advent, ^t	Cynthiana, . . .	G. Page, . . .	8	13	2	14	11	11	6		5		30	30	4	
1848	Epiphany, ^u	Washington, . . .	R. M. Murdy, . . .	9	38	9	31	20	25	10		28		30	30	5	
1849	St. John's, ^v	Versailles, . . .	John W. Venable, . . .	29	36	16	8	20	21	2		5		89	109	12	
1855	Grace, ^w	Louisville, . . .	F. H. Bushnell, . . .	80	30	8	8	47	60	4		11					
1856	St. Paul's, ^x	Belmont, . . .	J. S. Wallace, . . .	3	3	3	3	15	15								

^a Brick church; Norman style; Consec. 1839. Parish library, &c.

^b Brick; Roman style. Parish library, &c.

^c Consecrated 1831, by Bishop Meade.

^d Brick; Roman style. Parish library: Parish school. Consec. 1838.

^e Parsonage attached.

^f Brick, stuccoed; Gothic. Parish library and school. Consec. 1839.

^g Brick.

^h Brick, stuccoed; Gothic. Parish library and school. Consec. 1852.

ⁱ Brick. Consecrated 1850.

^j Brick, erected 1855-6.

^k Nearly extinct; church sold to the Presbyterians.

^l Plank; Con. 1851.

^m Brick, stuccoed; Gothic; Parish library and school.

ⁿ Stone; rural Gothic; unfinished.

^o Brick; Consecrated 1854.

^p Plank; Gothic; Consec. 1856.

^q Consecrated 1853.

^r Consecrated 1851.

^s Consecrated 1851.

^t Consecrated 1851.

^u Consecrated 1851.

^v Consecrated 1851.

^w Consecrated 1851.

^x Consecrated 1851.

We cannot conclude without this necessary caution, extracted from the last Address to his Convention of the Provisional Bishop of New York:—"I would exceedingly regret to have it understood that I regard the number of Confirmations, (and of course other similar official acts,) as *always* indicative of the prosperity of a parish. Parishes of the same general character often differed in their materials. In some parishes the changes in families were few, the young growing up and remaining in them; while in other parishes, there were more changes both in and out of the Church, and persons were constantly being received who were living without Confirmation if not without Baptism. It is conceivable, too, that in certain cases a pastor might be too anxious for the mere increase of numbers, without being sufficiently anxious about the character of his candidates. His numbers might be (whether great or small) far from being a true index of the spiritual condition of his flock."

Hence the above *Notitia* are only to be regarded in the light of an *approximation* to the statistical condition of the diocese of Kentucky, accurate enough for such a purpose.

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN PULPIT; or Commemorative Notices of distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations, from the early settlement of the country to the close of the year 1855. With Historical Introductions. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Vols. I, II. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 728, 778.

THESE two large introductory volumes are devoted to a record of the lives and character of the more distinguished Trinitarian Congregational Ministers. Other denominations are to follow in their order; and the whole work must, if carried out according to the plan here pursued, swell into huge dimensions. Dr. Sprague tells us that he has spent ten years already upon these labors; and, if his life is spared, he will make an important contribution to the literature of the country. He is, we believe, well qualified for the undertaking. He is a fine writer, possesses a genial temper, appreciates diversities of character, and evidently aims at thorough impartiality in his judgments. His ordinary plan is, first to group together the prominent events in the life of the subject of his Memoir, and then, as far as practicable, leave it for some intimate acquaintance of the deceased, to give the more delicate and life-like shades to the picture. These "Letters" are among the most agreeable portions of the volumes. Thus, in the sketches before us, we have contributions from the pens of such writers as Rufus Choate, Josiah Quincy, Miss Sedgewick, Mrs. Sigourney, Professor Huntington, Professor Park, Professor Felton, Dra. Waterbury, Robbins, Osgood, Dana, Porter, Murdock, Taylor, Jenks, Hawes, Francis, Frothingham, Williston, Bacon, Storrs, Poor, and others.

We shall be a little curious to see how Dr. Sprague will depict the departed worthies of our own Communion; especially such men as Johnson, and Leaming, and Chandler, and Cutler, and Seabury, and White, and Ravenscroft, and Hobart, and Chase, and Griswold, and Jarvis, and Croswell; as well as the few bright names in the early history of Maryland and Virginia.

The two volumes before us have to us a special value, of which we have a right to speak plainly, though it must be briefly. Nearly all the early Congregational Ministers of New England were born, educated, ordained, and acquired their nerve and vigor of character in the Church of England. With all their faults, their possession of certain stern heroic virtues of the highest order, it were folly to deny. We cannot but regret the meagerness of the early history of these men which the volumes before us furnish. The following persons were, we believe, all ordained in the Church of England, and subsequently exercised their ministry among the Puritans of New England, Francis Higginson, John Warham, John Wilson, George Phillips, Thomas Welde, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Nathaniel Ward, James Noyes, Zechariah Symmes, John Lathrop, Peter Bulky, John Norton, Thomas Shepard, Peter Hobart, Hugh Peters, Richard Mather, Samuel Whiting, John Wheelwright, Nathaniel Rogers, Ralph Partridge, John Davenport, Samuel Eaton, Henry Whitfield, Thomas Cobbet, William Hooker, John Fiske, John Allin, Charles Chauncy, Samuel Newman, Abraham Pierson, Ezekiel Rogers, Jonathan Burr, Henry Dunster—all these—*thirty-four* in number, and many more, were, we believe, by their Ordination, Ministers of the English Church. Had Laud pursued a milder policy, many, probably most of these men, would never have separated from that Church. How the Orders of the English Church were regarded by them; their reverence for, and attachment to, the old Mother Church; the Church elements introduced by them into New England; the principles and methods of the first ordinations to the Puritan Ministry in New England;—these would open up a rich vein if we had room to trace it. And these men refused conformity to the

English Church—why? Not principally on account of Doctrine or Orders; but from matters of outward ceremony; though Calvinism and Arminianism sharpened the hatred on both sides. But the Liturgy, the Sign of the Cross, the Surplice; and such things, too, as organs, bells, Gothic Architecture, &c., these, were the ostensible rock of offense to those stern old Puritans; the very things which their descendants are now re-introducing among themselves. Nay, so bitter were they against Liturgies, that even the Litany was sneered at “as a fascinating fardel of tautologies and Battologies, besides its other faults.” It was also formally ordered by the Puritan Parliament of 1643, “that all copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, fonts, AND ORGANS, be utterly defaced.” Could those old Church of England men have lived to see all that we see now, as the legitimate consequences of their separation, what would they have said! and what would they have done!

Besides; it seems to be forgotten by the eulogists of the New England Puritan “Pilgrims,” that their very existence as a party was the natural result of a violent reaction from an extreme spiritual apathy, and from a spirit of civil and ecclesiastical despotism; a reaction, the powerful force of which was strongly felt, and left abiding fruits in the Church herself. Let the history of the Church of England, and of Independency, from that day onward be fairly written, and we are willing to abide its decisions, as to where the development of true Christian life, and the line of Christian patriots, will be found.

The early history of New England Congregationalism may be divided into three nearly equal Periods, each of about fifty years. The First, was the Period of genuine old fashioned Puritanism, and extended down to the time of Cotton Mather. The Second, was the Period of Modified Puritanism, when the Half-way Covenant exerted or indicated prodigious changes in the system. This Period lasted down to about the time of the elder Edwards. The Third Period, which was of longer duration, was marked by new views and new measures, represented by such men as Whitfield, the Tennants, and James Davenport. Such a theological grouping of men is not recognized in these volumes before us; but they will both assist in such a classification, and be read with ten fold interest by means of it.

The changes, vital in their character, which have taken place in New England Congregationalism within the last two hundred years, and which are still steadily at work, may well teach Churchmen wisdom; and especially, now, when the Memorial Movement is agitating the whole question of organic changes in the workings of our Church System. *Festina lente*. We endorse fully the language of the *Princeton Quarterly*. “As we read the lives of Wilson, Brewster, Cotton, Norton, Hooker, and others of their contemporaries, we cannot resist the feeling, that if they could rise from the grave, and visit some, or even all the Churches that now bear and glory in the name of Puritan and Pilgrim, they would scarcely be able to recognize their children, either by the doctrines they would hear, or the usages they would witness.”

We are glad to find the same periodical saying, what has rarely been said before in that quarter; that the Puritans “came here to found a Commonwealth which they, perhaps, hoped might one day grow up into an independent ‘State without a King;’ but they had no idea of extending its immunities to any who were not, in principle and practice, exactly such ‘pilgrims’ as themselves.”

We may add, that we have before us a pretty full collection of Tracts and Sermons from these Puritan divines of the seventeenth century. As literary productions they are mostly feeble, but the Churchly and Sacramental tone of several of them would now be pronounced rank Puseyism. In respect to Toleration, we quote a paragraph from Rev. Mr. Norton's pamphlet printed in 1659: “The representing of the application of the remedy of iniquity [i. e. punishment of Heresy by the Civil Power] as iniquity, Anti-Christianism, persecution, is indeed a device; and that as empty of reason, as full of transgression; a piece of the sophistry of the Prince of darkness, to charm that sword into a perpetual scabbard by a fallacie, the dexterous and vigorous use whereof, puts

away the evil committed from, and for the time to come, prevents the committing of evil in Israel." And this was liberty of conscience among the Puritans!!!

In our notice of Dr. Sprague's volumes, we have aimed to evince our appreciation of their value; and we conclude by wishing for the venerable author the most abundant success in his arduous labors.

AURORA LEIGH. By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 366.

No book of the day has met a more diversified reception than "*Aurora Leigh*." The (London) *Guardian*, which is "nothing" if it is not critical, fulminates as usual; pronounces "the book as a whole a failure;" and then shows plainly enough that it has not been able to appreciate either the design or the merits of the work. *Blackwood* is more discriminating; but fails to sympathize with the spirit in which the work was written. Its hyperborean taste is hardly fitted to do full justice to the tropical genius of the writer. The reviews of the work in this country are mostly but a re-hash of trans-atlantic criticisms. Had not our previous columns been preëngaged, and crowded to repletion, we would have attempted at least a more thorough analysis of the work than we have yet seen. As it is, we must content ourselves with a brief and imperfect notice.

"*Aurora Leigh*" was written, not as a work of art, not as a poem, not to be read for its æsthetic beauties, or mellifluous measures. It was written by one who felt that she had a message to deliver; it is the utterances of a heart which has its own interior life to disclose; its own struggles and conflicts to share with the hearts of others. The author's pen seems almost to scorn the rules of rhetoric and the restraints of a closely measured verse in her conception of the greatness of her theme. And yet she is evidently a fine scholar, and many of her former poems are among the most beautiful lyrical gems of our language. There are also, in "*Aurora Leigh*," passages of surpassing beauty and thrilling power even as artistic sketches, and, as a whole, it is superior to any of her former productions. There are, too, we confess, lines occurring constantly which are unpardonably slovenly, and whole pages, here and there, where there is neither sentiment, genius, or art, to redeem them from being simply dull. But, as a whole, "*Aurora Leigh*," without ranking as a great poem, which will outlive its age and generation, is yet worthy of one whom we regard as England's best living poet.

The story is evidently a transcript in verse of the author's own life; and this intense personality is, we think, one secret, as it may be, also the measure of Mrs. Browning's success. "*Aurora Leigh*," born of a Florentine mother and an English father, and uniting in her own character the qualities of both, at the age of thirteen an orphan, is removed from her Italian home to England, where she is placed under the care of a stiff, prim, starched, high born aunt, an old maid. Here she is most carefully and thoroughly educated. Romney Leigh, her cousin, who inherits her father's property, falls in love with her; and she with him, though she did not know it. From this point, the moral of the story really begins. Romney was a speculative philanthropist. She, distrusting the true loyalty of his homage, and with a pretty exalted conception of woman's vocation, and feeling within her own soul the warmth of a hidden fire, an aspiration after fame, argues with great force against his visionary theories, but rejects his suit and removes to London, where, as an author, she attains the summit of her ambition. Romney Leigh, a thorough devotee to his new social scheme, gives proof of it in determining to ignore and merge all social distinctions by marrying a daughter of the people, Marian Erle, of most ignoble birth; and who, by the by, is one of the best characters in the story. Lady Waldemar, a beautiful, high-born, haughty woman, as much in love with Romney as such a vain and selfish woman can be, wishes to marry him, and secretly persuades Marian, at the last moment, to absent herself from the Church where a crowd are gathered for the wedding, and to flee to the Continent. There, in

Paris, Aurora finds her; and the authoress, disappointed with worldly fame, disgusted with the homage of all, while she finds a throne in the heart of none; together with Marian departs for refuge and rest to her own fair, sunny Italy. The thread of events in the story, the history of Lady Waldemar, of Marian, of Lord Howe, we cannot give. Romney Leigh visits Italy to marry Marian, and marries Aurora Leigh; he, sick of a philanthropy which has no faith in it, no recognition of the ordained laws of social life, and which is impracticable as well as infidel; and she, equally sick of a fame which reaches not the heart, and satisfied that there are wants of the soul which Art and Genius cannot supply.

We have no room to quote passages, where the author exhibits all her splendid resources; where feeling, sentiment, thought and diction hold the reader spell-bound with their magic power. The description of the turbulent scene in St. James' Church, where a crowd, high and low, are gathered for the wedding, and Marian Erle, the bride, fails to appear; the letter of Aurora to Lady Waldemar, after the clandestine management of the latter in defeating the marriage is detected; the picture of a heart, conscious at last that fame is an empty bubble; these are among the cleverest portions of the work.

It is objected to the work, that Mrs. Browning's pen is too communicative sometimes for the pen of a woman. So, too, these squeamish objectors would omit certain words in reading the Bible; and keep expurgated copies of Virgil and Shakespeare, with certain passages collected in a lump by themselves in an Appendix; a pretty sure index of a filthy imagination rather than of a pure heart.

The real faults of "Aurora Leigh," as it seems to us, are, first a failure to recognize those distinctive virtues and graces which are the crowning glory of woman's character. There is, also, a lack of a certain richness, tenderness, and sweetness of tone, a tone which gives utterance to the soul's deepest breathings and aspirations in its hours of communion with the spiritual world. Mrs. Browning is capable of these loftier flights, but she does not essay them here. There is, also, not unfrequently, an obscurity and vagueness, as of a thought imperfectly conceived, a sort of dreamy revery in which it is hard to tell whether the writer's fancy is soaring in the heavens above us, or whether it is floundering in quite another element. We miss, also, in "Aurora Leigh," another element, the absence of which is a serious blemish. There is, in the poem, enough of passion, of a certain sort, perhaps too much; but we fail to detect that tenderness and full glow of deep emotion which wells out of a large, generous, loving soul. If, as she seems to think, her early verses were too proper, there is a coldness in her spontaneity even now. There is still another fault in "Aurora Leigh." The prominent characters are not real. Aurora Leigh, Lady Waldemar, Marian Erle and Romney, are all distorted. Lady Waldemar, we would condemn for another reason; but we prefer to regard her as a distortion of the artist, rather than of the moralist. We shall have another criticism to make before we are done.

It is noteworthy, how much of the popular literature of the day clusters around one great question; the existence of Social Evils, and the means of curing them. Dickens, Thackeray, Miss Sewell, Miss Martineau, Miss Bremer, Kingsley, Maurice,—yes, and Fourier and Proudhon,—with all these, the upraising of the degraded, the smoothing of social inequalities, the regeneration of Society—this is the one great Question to be solved. Nor is it a modern Question. Nor is its earnest discussion now such a shadow of good things to come, as our modern dreamers would fain have us believe. It is the old question, which, in another form, ages ago, Plato in his Republic tried to answer. Thomas Moore, and, at a later day, the French Encyclopedists, were full of it; and Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, in early life, dreamed as splendidly and as truthfully as men dream now.

What, then, after all, is the grand social remedy which men have ever sought, but never found? It is not in reconstruction. It is not in Associations and Phalansteries. It is not in any attainable degree of intellectual or æsthetic

culture. It is not in tightening, or relaxing, Rubrica. It is not in any one form of Civil Government, but may coexist with almost any. It is to be found in a Supernatural Element. It is in the divine gift of the God-Man, who took our Nature upon Him, that He might redeem it from its bondage and regenerate it by the Eternal Spirit. "IN HIM," not merely *by* Him, "shall all be made alive." It is this Supernatural Element, which, alone, can and will renew Man's nature, sanctify the affections, subdue the will, and soften and warm the heart of Society with the all pervading power of Love. God is Love. Heaven is Love. And Earth will be like God and like Heaven, when it sweetly yields to this sacred, blessed Power. Till then, all schemes, beautiful and fascinating howsoever they are, though sung by poet, and hallowed by genius, and made sacred by the fondest hopes of thousands on thousands of beating and bleeding hearts, will yet prove to be but the beautiful bubbles of a Utopian dream. The World will disbelieve. Infidels will jeer. Philanthropists will experiment. Christians may well work and pray *in faith*. The great fault we have to find with "Aurora Leigh," is, that this vital truth, so vital that all else is falsehood, is not presented with an emphasis which shall make it remembered as the great moral of the story.

YAHWEH CHRIST: OR, The Memorial Name. By ALEXANDER MACWHORTER, Yale University; with an introductory Letter by NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

We are, every now and then, favored with some original discovery, by our friends of the New England School of Theology, of the nature of a theological panacea. These discoveries, in some instances, are a restatement of truths which have always formed a part of the Theology of the Church, and in others, and more generally, a revamping of some exploded heresy. In the case of Mr. McWhorter's book, a good deal of it seems to be the indistinct development of some rather hazy notions about the Unity of the Dispensations. So far as this is concerned, what is said contains nothing new, nothing which has not been very much better said before, nothing which required any trumpet-sounding, as if some original thought was about to be ushered into an expecting world.

Mr. McWhorter's learning, on the subject of the name Jehovah, is, to say the least, very uncertain; is contradicted by much authority in Oriental scholarship; and destroys the successive revelations of the Divine Name under the several Dispensations. We should be glad to know if Mr. McWhorter would be willing to apply his argument from the assertion that Jehovah was to be the Name of God "*forever*," in other cases where the same expression is employed; as, for instance, in reference to the Passover, Pentecost, and some other matters.

We anticipate no great theological consequences from this publication. The "Volsci may be flattered in Corioli," but we are inclined to imagine that no further results will follow.

ESSAYS, BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL; OR, STUDIES OF CHARACTER. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 475.

We do not hesitate to say that we regard Mr. Tuckerman as the best Essayist—Washington Irving always excepted—which our country has yet produced. This is high praise, but it is deserved. And, indeed, between him and Irving, there are so few points of similarity, that anything like comparison is almost impertinent. One, is an idealist; the other, is a realist. One, creates out of the exuberant richness of his own resources; the other, forms or scans his heroes according to the exactest rules of art. One, overflows with the tenderness of the most genial sentiment; the other, uses the scalpel with cool, unerring precision. One, wins our sympathy and confidence with the dulcet tones of his own loving spirit; the other, commands our respect and homage, by the manliness of his bearing, and the gracefulness of his achievements. In purity, nerve, and finished elegance of style, Mr. Tuckerman, with the single exception just named, as an Essayist has no peer. In the volume before us, he does not present the

subjects of his critical inspection as "representative" men; he searches after those formative influences, external and internal, which contributed individuality of character; and traces, with great delicacy, those distinct elements of power, which elevated certain persons to a conspicuous place in the world's history. His biographical Sketches are thirty in number: viz, George Washington, the Patriot; Lord Chesterfield, the Man of the World; Daniel Boone, the Pioneer; Robert Southey, the Man of Letters; Sir Kenelm Digby, the Modern Knight; Jacques Lafitte, the Financier; Edmund Kean, the Actor; Theodore Korner, the Youthful Hero; Robert Fulton, the Mechanician; John Constable, the Landscape Painter; Chateaubriand, the Poet of the Old Regime; Francis Jeffrey, the Reviewer; Roger Williams, the Tolerant Colonist; Richard Savage, the Literary Adventurer; De Witt Clinton, the National Economist; Jenny Lind, the Vocalist; George Berkeley, the Christian Philosopher; Giacomo Leopardi, the Skeptical Genius; Daniel De Foe, the Writer for the People; John James Audubon, the Ornithologist; Laurence Sterne, the Sentimentalist; Massimo D'Azeglio, the Literary Statesman; Sydney Smith, the Genial Churchman; Charles Brockden Brown, the Supernaturalist; Sir David Wilkie, the Painter of Character; Joseph Addison, the Lay Preacher; Gouverneur Morris, the American Statesman; Silvio Pellico, the Italian Martyr; Thomas Campbell, the Popular Poet; and Benjamin Franklin, the American Philosopher.

These cover a wide range, and in their diversity, strain to their utmost tension the author's capacities; and yet, whether his subject win his laurels in the cabinet or the drawing room, on the stage or in the back woods, his portrait is always drawn to the life. The description of Washington is the most appreciative and complete which we have ever seen. In a few bold sketches, the writer gives what are unquestionably the simple, noble elements blended harmoniously in that sublime embodiment of personal greatness. If it is fair to test the power of the writer by his influence on the reader's own mind, this sketch is a master-piece; for none, we think, can study it without a more exalted conception of the essential greatness of one who rises in dignity and grandeur before our eyes the more carefully he is scrutinized. Compared with the world's greatest heroes, with Alexander, and Cæsar, and Napoleon, in all that constitutes true sublimity of character, Washington towers like the Pyramids of Egypt. And yet there was one element in Washington's character, a pervading and controlling element, to which no justice is done. What Mr. Tuckerman calls his "moral qualities," was something more; though he describes with great beauty "the intellectual efficiency derived" from this source. But Washington was more than "moral." He was profoundly religious. There is, as we know, evidence of this which has never yet been published to the world, and which we hope soon to be able to give in our pages. Together with the rarest intellectual gifts blended in unexampled harmony, there was also the controlling influence of a Heavenly Wisdom which he sought habitually in secret prayer. And here was, to a large extent, the mystery of that latent power, which is to the world a study and an enigma.

One of the finest written sketches of this volume is Mr. Tuckerman's portrait of Sydney Smith; whom he names the "Genial Churchman." As a critic, it is elaborate, and as a piece of composition, portions of it are done with exquisite beauty. Antithesis of thought, purity of language, force of expression, and felicity of style are combined in a high degree. We are free to say, however, that Sydney Smith is not our *beau-ideal* of a "Genial Churchman." His geniality was too much of the Dean Swift, or club-room sort.

Of the other characters which are particularly well done, we may mention that man of rare virtues, Dean Berkeley; Edmund Kean, the prince of actors; Jeffrey the Edinburgh Reviewer; Franklin, De Witt Clinton, and Gouverneur Morris.

As a book for careful and profitable reading in choice hours, and to be studied for its rare felicities of style, we commend these *Essays* of Mr. Tuckerman. We question, sometimes, the justness of the author's opinions, but we never fail to

find the workings of a thoughtful mind, manly in its tone, and indicating everywhere the mellowing influences of ripe culture.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH. By William Robertson, D. D. With an account of the Emperor's Life after his Abdication. By William H. Prescott. In three Volumes. 8vo. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. pp. 618, 604, 665. New Haven: Durrice & Peck.

The enterprising Boston publishers in issuing a new edition of that standard work, Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, have been enabled to add increased value to it in thus giving with it an account of the Emperor's life after his abdication, by Mr. Prescott. And we predict that this will be hereafter the popular edition of that work, as indeed in all respects it deserves to be. Of Robertson's *Charles V* we need say nothing. It was warmly commended on its first appearance, and by the highest authorities in Europe; and it was also criticised with some severity; yet the work took its position at once as one of unquestionable merit, and, although modern research has served to qualify some of its opinions, it will doubtless hold its place as a standard authority in history.

The cloister life of the Emperor at Yuste, here delineated by the pen of Mr. Prescott, has, to the common mind, long possessed all the charm of romance, and the legends of old monkish chronicles have crept into nearly all our previous accounts of that portion of the Emperor's history. The recent discovery of the manuscripts of Simancas, and the works which have followed that discovery, have enabled us to form a juster conception of the monkish life of Charles, and indeed of his general character. The prevailing idea has invested that life with almost unearthly beauty. An Emperor, of illustrious descent, himself the greatest monarch of the century, who held in his hands the politics and destinies of Europe for fifty years, suddenly retiring from the world to hold communion with God, and by abstinence, fasting and prayer, chastening his own spirit into a meek and humble disciple of Christ, and living on terms of equality as a brother in a Romish Monastery! This is the commonly received story. Yet, to a great degree, it is a mere dream of the imagination. The massive proportions of his character are indisputable. But he withdrew from perilous scenes in the future to which he felt himself becoming more and more unequal, for he was already an old and broken down man at the age of fifty-six years. So far from living a life of abstinence and self-denial at Yuste, the whole country was ransacked to gratify his gormandizing appetite. His palace was adorned with costly furniture, gold and silver plate, and elegant pictures; and as to the monks, he partook at their table once only, which he speedily left in disgust at its scanty fare. There was not much retirement from the world, for busy couriers, on affairs of State, were perpetually passing and repassing between Yuste and Brussels, and Valladolid. And instead of being chastened into a spirit of love and charity, one of his last messages to Philip, and the Inquisitor-General, was that the Protestants who remained obstinate, should be burned alive, and those who were admitted to penitence should be beheaded. He even regretted that he had not made more thorough work with the "heretics," and such was his message to Philip. And yet, notwithstanding this cruel and merciless intolerance, he was a devout Romanist; and the closing scene of his life was impressive, and even strangely attractive to us by the presence and ministrations at that hour of Carranza and Villalva, representatives of the two doctrines which then divided Christendom, and divide it now. The character of Charles is a new proof of what every day bears witness, that a man may be a religious devotee, under any name and of any type, while yet his ungovernable temper, passions, and appetites still remain unsubdued. The history of this monarch is a study in itself; and he who would make himself familiar with it, should peruse these volumes before us. We are again impressed with the severe beauty, and quiet strength, and elegance, of Mr.

Prescott's style. It is in grateful and refreshing contrast with the tumid rhetoric of the Macaulay school.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

The Tenth Edition, revised, corrected, and brought down to the present time. Edited by the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne, B. D. (the Author); the Rev. S. Davidson, D. D., of the University of Halle, and LL. D.; and S. P. Tregelles, LL. D. London: Longman & Co. 1856. 4 vols. 8vo. The two volumes by Mr. Horne, pp. 648, 764; Vol. III, by Mr. Davidson, pp. 1132; Vol. IV, by Mr. Horne and Dr. Tregelles, pp. 796.

We wish to utter our word of warning against Longman's edition of that valuable work, "Horne's Introduction," especially as it is for sale in our country. Dr. Davidson's third Volume, of 1132 pages, comprises his "Treatise on Biblical Criticism," and his "Sacred Hermeneutics," formerly published, which are thus made to take the place of Mr. Horne's important labors on these points, which appeared in earlier editions. Dr. Davidson is a Dissenter by profession—a Professor in the Lancashire Independent College, and belongs to that mischievous school of radicals, or German neologists, who are virtually denying the Inspiration of the Scriptures, undermining faith in the supernaturalism of Christianity, and are gradually, but most surely, introducing the balddest Deism. Thus, amongst other startling tenets, either positively maintained or commended as most probable, by Dr. Davidson, are the following: That the Deluge was not universal; that there is a mixture of allegory or fictitious narrative of a very indeterminate amount in the Scripture account of the Creation and Fall of Man, and also in the history of Job; that the Pentateuch is a compilation from a number of distinct documents by an author who lived probably in the time of the early kings, (this is maintained in a most elaborate and carefully written chapter); that the miracle of Balaam's ass was only a vision, and that the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which implies the contrary, is not to be relied on as authentic; that the Book of Ecclesiastes was not only not written by Solomon, but was not written at all till some years after the prophecy of Malachi, both Jews and Christians having all but universally held the Hebrew Canon to have been completed in the time of Ezra; that Joshua x. 12—16, where the Captain of Israel commands the sun and moon to stand still, is no part of the Word of God at all, but merely a quotation from the poetical book of Jasher! And yet Dr. Davidson's book is studied as a work of authority in one, at least, of the Sectarian Theological Seminaries of our country. We are glad to see that Mr. Horne and Dr. Tregelles have publicly protested against the sentiments of their coadjutor, Dr. Davidson. We have too much evidence that on our own shores the battle is to be fought boldly with that specious rationalism which is new to some extent poisoning the radical party in the English Church, and has well nigh dug the grave for English Dissent. A late No. of the London *Morning Advertiser*, describing the infidelity of these self-styled Evangelicals, thus testifies:

"In the mean time, no one can wonder at the lamentable state of things in the Lancashire Independent College, who knows that Dr. Davidson is the Professor of Biblical Criticism in it,—a man who virtually denies the inspiration of the Scripture—speaks in most irreverent terms of the Bible altogether—and is the admirer and eulogist of such men as Macnaught, Jowett, and others of the same school, while he sneers at Captain Hedley Vicars, and all who, like that excellent young man, are, in reality, what Dr. Davidson professes to be,—believers in, and practicers of, Evangelical principles."

The same paper says:

"We are assured that Messrs. Longman are also about to make arrangements for the preparation of a new volume as a substitute for Dr. Davidson's, so that no student of Scripture need lumber his library with a book which is filled with the exploded Rationalism which was prevalent in Germany when Dr. Davidson studied at Halle."

This question of the plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, has become one of the great questions of the day; and there is concerning it a laxity of opinion, or an absolute skepticism, in our own country too, and in quarters reputed orthodox, which would startle and alarm, if it were generally known.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE COMMON ENGLISH BIBLE, and a Review of the extraordinary changes made in it by the managers of the American Bible Society. Baltimore. 1857. 8vo. pp. 68.

In the Oct. No. of *THE CHURCH REVIEW*, in the Article "The Postscript to the Memorial," there was a reference to, and some severe strictures upon a late edition of the Bible issued by the "American Bible Society." That portion of the Article called forth the Letter of the Rev. Dr. TURNER, which appeared in our last Number. To this Letter the Rev. A. C. COXE, the writer of the original Article, replies in the pamphlet now before us. We receive it just as we go to press, and regret that several things which we should like to say, must be omitted.

The great question, however, as it seems to us, which is really involved in these changes, made in their editions of the Bible, by the Bible Society, is, Whether the JESUS of the New Testament, is the MESSIAH of the Old Testament? In a word, whether JESUS is the CHRIST? And yet, on that question everything dearest to the heart of the believer hangs. Types, Prophecies, Institutions, nay, more—Doctrines and Promises which attend upon us from the cradle to the grave, and into the grave, throughout all our career of ignorance, helplessness, guilt and mortality—all take their meaning from the decision of this question. Nor need we say that to creatures like us, they are everything, or they are nothing. We said, the JESUS of the New Testament. We mean, just as He is represented in the New Testament; Prophet, Priest, and King; the Founder and Head of a Kingdom; the Institutor and Head of a Church, with its Ministries and Ordinances; and all, the purchase of His blood, and the appointed method of His Grace. This, and all this, is the question.

Now, nothing is plainer, than that Rationalism, Socinianism, and Anti-Churchism have affected a vast change in the popular language, and popular apprehension, on both these points. JESUS is no longer "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," to take away sin; and the Church, "purchased with His own blood," of which the language of the New Testament is full, has already faded away into "Zion," and "God's people," &c. There is sometimes mention made of Christ; but never of "Christ AND the Church," as in the New Testament. The Fall is a myth. The Cross is a myth. The Church is a myth. The Sacraments are myths. The Priesthood is a myth. Everything is a myth, which comes in conflict with this conceited, self-willed, rationalizing Infidelity. Now, here is really the gist of this whole matter; and we are forced to say, and sorry we are to say it, that the "American Bible Society" has, to a certain extent, in its late issues, followed in the wake of this popular, infidel tendency. Its alterations in the old "headings" of the chapters, &c., insignificant as they may be claimed to be, all point that way, unmistakably. We are glad to see that Dr. Turner does not pretend to justify these alterations of the headings. He perhaps deems them of less importance than we deem them. The popular tendencies, of which we have spoken, he certainly would be the last man to countenance. And yet, these alterations pertaining to the Prophecies, and especially to the glorious predictions of the Evangelical Prophet, alterations which will be sure to make, and cannot fail to make, and to leave, lasting impressions on the popular mind as to the meaning of Prophecy, we say, these altered headings, concealing, as they do, that "the testimony of JESUS is the spirit of Prophecy," are to the humble believer, shocking and cruel; and in respect to the Canticles, they are more; they are positively revolting! We have before us the old Geneva Bible of 1559, (our copy, 1585;) and, with its full margin, designed especially for private and family reading. The contrast

between this old Genevan Bible in its marginal notes, headings, &c., and the late issues of the "American Bible Society," is striking and startling.

We cannot pursue this subject further now. We cherish a profound and grateful respect for the "American Bible Society." But we are compelled to say that Mr. Cox, in his pamphlet, without saying more of it here, has done enough, at least to put the best friends of that noble Institution upon their guard. *Obsta principiis*, should be their watchword, in respect to all such intermeddlings and insidious tendencies. We say, further, that we know of interpretations put upon the Prophecies of the Old Testament by men claiming to be orthodox, which would surprise our readers, and which shows the prevalence of an infidel Rationalism to an extent not generally conceived. And yet, these are the men who sympathize with this new movement of the "American Bible Society." May it not be, that the Church will be proved hereafter to be the Witness and Keeper of the Bible; as she is already proving herself to be the Witness and Keeper of the Faith!

MEMORIAL PAPERS. THE MEMORIAL: With Circular and Questions of the Episcopal Commission; Report of the Commission; Contributions of the Commissioners; and Communications from Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Divines. With an Introduction by the Rt. Rev. ALONZO POTTER, D. D., one of the Commissioners. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 444.

In several respects this is the most important volume that has lately been issued from the press. It embodies, in permanent form, all the essential documents, proposals, arguments, motives, methods, objections, &c. pertaining to, and connected with, what is now known as the Memorial Movement. The Journals of our General Convention indicate such a Movement, or proposal; our periodicals have all been occupied with it. Here is the thing itself. It gives the original Memorial; the Report of the Commission of five Bishops; the Contribution to that Report of each member of the Commission on certain specified and distinct points of enquiry; the Communications to the Commissioners, in reply to a Circular, from several Bishops and Presbyters of the Church; and finally, several valuable Letters from non-Episcopal divines, whose names are not given, obtained by the Rt. Rev., the Editor of the volume, Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, and published, he says, on his own responsibility. The Volume is edited with great discretion; and the well-written Introduction places the whole subject fairly before the mind of the reader.

On this whole question, we have before spoken freely, and we have little to add now. We regret that the "Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings" were not brought forward and acted on; for there is a heart in the Church to use them; nor do they pertain to the Memorial Question, or to its original design and intentions. These "Prayers," &c., we hope to see authorized by our next General Convention; or if it fails to do it, then by the Bishops for their several Dioceses. But, beyond this, we hope the Church will not at present go. She has taken the initiative step. She has gone as far as she ought to go. Prominence has already been given to the movement, and should still be given to it, enough to engage the attention of those outside our Fold, who have the heart to appreciate it. This whole thing has not been done in a corner; and is, as we know, more closely scanned than some among us may suppose. What we need, now, and all that we need, is to work more and pray more; and this, alas, is the very hardest thing of all to do; for it costs no sacrifice, but the contrary, to dream, and theorize, and build splendid castles in the air. Let us then, now, pray, and work, and watch, and wait.

HISTORY OF THE INVASION AND CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON, and of the Events which preceded and followed. By JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Brigade Major and Inspector, Columbian Brigade, in the War of 1812. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 371. New Haven: E. Downes.

It has been thought a worthy theme by the author to chronicle with minuteness that mortifying story in the last War, the capture of Washington City by

the British troops under Ross and Cockburn, and the burning of the Capitol, the President's House, the Congressional Library, the Patent Office, &c. &c. This act of vandalism, which will brand the British name with infamy as long as the voice of history shall be heard, answered one great end, to unite our nation in support of the War; and it also taught us some lessons for the future which will not be forgotten. The author's moral in the defeat at Bladensburg, is, that politicians require watching, and will sacrifice the interests and honor of their country to advance themselves, or ruin a rival.

The literary labor of putting together the materials, was not done by Major Williams; though we think the work would not have lost in interest or value if he had told the story in his own way.

NEIGHBOUR JACKWOOD. By PAUL CREYTON. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 414. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

"Paul Creyton" has exhibited masterly ability in this, his latest work; but its design is to hold up to opprobrium, and to incite resistance to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. Of course its tendency will be to deepen the alienation of feeling between the North and the South; a result which all good men ought to deprecate, and especially under the present excited state of public feeling.

VILLAS AND COTTAGES: A series of Designs prepared for execution in the United States. By CALVERT VAUX, Architect, (late Downing & Vaux,) Newburg on the Hudson, Illustrated by 300 engravings. 1857. 8vo. pp. 318. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: E. Downes.

In our country, where Education is so generally diffused, where wealth is so rapidly accumulated, where social position is determined by no ancestral customs or arbitrary laws, where a restless ambition for distinction animates almost all except the indolent and hopelessly degraded—we say, in such a field, unlike any the world has ever seen, there is special need for just such influences as this work will exert. It is a work on practical aesthetics, or architecture as exhibited in villas and cottages. The author's remarks on a rural architecture adapted to this country, and as contrasted with styles suited to other tastes, habits, &c., as Chinese, Moorish, Italian, Gothic, &c., are catholic, and yet discriminating, and will be appreciated. The old Puritan war upon Art, the determined divorcement of the "beautiful" from the "good," may still be seen in many desolate, forlorn-looking meeting houses, and prim, cheerless, home-residences of New England. But that age has gone by. What we want now, is a cultivated taste among the people. And, to this end, especially in one department of useful Art, the volume before us is admirably adapted. The author enters *con amore*, and with minuteness into all the details of the artistic design of rural buildings; their exteriors, and their interiors; so as to be pleasing and truthful to the eye, and, at the same time, suited to, and expressive of, the habits and wants of the people. Form, proportion, color, ornamentation, &c., are treated of. But the most taking part of the volume, to most readers, will be the designs, plans, specifications, estimates, &c., for every variety of home residence, from the plainest log-house to the splendid villa costing its sixty thousand dollars. The author is himself an architect, and in this collection of "studies," there are many on which the genial talent of the lamented Downing was employed. Several of these include the residences of many gentlemen of wealth and taste in various parts of the country, whose names are given. No one who has the means to make a home worthy of the name, should begin to build, without carefully examining just such a work as this.

RELIGIOUS TRUTH ILLUSTRATED FROM SCIENCE, in Addresses and Sermons on Special Occasions. By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D. D., LL. D., late President and now Professor of Natural Theology and Geology in Amherst College. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 422. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

The titles of these Addresses, &c., will best show their character. They are, The Highest use of Learning, The relations and mutual duties between the Philosopher and the Theologian, Special Divine interpositions in Nature, The Wonders of Science compared with the wonders of Romance, The Religious bearings of man's Creation, The Catalytic power of the Gospel, The attractions of Heaven and Earth, Mineralogical illustrations of Character, The inseparable Trio, A Chapter in the Book of Providence, The waste of mind.

Professor Hitchcock is an industrious man, and has made himself familiar with the results of Modern Science, especially in the department of Geology. We are glad to see in one of the Addresses before us, delivered at Albany during the late Meeting of the National Scientific Convention, that he takes orthodox and positive ground as to the Unity and dignity of the Human Race; and he finds in the discoveries of Geologists, confirmation of the Mosaic account of the order of Creation, and proof that Man must have been among the very last of animals created; no human remains having been discovered in any of the earlier geological formations. These addresses occupy the higher range of thought, and well deserve the attention of thoughtful men, and especially of the Clergy, who will find in them much valuable matter for their own use. Infidelity, never bolder than now, can only be met by a mastery of principles, and an acquaintance with facts in Physical Science: weapons, which this popular volume will help to furnish.

MEN AND TIMES OF THE REVOLUTION; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson. Including his Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from the year 1777 to 1842, and his Correspondence with Public Men, and Reminiscences and Incidents of the American Revolution. Edited by his Son, WINSLOW C. WATSON. Second Edition. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 557.

We are glad to see this new edition of a work which we noticed particularly on its first appearance. In the present edition, the text has been revised; considerable new matter has been added; dates are placed at the heads of the pages; the duodecimo has been substituted for the octavo form; a copious Index is furnished; and the volume is embellished with a portrait of the author, and twenty illustrations. We hail with pleasure every such new memento of those stirring times, as for other reasons, so especially as ministering to a truer and more intelligent patriotism.

NEW GRANADA: Twenty Months in the Andes. By ISAAC F. HOLTON, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History, in Middlebury College. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 605. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

Since the dismemberment of Colombia in 1831, and the erection of New Granada into a Republic, little has been known respecting the country, save repeated rumors of revolutions and insurrections. The present work supplies to a considerable extent this want of information. The author ascended the Magdalena, in 1852, six hundred miles to Honda, crossed the mountains, 4,597 feet in height, to Bogota, the capital, and spent in the country, visiting its towns, studying its botanical productions, &c., about twenty months. The work throws much light on the condition of this Republic, its government and institutions, and the manners, customs, religion, &c., &c., of the people. Nearly one half of the country is drained by the headwaters of the Orinoco and the Amazon; and the country is by nature rich in vegetable and mineral resources. The great mass of its 2,243,730 inhabitants are extremely ignorant; and the great bane of the country is the superstition of its religion, the viciousness of its priests, and the insecurity and weakness of its government. A friend to the

priests acknowledged that ninety-nine in every hundred of them were notoriously leading immoral lives; and although Bogota has nearly thirty churches for its 80,000 inhabitants, yet Romanism obviously has little or no hold on the people. The country itself is a study in every respect, and not the least so, as a monument of Spanish conquest and rule, and an illustration of the natural influence of Romanism.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By THOMAS A KEMPIS. Translated from the Latin. 12mo. New York: T. N. Stanford. 1856.

The approbation of the whole Christian world for nearly 500 years is a testimony to the worth of a book, as rare as it is remarkable. The famous treatise, "*De imitatione Christi*," so called from its opening words, which is generally ascribed to Thomas a Kempis, a pious mystic of the 14th century, (though the question of its authorship is after all a very doubtful one,) can boast a catholicity, which in this age of disunion and schism, is really refreshing. There is no language of civilized or semi-civilized men which does not possess a version of it. There is hardly a class of religionists which does not read and value it. It is approved of by the Bishop of Rome, and it was republished by John Wesley for the use of his followers.

The present is the third complete American edition, and is gotten up with the taste and elegance of typography which characterize all Mr. Stanford's publications.

THE CHILDREN'S BREAD, IN CRUMBS FROM THE MASTER'S TABLE. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 220.

We know not to whom we are indebted for the most exquisitely beautiful book for a Christian child which we have ever seen. It has an appropriate text of Scripture and a sweet verse of poetry in harmony therewith, for every day of the year; and every page is surrounded with an emblematic border, symbolical of God's daily gifts of Providence and Grace. Thousands of the children of the Church will, we doubt not, make this delightful volume their daily companion, and as they feed upon these "Crumbs from the Master's Table," will, as they grow in stature, grow also in wisdom, "and in favor with God and man." It is just such a book as the fond heart of a Christian parent may choose in the faithful fulfilment of the Baptismal vow. There are also in the Appendix additional Hymns for the Christian Seasons.

LAYS OF A LIFE-TIME. The Record of one departed. New York: Dana & Company. 1857. 4to pp. 157. New Haven: G. B. Bassett & Co.

The "Lays of a Life-Time" are the poetic and prose effusions of a deceased lady; the thread of personal narrative being gracefully drawn by one to whom her memory was evidently fragrant by the holiest associations and recollections. There is in these treasured memorials of the deceased, a sweetness of tone, and delicacy of sentiment, a refinement of feeling, an exuberance of imagination, fancy and wit, and now and then a strength and vigor of expression, which indicate a mind and heart of rare worth. The editing of the work is appropriately done; and the volume is published with uncommon elegance. In the poems on "Confirmation," on the "Lenten Sabbath," and "the Christmas Chant of the Wreath Gatherers," there are passages of great beauty, and which reveal beyond all question the workings of a truly poetic genius. To say this, in these days, is to bestow very high praise; but the volume deserves it.

LECTURES UPON HISTORICAL PORTIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By A. N. BETHUNE, D.D., Archdeacon of York, and rector of Coburg, diocese of Toronto, Canada. New York: T. N. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 218.

The venerable Archdeacon, in these short and practical Lectures, finds, in the historical portions of the Old Testament, what every devout Christian finds

more and more as he advances in years, that his own interior life, his struggles, temptations, conquests and joys are but a transcript of the lives of the saints in those early days. There is one heart in this vast company of believers now; one common experience of faith, and hope, and charity; as there will be one song of victory hereafter. These excellent Lectures are thoroughly orthodox, evangelical and earnest; are written in a style of great neatness and clearness, and will, we hope, be widely circulated and read. We are glad to see intimations that the venerable author may soon be called to a more important position in the Canadian Church.

AN EXPLANATORY AND PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. WITH SYNONYMS. Abridged from the American Dictionary of Noah Webster, LL. D. By WILLIAM G. WEBSTER, assisted by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D. D. With numerous Tables. New York: Mason Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 490.

This "Counting House and Family Dictionary," is designed to fill a large gap between the ponderous Quarto and the Common School Dictionary, and to meet all ordinary wants of authors and readers. Mr. Webster, son of the distinguished Lexicographer, and Professor Goodrich, an accomplished philologist and rhetorician, have expended, as we know, vast labor upon this new work, and as the volume itself, too, bears abundant witness. The *Definitions* are given with great fullness; the *Synonyms*, which are a new and invaluable feature, aid the careful writer in variety of expression, and exact discrimination in the use of words; *Pronunciation* is given after consultation with many of the most eminent living orthoepists; and the *Orthography*, will be found to be abundantly sustained by the best scholars in this country and in England, and by the acknowledged analogies of our language. The *Appendix* contains a large number of carefully prepared Tables, which every scholar will be glad to have by him. It will be a standard work; and its authors deserve, and we doubt not will receive, the reward of public benefactors.

AN ORDER FOR A SECOND EVENING SERVICE in the Churches in the Diocese of New Jersey; Set forth by the Bishop. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 14mo. pp. 84.

This Order is essentially that which has long been used in Connecticut as a Third Service; except, that it begins with the Lord's Prayer, and that after the Lesson, the *Magnificat*, or the *Nunc dimittis* may be used, and the addition of a few responsive petitions after the Creed, and the substitution of the last Prayer in the Institution Office for the Prayer for the Church Militant. The book is neatly got up. We hear, already, of very liberal interpretations practically put upon the Resolutions of the Bishops at the last General Convention on the part of some of the Clergy of the Church, which we hope will be anticipated, and held in check, by just such prescriptions as this.

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR; A Manual of Family Prayers, adapted to the various Seasons of the Ecclesiastical Year. With Prayers and Thanksgivings for Special Occasions. By the Rev. H. CROSWELL, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. New York: D. Dana & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 261.

A Family Prayer Book, prepared by so experienced and successful a Pastor as the venerable Dr. Croswell, needs not our commendation. It has already reached a fourth edition, and been, before all others, the chosen Manual, for their own use, of some of the best minds and hearts in the Church; and this is praise enough. The series of Prayers respond in tone to the Seasons of the Ecclesiastical Year; and the language is, everywhere, that of the Bible and Prayer Book, or is imbued with their spirit; and, hence, is calculated to utter the breathings of a sober, chastened and devout piety.

OLD WHITEY'S CHRISTMAS TROT; A Story for the Holidays By A. OAKLEY HALL. With sixteen illustrations by Thwaites. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. Child's 4to. pp. 237. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

This clever little quarto came too late for our last Number, but it is worth a kind word even now. The dry and hard practice of a professional life at the Bar have not been able to staunch the fountain of genuine sentiment of which the author's heart is full even to running over.

THE OLD FARM AND THE NEW FARM: A Political Allegory. First published under the title of "A Pretty Story" By FRANCIS HOPKINSON, a Member of the Continental Congress. With an introduction, Historical Notes and Illustrations, by BENSON J. LOSSING, M. A., author of "The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," &c. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 16mo. pp. 76.

Francis Hopkinson was a Philadelphian by birth, of respectable English descent, of good education, a Member from New Jersey of the Continental Congress, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, a Judge of Admiralty for Pennsylvania, and afterwards of the United States Court, appointed by Washington, and died holding this office, May 9th, 1791. Sympathizing heartily with the Colonies in their struggles with Great Britain, he brought the aid of his keen sagacity and pungent satire to fan the revolutionary flame. The allegory before us was published as a pamphlet in 1774, under the title of "A Pretty Story by Peter Grievous, Esq., A. B. C. D. E., Veluti in Speculo;" and was admirably adapted to stir up the indignation of the colonists at the grievous wrongs inflicted upon them by the British Ministry. It is a curious relic, and is well worthy of the beautiful dress in which it now appears.

MY STEP-MOTHER; or the Power of Love. By SARAH ROBERTS. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 16mo. pp. 203.

A pretty little book, well written, full of Christian sentiment, and appropriate for Sunday School Libraries. It tells about an excellent Step-Mother, a badly trained daughter-in-law, a cross old nurse, and a number of ill-bred, mischievous neighbors. Christianity, as the Church teaches it, is well illustrated in the story.

THE LIFE OF THE RT. REV. WM. WHITE, D. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania. By the Rev. JOHN N. NORTON, A. M., author of "The Boy who was trained to be a Clergyman," "Full Proof of the Ministry," etc. 24mo. pp. 103. New York: S. S. U., and Church Book Society.

The Rev. Mr. Norton has been eminently successful in writing Church books. This Life of Bishop White will be found one of the most valuable little works published by the Church Book Society. The leading facts in the Bishop's eventful history, and the salient points in his character, are clearly given. The Church tone of the work presents that blended harmony of moderation and firmness which so emphatically characterized the departed prelate himself. We are glad to see that the Society are to issue similar works from the same pen.

HARPERS' PICTURE BOOKS FOR THE NURSERY. Learning about Right and Wrong; or Entertaining and Instructive Lessons for young children, in respect to their Duty. By JACOB ABBOTT, with Ninety Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 18mo. pp. 192. New Haven: E. Downes.

This series of beautiful little volumes is now complete; and nothing more attractive for children has ever been issued from the American press. The moral tone is decided and healthful.

HISTORY OF HENRY THE FOURTH, KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856. 18mo. pp. 335.

Those fearful religious wars and commotions which nearly three hundred years ago devastated France, drove into exile the flower of the Kingdom, exhibited cruelties and atrocities unparalleled in history, and finally placed a Bourbon on the throne—the story of that appalling tragedy is here told in Abbott's best style, though of course it is a mere compend of leading events.

HISTORY OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND. By JACOB ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 16mo. pp. 336.

The History of Richard the Lion-Hearted, and his Crusades, is one of the very best to captivate the attention of children. The story, as told here, has all Abbott's excellencies. The popular character of the narrative and its adaptedness to excite an interest in historical studies, disarm criticism, even if critics were bent upon it.

THE LITTLE LEARNER—LEARNING ABOUT COMMON THINGS; or Familiar Instructions for children in respect to the objects around them, that attract their attention, and awaken their curiosity in the earliest years of life. By JACOB ABBOTT. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twenty Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1857. Small 4to. pp. 192. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

This little volume is admirably adapted to those inquisitive little boys and girls who are always asking the reasons for everything; a habit which should be cultivated and directed, and not frowned upon as is too often done.

ELEMENTS OF PLANE AND SOLID GEOMETRY; together with the Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and an Article on Inverse Trigonometrical Functions. By GERARDUS BREEKMAN DOCHARTY, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics in the New York Free Academy. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 189. New Haven: E. Downes.

The peculiarity of this new book, is in the omission of many of the propositions which we have been accustomed to see in such works, and the addition of others which are new to us. The book looks well; and is worth trying.

CITY MISSIONS. A Report and Supplement rendered to the Rt. Rev. the Provisional Bishop of the Diocese of New York. By the Rev. W. A. McVICKAR. 1857. New York: Dana & Co. 12mo. pp. 88.

The Rev. Mr. McVickar on visiting Europe in 1854, in quest of health, availed himself of the opportunity to inquire into the method of conducting Missionary effort and Home Charities in the large towns of England, and on the Continent. Bishop Potter kindly gave him a commendatory Letter. Since his recent return, he has embodied his information and conclusions in the pamphlet before us. It is important, valuable, and timely. It revives and deepens the impression which the reading of British and Foreign Reports has often produced in our own mind, that, in this work of Home Charity, we have almost everything yet to learn. Churchmen have yet to learn, what most of them, alas! never yet have learned, that Faith without works will never save them. They have yet to learn, that they are *stewards* only, not *owners*, of their money. And then they have to learn, that the Church is CHRIST'S chosen method to disburse that money for Christ's sake. The amazing extravagance of the expenditures which Churchmen are making for their own worldly gratification; and the niggardly meanness, the grumbling, and groaning, and complaining, with which they dole out what they call their charities,—all this shows where the fault lies. Men love the world more than they love Christ. That is the whole difficulty. Our Clergy cannot worm this money out of the laity, as the Papists do,

by threats of Purgatory, nor by a traffic in Indulgences; but they can proclaim that Law of Christ, that men *must* "forsake all that they have," or they cannot be CHRIST's disciples. This pamphlet tells us how we may go to work; that is, if we are only willing to do it. It also gives us an account of what Mr. McVickar saw abroad; Hospitals, Sisters of Charity, the Protestant Deaconesses of Paris and Germany, the *Petites Soeurs des Pauvres*, the Working of Penitentiaries for fallen Women, the Statutes of S. Ninian's, Perth, &c.

NEW YORK OBSERVER.

We notice in this Newspaper (Presbyterian) a series of articles by a "Presbyter of the Episcopal Church" on the subject of a proposed Union between the Church and certain of the so-called orthodox Sects, including of course the Presbyterians. We notice, also, that one who signs himself a "Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church," appears in the same paper as a very warm advocate of this theory. Is this the same Bishop who, not many years ago, entered into a correspondence with a *Romish* Bishop: proposing a plan of Union between our Branch of the Church and that corrupt sect? That secret leaked out through some of the Romish Priests, as it was quite too rich for them to keep to themselves. The same Bishop, also, we believe, not long ago had a plan for a Union with the *Baptists*; proposing to keep up the "Succession" and so unite us with them, through the medium of an Armenian immersing Bishop!

How any intelligent Churchman can even for a moment dream of Union with Rome, with all her Trentine doctrines, and Trentine Curses, and her modern Developments;—or with the Baptists, the very spirit and genius of whose System necessarily excludes from CHRIST's Fold, the lambs of the Flock,—surpasses our comprehension. It can by no means be said to deserve the "faint praise" of an amiable weakness. The proposition in the *New York Observer*, is sneered at by the great mass of sectarians; and by none with more bitterness than the Methodists with their bastard Episcopacy. But this only illustrates a well-known principle of human nature. The discussion has, at least, done some good, in manifesting the fact that Sectism has within itself the source of its own dissolution.

THE CHURCHMAN'S DIARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR for the Year of our Lord 1857: Containing an Almanac and Diary, with Notices of Anniversaries and Meetings of Church Institutions; a variety of other information useful to Churchmen, and a blank space for Memorandums, for each day of the year. New York: Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society. 1857. New Haven: G. B. Bassett & Co.

The above full title of this elegant and convenient little Manual, explains its character.

PRACTICAL DIRECTIONS FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF LENT. A Homily for Ash Wednesday. By the Rt. Rev. HORATIO SOUTHGATE, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. New York: Dana & Co. 24mo. pp. 59. 1857. New Haven: G. B. Bassett & Co.

The "Church System," so called, is as distinctive in its views, principles, and methods of Christian culture, as it is in its views of Ministry and Worship. In that culture, the "Lenten Fast" holds, among the means prescribed, an important place. The "Directions" of Bishop Southgate will be appreciated by those who look upon their membership in Christ's Body as a reality; and, if followed, will promote, we doubt not, deeper spirituality, and higher attainments in piety.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HON. JOHN A. DIX, to the Select Committee of the Senate on the Report of Trinity Church. New York: 1857. 8vo. pp. 19.

The candid portion of the public are, we think, becoming heartily sick of

these perpetual attacks on Trinity Church. It is suspected that there is a meaning in them which does not stop at Trinity Church. It is not long, since a grossly sacrilegious attempt was made upon her property, which resulted in proving at least two things: first, the unprincipled character of the attempt; and second, the fact of the sure title of Trinity to the property which she now holds. It seems that an effort is now making to obtain a repeal of the Act of 1814, under the pressure of an excitement manufactured for the occasion; by which Act, the management of the property was made more determinate; and yet, as is claimed, in strict accordance with the evident meaning and intent of the original Grant and Charter by which that property was conveyed. And yet, no one can doubt, that from the very language of these instruments, the Corporation of Trinity Church must be under the strongest possible obligation to disburse the income from that property with the strictest impartiality, and in such manner as to best meet the spiritual wants of the Church throughout the city.

The pamphlet of the Hon. Mr. Dix is an able and manly document. It does not take up the legal question. It is a vindication of the policy of Trinity, in managing and disbursing. The writer freely admits the practical mistake of so much costly architecture for the accommodation of the rich. But he denies the charges of partial expenditures, and for partisan ends. His statement of what Trinity is now actually doing in Christian charity, will correct popular misapprehension and remove unfounded prejudices. It certainly does seem to us unfortunate that the present movement against Trinity should have originated, or be mainly sustained in three Parishes, which hold now gifts and endowments from Trinity Church valued at from *six hundred to eight hundred thousand dollars!* It is still more unfortunate, too, that it should be made so soon after a gross act of sacrilege was thwarted. And more unfortunate, still, that it is made at a time when Trinity is confessedly entering with a strong *corps* of men, and with new vigor, upon reclaiming those appalling moral wastes which a fashionable Christianity has deserted.

CONFIRMATION; or Laying on of Hands: its Authority and Nature. By Rev. SAMUEL FULLER, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Andover, Mass. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 35.

We have never seen the *authority* of Confirmation more demonstrably proved, or its *nature* more clearly stated. For parochial use, the pamphlet is well adapted.

Rev. Prof. E. HARWOOD's Sermon in St. Paul's Church, New Haven, Ct., Oct. 12, 1856, on the "Causes of Filial Impiety."

There is an outspoken vigor of thought, and boldness of tone, in this noble Sermon, which shows that the preacher did not cease to be a man, when he was made a Minister.

CATALOGUE OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. 1856-7.

We find in the "General Theological Seminary," the names of *thirty-nine* students from *thirteen* dioceses.

CALENDAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, Hartford, Ct., 1857.

This Institution, from its position, so near to Yale on the one side, and Harvard on the other, suffers at present doubtless in numbers, yet it is earnest and thorough in its work, and will, in time, command that confidence which even now it deserves. The Faculty numbers *fifteen*, and it has Students, Fresh men, 12; Sophomores, 15; Junior Sophisters, 16; Senior Sophisters, 17;—Total, 60.

NASHOTAH MISSION. 1857. Catalogue &c., and Annual Letter.

Trustees of Nashotah House.—Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D., President; Rt. Rev. George Upfold, D. D.; Rev. Wm. Shelton, D. D.; Rev. Benjamin Ak-erly; Rev. David Keene, B. D.; Rev. A. D. Cole, D. D.; and Rev. R. H. Clark-son, D. D.

Faculty of Nashotah House.—Rev. Azel D. Cole, D. D., President and Pro-fessor of Pastoral Theology. Rev. William Adams, D. D., President of Systematic Theology. Rev. Lewis A. Kemper, A. M., B. D., Tutor of Exegesis, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Rev. James DeKoven, A. M., Tutor in Ecclesiastical His-tory. Rev. Sebastian B. Hodges, A. M., Tutor in Biblical History, Elocution, and Music.

The Annual Term for 1856-57 of this Institution, the Theological Seminary of the Northwest, opened on October 1st, 1856. There are now thirty-six Stu-dents, of whom seventeen are candidates for Holy Orders, and nineteen are preparing to become Candidates. Two more students are expected to join the Mission after January 1st, '57. No students are admitted but such as are pre-paring for the Holy Ministry.

While in some parts of the Church men have been extremely busy in scent-ing out heresy, and frightening people away from the Church, Nashotah, by its self-sacrificing labors for Christ, can point to thirty three ordained to the Holy Ministry, seventeen Church edifices, five Parochial Schools, twenty-five Par-ishes organized, two Indian Missions. Such are in part the fruits of an Institu-tion in its infancy, which the Church can strengthen with the means of doing more and more in its vigorous maturity.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT and Pastoral Letter to the Parish of Trinity Church, Cleveland, Ohio. By the Rector, Rev. Jas. A. BOLLES, D. D. 1857. 8vo. pp. 19.

Such Annual Letters as this are very valuable, both as stimulants and as in-dices. Without entering into details we may say that it exhibits the head and heart, and hands, too, of a true Churchman; upheld as such a man always will be, by a band of loyal and devoted laymen. Speaking of his own city, he says: "In consequence of the discord and fanaticism of jarring sects, many—and they are men of influence and character—have turned their backs upon every form of Christianity, and almost hate the name of Gospel and of Church." Strange it is, that any among ourselves should overlook the important fact, that the Church is adapted to save this large and growing class of men from open and avowed infidelity, only as she is frankly and boldly presented in her integrity and completeness.

BRITISH PERIODICALS.—Leonard Scott & Co., 54 Gold street, New York, con-tinue to republish the following British Periodicals, viz: 1. the London Quarter-ly, (Conservative;) 2. the Edinburgh Review, (Whig;) 3. the North British Review, (Free Church;) 4. the Westminster Review, (Radical;) 5. Black-wood's Edinburgh Magazine, (Tory.)

Quarterly Periodical Literature has never yet reached the position of strength, dignity, and power, in the United States, which it has so long maintained in Great Britain. All the great questions which are stirring the mind and heart of Europe, are discussed in these British Quarterlies boldly, and from diverse points of observation. They are furnished by Messrs. L. Scott & Co. at the following prices:

Blackwood, or any one of the Reviews, \$8 a year. Blackwood and one Re-view—or any two Reviews, \$5. The four Reviews, \$8. Blackwood and the four Reviews, \$10.

Postage (which should be paid quarterly in advance) on the four Reviews and Blackwood to any Post Office in the United States, only 80 cents a year. Namely: 14 cents a year on each Review, and 24 cents a year on Blackwood.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

Of all the Monthlies, Harpers' bears the palm. It has attained a circulation unparalleled in periodical literature; and it has fairly earned its brilliant success. In the issue for March, there is an Article "From Thebes to the Pyramids," which is worth twice the price of the Number. This same No. contains a sketch of the famous Samuel Johnson by Macaulay, written in that author's dashing style. Yet, what will the reader say, when we tell him that Macaulay described Archbishop Laud, as "a poor creature, who never did, said or wrote anything indicating more than the ordinary capacity of an old woman." The learned Voesius did not have quite this opinion of Laud. He said, that one of Laud's productions, "at its weight in gold would not be costly, because each part was all gold." Who has best played the "old woman," Laud or Macaulay, is a question which, at least, admits of debate even now. Whether it will admit it, by and by, is another question.

We regret that we can do little more than announce the following Sermons, &c.

THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP WHITTINGHAM's Sermon, "The Rule distributed of God," at the Institution of the Rev. A. C. Coxe, in Grace Church, Baltimore, Nov. 2, 1856.

A clear and most earnest presentation of the distinction between the Orders and the Mission of Christ's Ministry in His Church.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP ATKINSON's Sermon, "Reverence due to the House of God," at the Consecration of Grace Church, Baltimore, Oct. 30, 1856.

REV. DR. FULLER's Address, at the Dedication of the Punchard Free School, Andover, Mass., Sept. 2, 1856.

REV. DR. W. H. LEWIS's Sermon before the Brooklyn Young Men's Christian Association, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Feb. 17, 1857.

REV. SAMUEL BUEL's Sermon, at the Burial of William Davies, in Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1857.

An interesting biographical sketch of an old patriarch, (from Connecticut,) who died, aged *ninety-four* years.

THE REV. DR. ABRAHAM BEACH CARTER's Sermon, on Sunday before the last General and State Elections, in St. John's Church, Yonkers, N. Y. Nov. 2, 1856.

A delicate subject faithfully handled.

"THE UNJUST STEWARD." A Sermon by a Presbyterian of the Diocese of South Carolina. 1856.

REV. W. W. LORD's Sermon, "Our Citizenship in the Church," in Christ Church, Vicksburg, Miss., Nov. 30, 1856.

"THE DAILY SERVICE" A New Year's Offering to the Parishioners of Christ Church, Elizabethtown, N. J. By the Rector.

We have little doubt that Daily Service will be restored to the Church as the extreme tendency to individualism dies out, and the organic life of "Christ and the Church" revives again. In city parishes and congregations, the Daily Service will be well nigh universal; in rural parishes, it will be restored at a more remote period. The practice is Scriptural, Primitive and Catholic. Mr. Hoffman is one of our most zealous and earnest men.

REV. D. WASHBURN's Fourth Annual Report of Trinity Church, Pottsville, Penn. 1856.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Bryan, James L.	Whittingham,	Dec. 28, '56,	Trinity, Dorchester Par., Md.
Burrows, Joshua L.	Potter, H.	Dec. 21, '56,	Transfiguration, N. Y.
Carver, T.	Williams,	Feb. 12, '57,	St. Paul's, Woodbury, Ct.
Chase, Robert G.	Doane,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Chase, Edwin B.	Doane,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Curtis, Alfred A.	Whittingham,	Sept. 21, '56,	Christ, Cambridge, Md.
Davis, George R.	Williams,	Feb. 12, '57,	St. Paul's, Woodbury, Ct.
Davenport Silas D.	Atkinson,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. James', Wilmington, N. C.
Dean, George W.	Potter, H.	Mch. 8, '57,	Trinity, N. Y.
Forgus, Wellington,	Doane,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Goodwin, Edward, H. C.	Whittingham,	Jan. 18, '57,	St. Peter's, Baltimore, Md.
Harding, Israel,	Atkinson,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. James', Wilmington, N. C.
Jacobi, John C.	Brownell,	Dec. 14, '56,	Christ, Hartford, Ct.
McAllister, F. Marion,	Elliott,	Nov. 30, '56,	Christ, Savannah, Geo.
Points, J. T.	Johns,	Feb. 15, '57,	Chapel Theo. Seminary, Va.
Quinby, J. H.	Davis,	Feb. 22, '57,	St. Michael's, Charleston, S. C.
Stryker, John V.	Atkinson,	Dec. 21, '56,	St. James', Wilmington, N. C.
Suter, Henderson,	Johns,	Feb. 15, '57,	Chapel Theo. Seminary, Va.
Tweedale, Samuel,	Potter, A.	Dec. 14, '56,	St. Mark's, Frankford, Pa.

PRESTES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Albert, C. H.	Polk,	Nov. 30, '56,	Trinity, New Orleans, La.
" Farrington, Wm. G.	Potter, H.	Dec. 21, '56,	Transfiguration, N. Y.
" Gould, A. F.	Whittingham,	Dec. 28, '56,	Trinity, Dorchester Par., Md.
" Greene, Hezekiah,	Payne,	May 11, '56,	Monrovia, Africa.
" Jewett, Edward H.	DeLancey,	Mch. 8, '57,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
" McDonald, D. F.	Kip,	Oct. 19, '56,	Grace, San Francisco, Cal.
" Sever, Winslow W.	Eastburn,	Mch. 5, '57,	St. Paul's, Brookline, Mass.
" Thompson H. Martyn,	Kemper,	Mch. 8, '57,	St. Sylvanus, Delafield, Wis.
" Woodruff, Curtis T.	Williams,	Feb. 12, '57,	St. Paul's, Woodbury, Ct.
" Young, James A.	Whittingham,	Sept. 21, '56,	Christ, Cambridge, Md.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Christ,	Williams,	Jan. 14, '57,	Greenwich, Ct.
Church of Gethsemane,	Kemper,	Dec. 16, '56,	Minneapolis, Minnesota Ter.
Grace,	Payne,	May 14, '56,	Clay-Ashland, Africa.
St. Andrew's,	Clark,	Jan. 14, '57,	Providence, R. I.
St. James',	Clark,	Dec. 31, '56,	Woonsocket, R. I.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
St. Luke's,	Cobbs,	Jan. 4, '57,	Jacksonville, Ala.
St. Peter's,	Clark,	Jan. 13, '57,	Manton, E. I.
Trinity,	Eastburn,	Jan. 7, '57,	Haverhill, Mass.
Zion,	Atkinson,	Nov. 14, '56,	Beaufort, N. C.
Zion,	McCoskry,	Jan. 22, '57,	Pontiac, Michigan.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Philipseville, Allegany County, New York, on the 26th of Nov. 1856, the Rev. LEVERETT BUSH, D. D., of disease of the heart.

Dr. Bush was for twenty-three years the loved and honored Rector of St. Paul's Church, Oxford, New York. Throughout his long continued ministry, he won universal regard and respect, by his Christian urbanity and affectionate kindness to all who came within the sphere of his influence. He was ever zealous in his official labors, and ardent in the cause of the Master whom he served. The parish under his care and guidance was peaceful and prosperous, and when, at length, in consequence of failing health, he felt constrained to relinquish its charge, the regret was general, and he left only friends when he departed from the scenes of his long and faithful toil.

DIED, at Medina, Ohio, on the 13th of November, 1856, the Rev. WILLIAM GRANVILLE, aged 68 years.

Mr. Granville was born in England, and emigrated to the United States in the year 1816; and for the last twenty years had been a resident of Medina, Ohio. He was originally attached to the Methodist connection—being from the early age of 18 or 19 a preacher of the Gospel—but since about the year 1834, had been a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Although withdrawn from the more immediate services of the Church, as pastor of a parish, yet no man could be more prompt to every call of duty than he was, up to the very last. His last sermon was preached on the Sunday previous to his short but severe illness. He never considered himself in any sense superannuated, but as the way opened, was ready to administer to the wants of others,—preaching, and visiting, and attending upon the sick and dying. In benevolent enterprises he had long taken a prominent and decided stand. In his last moments, and in full view of the great and final change, he expressed himself as one that was "going home!" His faith, and hope, and Christian evidence were bright and clear at his departure. Thus he has gone down to the grave as a full ear of corn, ripened for the Master's service.

DIED, in Richmond, Va., on the evening of Monday, the 2d February, Rev. PHILIP BERRY, Rector of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent county.

Mr. Berry removed to the diocese of Maryland last fall, and accepted the charge of St. Peter's, New Kent, when he at once engaged most actively in his pastoral duties. Projecting the erection of a new church edifice in his parish, he had already obtained from the Churchmen of Richmond about one half the sums required for that purpose, and designed leaving for Norfolk, with the expectation of getting additional aid there. But God, who disposes all things, decreed differently. He was arrested by a severe cold, resulting in pneumonia, and which after a week's illness, terminated in death.

A few hours before he breathed his last, Rev. Dr. Minnigerode informed him of his end. Being too weak to talk much, he yet expressed his entire willingness to die. He seemed to enjoy very much the hymn, "Jesus, Saviour of my soul," which Dr. M. repeated to him, ejaculating after the completion of the hymn, "My Saviour! my Saviour!" These were his last words.

DIED, at South Boston, on the 4th Dec., 1856, the Rev. SHIPLEY WELLS WILLSON, aged 62 years, formerly chaplain of the House of Correction.

Mr. Willson was a native of Springfield, Mass., and formerly a very popular minister of the Methodist connection. In the year 1845, he was ordained to the office of Deacon, and in 1846, to that of Priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church, a step which he had been long contemplating.

Consumption, the seeds of which were probably planted in the early years of his ministry, which were spent in a laborious frontier circuit, has been for a long time slowly undermining his once vigorous constitution, incapacitating him for any active labor in his Divine Master's vineyard, and confining him to his chamber, with a few rare exceptions, for a period of over four years. It was, perhaps, one of his severest trials, that he was thus forbidden to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. Yet he was not idle. During his long confinement, he was a silent yet eloquent preacher of the Gospel, in the beautiful and unvarying "example of suffering affliction, and of patience" which he exhibited in his daily life. His Bible and his Prayer Book were his constant companions; and never, for a single day, until that which preceded his death, did he fail to go through the regular morning and evening services of the Church. The faith which supported and cheered him through all his trials and afflictions did not desert him in that hour when its preciousness is made most evident. It may be well said of him, that he was "gathered unto his fathers, having the testimony of a good conscience, in the Communion of the Catholic Church, in the confidence of a certain faith, in the comfort of a reasonable, religious and holy hope, in favor with God, and in perfect charity with the world."

DIED, in Jersey City, on Wednesday, January 21st, Rev. STEPHEN DOUGLASS, aged 40 years and 16 days, Rector of the Free Episcopal Church, York Street, Jersey city.

Mr. Douglas was for many years a Presbyterian in the Diocese of Western New York, and before his removal to New Jersey, Rector of Emanuel Church, Norwich, Chenango county. About three years since, he took in hand the mission work in Jersey city—Trinity Chapel—to which he devoted himself with great energy and zeal. He was a man of ability and energy, and was beloved by those who knew him well. He was straight-forward, outspoken, fearless and strictly conscientious. Always honest in his convictions, he was ready to express and defend them at all times. He had a promptness and decision of manner which was not generally at first sight understood or appreciated, consequently the first impressions of him were not always favorable; but acquaintance soon disclosed the fact that beneath that brusque exterior lay a warm and noble heart. He was a faithful and laborious pastor, and while in the prime of life and in the midst of usefulness, was called to his reward.

DIED, at Cavalla, September 29, 1856, at a quarter before 11 o'clock P. M., Miss ISABELLA T. ALLEY. Her disease was consumption.

Miss Alley left a comfortable home in Virginia, in October, 1855, to join the mission at Cape Palmas, and assumed the charge of the Orphan Asylum at that place. She went out in company with Rev. Robert Smith. Thus, in the brief space of one year, both these devoted missionaries are called from their labors, to their enduring reward.

ELISHA KENT KANE, M. D., the distinguished Explorer, died at Havana, Cuba, Feb. 13, 1857, aged 34 years. He was born in Philadelphia in 1822; was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and took his degree as Doctor of Medicine in 1848. He was immediately appointed Surgeon to the Embassy to China, and spent the greater part of his subsequent life in foreign travels. He traveled extensively in Eastern Asia and the Asiatic Islands; explored the Upper Nile, and spent some time on the coast of Western Africa; was distinguished

for his heroism in the Mexican War; was then assigned to the Coast Survey, under Professor Bache; volunteered and was appointed Senior Surgeon in the first American Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin; and in 1853, entered upon the Second Exploration, whose history is familiar to our readers. The extreme hardships and privations which he endured, undermined his constitution, and were the cause of his death. His modesty, his self-reliance, his moral courage, his indomitable perseverance, his intellectual culture—all these, which shone in every thing from his pen, marked him as a man of rare worth. His religious character, though never obtrusive, was prominent in his Arctic Explorations, as well as at the close of his life. At Havana, his death was noticed with appropriate public testimonials; and throughout our country, public bodies, civic, scientific, and legislative, have honored his memory with appropriate tributes.

DIED, at Matagorda, Texas, on the 28th of January, the Rev. STEPHEN R. WRIGHT, Rector of Christ Church.

The uncertainty of life was most strikingly manifested in the sudden departure of this servant of God. While on his way from his own residence, to perform the funeral service over the remains of another, he was stricken with apoplexy and died instantly. This notice of his death will recall to the minds of many Churchmen at the East, Mr. Wright's visit about a year since, to raise funds to rebuild his Church, which with nearly the whole town of Matagorda, was destroyed by a tornado in May, 1855. The tale which he told of this destruction, failed not to enlist the sympathies of all who heard him, and he was enabled to return, with such aid, that with what means his own people were able to furnish, he had procured the materials to erect the church, for which he had so assiduously labored. The noble work must now be superintended by another than the devoted and lamented Pastor.

We find in the *Banner of the Cross*, the following just tribute to his memory:—"We saw a great deal of Mr. Wright during his stay here, and became much interested in him and his work. While among us he gained many friends, and left with all the impression of his most attractive Christian character. He was an eloquent preacher, because he was so simple, so earnest, so full of sanctified humanity. In his private intercourse here he will be long remembered. He was a man so Christ-like as not to be forgotten. His gentleness, his flowing and generous sympathies won affection and confidence from all. We know that his loss must be deeply deplored and long felt by his parishioners and the Diocese. His account of his personal trials and sufferings, which never went beyond the private ear, could not fail to impress one with the sincerity and goodness of his life; all told, too, with the never failing smile of hope and faith. He was an example to many of us who, with our lesser causes of trouble, are prone to magnify them, and act as if we had lost all faith and hope. He was really one of those 'servants who have departed this life in His faith and fear,' whose 'good example,' let us hope, we may have 'grace to follow.'"

Mr. Wright was for seventeen years a Presbyterian clergyman, and had been in Episcopal orders only for about four years. His position among his former brethren was one of some prominence, having been a delegate from his Presbytery in Alabama more than once to the General Assembly. It was on a visit to one of these, that he encountered a chain of 'circumstances' which induced him to study Hooker; after which his mind could not resist the new convictions forced upon it in favor of the polity of the Church and its divine authority, and he came to us, although at the cost of all associations of family and friendship."

DIED, at Brooklyn, N. Y., on Thursday, February 26, the Rev. JOHN FREDERICK SCHROEDER, D. D., in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Dr. Schroeder descended from distinguished German ancestors, was born at Baltimore, Md., April 8, 1800. At a very early age he manifested a great desire

for learning, and was noted for a remarkable readiness of thought and utterance.

Entering Princeton College in his fifteenth year, he graduated in 1819, with the first honors of his class. For a year or more after graduating, he pursued the study of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic languages, at Philadelphia, under Dr. Banks, a learned Oriental scholar, and in 1821, entered the Theological Seminary at New Haven, where he continued until it was removed to New York. He finished his course of study under the direction of Bishop Kemp, at Baltimore, and was admitted to Holy Orders in the latter city, January 1, 1823, and to the Priesthood, April 22, 1824, on each occasion by Bishop Kemp. After a brief experience in the ministry in the diocese of Maryland, he was called by the vestry of Trinity Church, New York, to perform the pastoral duties of Bishop Hobart, during his absence in Europe, and was a few months after settled permanently as an assistant minister of Trinity Church and St. John's and St. Paul's Chapels, where he attracted crowds of hearers by his finished delivery and ornate style. Returning to this country in 1838, after a tour in Europe, he resigned his position in Trinity Parish, and opened at Flushing, L. I., a boarding school for girls, under the name of St. Ann's Hall, on the most extensive scale. In 1846, he removed this Institution to New York, and assumed in connection with it, the Rectorship of the Church of the Crucifixion. In 1852, he accepted a call to St. Thomas' Church, Brooklyn, to which city he also removed his school, and where he remained till his death, resigning his pastoral charge only some five months previous to his decease.

The latter part of Dr. Schroeder's life was devoted more or less to literary pursuits. Besides being a frequent contributor to the pages of Magazines and Reviews, he wrote a "Life of Bishop Hobart," "Maxims of Washington," and an elaborate life of his mother-in-law, Mrs. M. A. Boardman, for private circulation.

He was engaged in writing a large work upon the Life and Times of Washington, when the attack of sudden disease, resulting in his death, closed his career of usefulness.

The funeral services of Dr. S. were performed at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn; and an appropriate address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Haight.

After the funeral, a number of the Clergy, at the call of Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter, assembled at his late residence and passed resolutions of condolence and respect for his memory.

DIED, at Annapolis, Maryland, January 25, the Rev. HECTOR HUMPHREYS, D. D., aged 59 years.

Rev. Hector Humphreys, D. D., President of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, breathed his last on the Third Sunday after Epiphany, January 25, 1857, being likewise the Festival of the conversion of St. Paul. The deceased was born in Canton, Connecticut, June 8th, 1797. Being of Congregational parentage, he was brought up in the strictest principles of that sect. His studies were pursued in the academy at Westfield, and afterwards in Yale College, where he graduated in 1818 with the highest honors in a class of about one hundred. Dr. H. was intending to have qualified himself for the Congregational pulpit, and was entirely unacquainted with the claims of our Church. At this time, his attention was directed to them by the publication of a scurrilous pamphlet, purporting to be a "Serious Call to those without the Episcopal Church." The venerable Dr. Croswell, of New Haven, answered this anonymous production in so mild and gentle a spirit, yet with so much force and conclusiveness, that it led to a more thorough examination. Dr. H. was convinced of his duty to cast his lot in with that sect, which he had heard always spoken against. The two tracts which were the instruments of his conversion, he preserved in his library to the last, and showed to the writer of this article, with the remark that there were no volumes in his possession which he valued

more highly. Others, likewise, were first led by this controversy to join the communion of the Church, thus affording another instance of the truth of the prophetic declaration, "No weapon that is forged against thee shall prosper."

Dr. H. then studied for the bar, to which he was in due course admitted. When Trinity (then Washington) College was established, he was elected its first Professor of Ancient Languages. His earlier love for the ministry returned, and after a full preparation he received both deacon's and priest's orders, at the hands of our present revered Presiding Bishop. He continued to discharge the duties of his Professorship most faithfully and effectually, until in 1831 he was appointed Principal of the Institution to which the remaining twenty-five years of his life were earnestly devoted. Dr. Humphreys was a thoroughly, well-trained scholar of the old school, and kept up a familiar acquaintance with all branches of literature to the last. But it was to natural science that his inclinations led him to devote most of his time and attention. His labors in the chemical laboratory laid the foundation of the disease which for several years had been undermining his health and strength, and finally carried him off in the midst of his usefulness. He was deeply interested in the application of chemistry to agriculture, and was a frequent contributor to the journal of the Maryland Agricultural Society. As a preacher, Dr. Humphreys always commanded the profoundest attention, and as long as health permitted, delighted in the frequent exercise of that and other functions of his ministry. He had the rare gift of so adapting his words of wise counsel to the young, as to enlist their feelings and insure their respect and obedience. Those who witnessed the last Commencement at which he presided, can never forget the impressiveness of his address to the graduating class. He seemed to feel as if he were fulfilling that oft-performed duty for the last time, and spoke as if with the spirit of another world.

His courtesy and kindness were unailing, and he was a model of the true Christian gentleman. In the circle of which he was so long a member, he will be long missed. May his place be filled by one who will recommend the Christianity of his profession by as consistent a walk as his, before God and man. May his influence for the Church be not lost in his successor. Dr. Humphreys leaves a widow and two daughters to mourn his loss.

"A SERIOUS CALL," &C.

The history of the pamphlet above alluded to, illustrates so well the policy which the Church in Connecticut has ever pursued, the bitter enmity and scurrilous abuse with which, in consequence, she has had to contend, the result of that policy on the growth and prosperity of the Church, that a few words concerning it may not be out of place. The Rt. Rev. BISHOP HOBART, of New York, was then in temporary charge of the Diocese of Connecticut. His commanding talents, his fervent zeal, his earnest piety, his winning urbanity of deportment, and his firm enunciation of Church principles, all these, produced a marked impression among the people wherever he went. The leaders of Congregationalism took the alarm. Something must be done to destroy Bishop Hobart's influence, and arrest the progress of Church principles. Secretly, this pamphlet was concocted by the three leading Congregational Ministers of Connecticut. It professed to be written by "A Consistent Churchman." The writer expressly declares,—"I am a member of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH." It was even bruited around privately that it was actually written by a member of the Church. It appeared in 1819, but without either the date, or the names of the authors or the publishers being given; though in fact it was issued from the press of a Congregational deacon in New Haven; and was industriously scattered all over Connecticut. It was shrewdly got up. By its ingenious, yet gross caricature of Church principles, and its garbled quotations from Bishop Hobart's writings, and other Church works, it was admirably calculated to arouse among the uninformed the deepest prejudices against the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church; and to some extent, it doubtless did its work. It be-

trays a malignity of temper which the broadest charity alone can pardon. But providentially, there was a watchful eye upon this whole movement. Scarcely had this cunning Jesuitism sprung its trap, when the now venerable Dr. CROSWELL, of New Haven, issued "A SOBER APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC," in which the Christian courtesy and loyalty to the true principles of the Church, are only equalled by the scorching severity with which the writer thoroughly dissected this scandalous, clandestine piece of hypocrisy. This was the pamphlet of Dr. Croswell which first arrested the attention of the late Rev. Dr. Humphreys and led to the result as given above. We have alluded to this fact in the past history of the Church in Connecticut, because there is a moral to it. It shows that it was by no milk-and-water, temporizing policy, no resort to a dodging expediency, that the foundations of the Church in Connecticut have been so firmly laid. Thank God, the days of open opposition, we trust, have gone by. The Church is now hailed with respect and confidence in quarters where she once *was forced* to contest the ground inch by inch.

UNITY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

So loud is the boast of Unity by the Papists, that we cannot but notice an illustration of it now and then. The famous case of St. Louis Church, in Buffalo, N. Y., attempted to be settled by that paragon of meekness, the Nuncio Bedini, in 1864; and ending with the excommunication of the Trustees by Bishop Timon, of course is not forgotten. The late retort courteous between Archbishop Hughes and the Reviewer Brownson, the quiet undertone of menace on the one side, and of defiance on the other, is a fresh illustration of harmony at head quarters. The Romish Bishop of Chicago, an Irishman, finding the *French* congregation of St. Louis in a flourishing way, manages to get the property into his own hands, to send them an Irish instead of a French priest, and pockets the revenues, some \$2,000 a year.

The following Resolutions show what these Chicago Romanists think of their Bishop:

"Resolved, That the Right Rev. Bishop O'Regan having said to our deputies who went to inquire from him by what right he was taking our church from us to give it to another congregation, 'I have the right to do what I like with your church and your church properties; I can sell them, and put the money in my pocket, and go where I please with it,' has assumed a power too tyrannical to be obeyed by a Christian and a free people.

"Resolved, That the Rt. Rev. O'Regan is here publicly accused of being guilty of Simony, for having extorted \$100 from a priest to give him permission to officiate and administer the sacraments among us.

"Resolved, That the Rev. Mr. Chiniquy, pastor of St. Anne, deserves the gratitude of every Catholic of Illinois, for having been the first put a stop to the rapacious tyranny of the Bishop of Chicago.

"Resolved, That the French Catholics of Chicago are determined to give all support in their power to the Rev. Mr. Chiniquy, in his struggle against the Bishop of Chicago.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions may be sent to His Holiness, Pius IX, that he may be incited to make inquiries about the humiliated position of the Church in Illinois, since the present Bishop is among us."

DECLINE OF POPERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Maryland, the first State where the Roman Catholic Church gained a footing, now contains 807 Protestant churches, and only 65 Roman Catholic congregations. In Florida the Catholics early made settlement. Now, there are 170 Protestant, and only 5 Roman Catholic churches! Louisiana was settled by the Roman Catholics, who have now 55 churches in the State, while the Prot-

estants have 247 congregations. In Texas, the Roman Catholics were the first sect in point of time; they now have 13 churches, but the Protestants report 807 congregations in the state. The entire Protestant population of the country, compared with that of the Catholic, is about twelve to one.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF BISHOP WILSON, OF IRELAND.

The Rt. Rev James Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, died on Monday morning, Jan. 5th, at the Episcopal residence in Cork, in his seventy-sixth year. He was a native of Dublin, and a student of Trinity College, where he took his degree of A. M., in 1809. He was raised to the see of Cork in 1848, having previously occupied the post of examining Chaplain to Dr. Whately, the present Archbishop of Dublin.

The Venerable William Fitzgerald, Archdeacon of Kildare and Rector of Monkstown, and Private Chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin, has been appointed Bishop of Cork. As an author, everything he has written is of the highest literary merit and of a varied kind. His edition of *Butler's Analogy*, is the standard edition of that immortal work wherever the English language is known. The same high character has been given of his edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, his volume of *Practical Sermons*, and other works.

NEW BISHOPS OF DURHAM, LONDON, GRAHAMSTOWN, AND RIPON.

The Rt. Rev. C. T. LONGLEY, D. D., Bishop of Ripon, has been translated to the See of Durham. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1815, taking a first class in classics. He was a younger son of Mr. John Longley, formerly Recorder of Rochester, and for some time one of the magistrates at the Thames Police Court. He was born at Rochester, in 1794, and having gone through the usual course at Westminster School, removed to Oxford. In 1829 he was presented to the rectory of West Tytherley, near Stockbridge, Hampshire, and in 1831 resigned that benefice on being elected to the head mastership of Harrow School. On the formation of the See of Ripon, in 1836, he was appointed by Lord Melbourne to be its first Bishop, and has presided over the diocese up to the present time.

Bishop Longley, during his Episcopate in the diocese of Ripon, has been instrumental in building one hundred and thirteen churches, besides a large number of schools. The ceremony of enthroning the Bishop of Durham, took place Dec. 3d.

The Very Rev. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, D. C. L., Dean of Carlisle, has been appointed and consecrated Bishop of the Diocese of London. The following is a brief sketch of his history. He first distinguished himself at the academy at Edinburgh. In 1827, 1828, and 1829, he attended the University of Glasgow, where he carried off the highest prizes in the Humanity, Greek, and Logic classes. In the Students' Debating Club, he had not an equal, and his style of

oratory acquired for him the *sobriquet* of "Canning in embryo." Tait's amiable disposition, (writes a fellow student,) while it endeared him to his professors, made him a great favorite with all his fellow-students. Dr. Tait was subsequently educated at Balliol College, Oxford, in which University he graduated in 1833, when he took a first class in classics. He became a fellow and tutor of his college, and a select preacher of the University. Upon the death of Dr. Arnold, who so long and so ably presided over Rugby school, Dr. Tait was elected his successor; and it is stated that the number of boys at that time in the school was three hundred and seventy-five. Dr. Tait presided over it seven years and three-quarters, and when he resigned, the numbers were four hundred and thirty-one. In 1849, on the death of Dr. Cramer, he was nominated by Lord John Russell to the Deanery of Carlisle, and has been in possession of that dignity up to the present time.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOPS OF LONDON AND GRAHAMSTOWN.

On Sunday, Nov. 23, the Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait, Bishop-elect of London, was consecrated, together with the Rev. Henry Cotterill, Bishop-designate of Grahamstown, at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Chichester, Lincoln, and Carlisle. The Bishops of Jamaica and Rupert's Land were also present. Drs. Tait and Cotterill were presented to the Archbishop for consecration, by the Bishops of Chichester and Lincoln. There was full cathedral service, and a large proportion of the congregation remained to partake of the Holy Communion with the Right Rev. Prelates. The sermon was preached by the Rev. G. E. Lynch Cotton, master of Marlborough School, and formerly assistant-master at Rugby when Dr. Tait was head master. The text was taken from St. John, chap. xvii, v. 20, 21; and the chief subject of the discourse was the present want of unity in the Church.

"It is no less true that, in theology, Christians have been ranged from the first, mainly under two divisions—those who incline to a system of authority, discipline, and subordination, and, therefore, to a worship more or less formal and ceremonial; and those who, in a freer spirit, prefer a simpler outward service—a religion more personal, independent, and unfettered." After remarking in effect that there was no alternative between submission to Papal authority and mutual toleration in non-essentials, the preacher continued: "The traces of compromise and a desire of comprehension are visible in the foundation, the constitution, and the services of our Church. While we praise God in the psalms which Ambrose and Augustin chanted in the Basilica of Milan, and can trace our collects to the prayers and liturgies of the great Popes, Gregory and Leo, we yet can refer other parts of our services to the influence not only of English but even of foreign Protestants. Yet, in spite of these undeniable facts, our present practice bears few signs of toleration and forbearance." After stating there were many points of doctrine and ritual observance on which a divergence might well be tolerated, the Rev. gentleman proceeded—"While we thank God for every new symptom of increased activity, we cannot but lament that less interest and excitement is shown in the struggle against positive wickedness than in some dispute about a cross, a vestment, or a ceremony; and such regret is most consistent with the principles of a Church which numbers among its ministers, on the one hand, Andrewes, and Herbert, and Law, and Wilson; on the other, Latimer, and Leighton, and Newton, and Cecil; while by the side of both are ranged men eminent in speculation and philosophy—Hooker, and Cudworth, and Berkeley, and Butler. It is no fault in its constitution, but rather its great glory, that Ken found in it so much apostolical order, and that he only left it at last with hesitation and reluctance from a political, not an ecclesiastical scruple; that Wesley so far acknowledged its evangelical truth, that he never deserted its communion though he struggled against its discipline; that on the revival of its life and energy in these latter days it

has still asserted its old character, still winning to a living faith in Christ men of diverse habits, and tastes, and feelings, and reckoning among those who have lived and died in its service Heber, and Simeon, and Henry Martin, and Arnold, and Hare." The ceremony of enthroning the Bishop of London took place on Thursday, Dec. 4th.

NEW BISHOP OF RIPON.

Lord Palmerston has offered to the Rev. Robert Bickersteth, the rector of St. Giles's, a brother of the Archdeacon of Bucks, the vacant bishopric of Ripon, which that gentleman has accepted. He is fourth son of the late Rev. John Bickersteth, rector of Sapcote, Leicestershire, elder brother of the late Henry Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls, and of the late Rev. Edward Bickersteth, the well-known rector of Watton, Hertfordshire. He was born in 1816, and, being destined for the medical profession, was for some time a student in St. Thomas's Hospital. His views subsequently undergoing a change, he entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he graduated ninth Junior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos of 1841, and proceeded M. A. in 1846. He was ordained to the curacy of Sapcote in 1841, and appointed incumbent of St. John's, Clapham, in 1845. In this sphere he became widely known as a popular preacher of the "Evangelical school," and as an earnest and benevolent clergyman.

On the 15th of Jan., the Rev. Robert Bickersteth was elected Bishop of Ripon by the Dean and Chapter, in accordance with the *conge d'elire*. On Saturday the confirmation took place in York Cathedral. The next day, (Sunday) Jan. 18th, Dr. Bickersteth was consecrated in the parish church of Bishopthorpe during the celebration of the morning service, by the Archbishop of York; the Bishops of Durham, Manchester, and Carlisle, assisting at the ceremony. The sermon was preached by the Hon. and Rev. J. T. Pelham, B. A., rector of St. Marylebone, London.

REPORTS OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

We are again indebted to the Rev. Thomas Hartwell, Horne, B. D., for the Annual Reports of the most important Missionary Societies of the Church of England; and we here give an abstract of their proceedings for the past year:

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

This Venerable Society is now in its *one hundred and fifty-sixth* year, having been incorporated in 1701. During the last year its contributions amounted to 82,870 pounds; or about 414,000 dollars, and this not including the sums contributed in India and the several Colonial Dioceses. The total amount of receipts from every source, is put down at over 121,580 pounds, or over *six hundred thousand dollars*. This amount far exceeds that of any preceding year. The withholding of the Queen's Letter has thrown the Society upon the faith and zeal of the Parishes, and the result is what might have been anticipated. Everywhere, in the vast missionary field, the good work is steadily advancing. There are now in the employ of the Society 450 missionaries, and more than 700 catechists, teachers, &c; and there are in the several Missions, according to the best estimate that we can make, at least 21,000 Communicants. The following extracts from the Report, show the noble spirit with which this Society is engaged in its work:

"In looking back to the progress of the Colonial Church during the past year, it is impossible not to notice, as specially deserving attention, the consecration in the capitol of Heathen India, by the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Victoria, (Hong Kong,) of a Bishop for Borneo. A commission, too, has been issued to the Metropolitan Bishop of Sydney, and his suffragan, to consecrate the Venerable Matthew Blagden Hale, the exemplary and devoted Principal of the

Institution at Port Lincoln for the education of the Australian aborigines, to the See of Perth, in Western Australia.

"A third Bishopric has been founded within the same year, that namely of Christ Church, in the Colony of Canterbury, New Zealand; and the Rev. Henry J. C. Harper, D. D., of Queen's College, Oxford, and Vicar of Stratfield Mortimer, has been consecrated first Bishop.

"Thus the number of Colonial Bishops, which twenty years ago was only six, now amounts to *thirty-one*, being three more than the Bishops of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York.

"The Society's Missionaries are laboring over the whole area of British North America, and in the ice-bound Island of Newfoundland, but in numbers wholly inadequate to the vast area over which their ministrations extend.

"Others are supplying the lack of pastoral care in Guiana, Trinidad, and many of the West India Islands.

"A larger number are ministering to the numerous but scattered settlers in the almost boundless regions of Australia; while more recently, extraordinary efforts have been made to aid the Colonial Government of Southern Africa, to reclaim by means of education and religion, the wild tribes of Kafirs, Fingoes, and Zulus, to the principles and practices of the Gospel.

"But if in America and Australia the Society is concerned almost exclusively with people of European descent,—though be it remembered, people having the first claim upon our sympathies, as being our own flesh and blood—if in Guiana and at the Cape its missionaries have a divided duty between the English settler and the native African, there remains a vast country, part of our own Empire, in which nearly one-third of the Society's income is expended, and many of its most able and devoted missionaries are employed, in which the work is simply and exclusively the teaching and conversion of the heathen. That country is British India; in which, as well as in Ceylon and Borneo, the progress of Christianity seems to bear a constant proportion to the number of its teachers.

The good work that has already been accomplished in Tinnevely may, with God's help, be carried on till the entire district has become Christian; and other Provinces now lying in utter heathen darkness, may be sharers in the light which is gradually overspreading Tinnevely, if only zealous and devoted missionaries—men with the love of Christ in their hearts, and ready to follow their Master's step, can be sent and maintained in numbers adequate to the needs of India."

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY—FIFTY-SEVENTH REPORT.

The income of this vigorous Society during the year was 115,208 pounds, or about *five hundred and seventy-six thousand* dollars; considerably exceeding that of any past year. The following is a tabular summary of its missions:

Stations,	128
European Missionaries,	178
Native and East-Indian Missionaries,	80
European Catechists and other Laymen,	84
European Female Teachers,	9
East Indian and Country-born Teachers,	26
Native Teachers,	1,813
Communicants,	18,707

The Report presents the following description of one of the Missions:

"*Tinnevely*.—Of all the Indian Missions of the Society Tinnevely claims the precedence, in respect of the number of Christians and its advance towards a PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF A NATIVE CHURCH. The Committee, therefore, anxiously examine the reports of this Mission for proofs of its approximation towards the solution of this great Missionary problem. They are thankful to be able to present several such proofs, selected from the latest reports.

"As a first proof, may be noticed the continued progress of the Mission, notwithstanding

standing a considerable reduction in the number of European Missionaries. Five years ago, (January, 1851,) the several districts of Tinnevely were under the pastoral care of 12 ordained Missionaries, of whom 10 were European and two Native. Now, the number of ordained Missionaries is still 12; but five only are European, and seven Native. At the former period, the converts were 24,552, and the communicants 2748—these numbers have been gradually increasing, so that now the converts are 27,140, and the communicants 3821. At the former period, there were 295 places of worship, each having its separate congregation, and 6682 children at school; now there are 375 congregations, and 8253 children at school."

Other indications of substantial progress are given, in the amount of native contributions for Missions, and in the growing desire for books of solid information and practical piety.

The Report concludes with a right hearty and glowing appeal for greatly enlarged efforts.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

This ancient and honored Society, which acts as a handmaid to the other Societies, and does a great deal besides, also reports a considerable increase in its operations during the last year. Its whole available income was 38,577 pounds, or about *one hundred and ninety-three thousand* dollars.

During the year which has passed since the last Annual Report, the total number of Bibles, Prayer Books, and Books and Tracts, issued between April, 1855, and April, 1856, has been upwards of four millions, five hundred thousand, (514,905 beyond last year's issue.)

Bibles,	178,143
New Testaments,	75,542
Common Prayers,	342,349
Other Bound Books,	1,004,140
Tracts, &c.,	2,962,045
	4,562,219

Since 1733, when the Society began to publish accounts of its issues, it has circulated more than one hundred and twenty-two millions five hundred thousand Books and Tracts.

The sale of Books and Tracts in the retail departments during the year, since the last Report, has amounted to £24,022, 14s. 2d., (£2381, 7s. 7½d. above last year's amount.)

The Report of the Foreign Translation Committee is an elaborate paper. Of that committee the following gentlemen are the members.

The Most Rev. the Archbishops,
The Right Rev. the Bishops,
Rev. Henry Alford,
Rev. R. G. Baker,
Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester,
Rev. F. C. Cook,
Rev. J. W. Cunningham,
Richard Clarke, Esq.,
Rev. W. Cureton,
The Hon. Sir Edward Cust,
Ven. Archdeacon Hale,
Ven. Archdeacon Harrison,

Rev. T. H. Horne,
Rev. T. Jarrett,
Rev. S. C. Malan,
Rev. Henry Melvill,
Rev. Dr. M'Caul,
Rev. E. Plumptre,
Rev. G. C. Renouard,
Ven. Archdeacon Robinson,
Rev. Dr. Russell,
Rev. J. F. Thrupp,
Rev. T. Hammond Tooke,
W. S. W. Vaux, Esq.

In looking over the catalogue of books which this society publishes, we cannot but notice the really valuable, substantial, and standard works which are on its list. We think our own "CHURCH BOOK SOCIETY" might well imitate more largely this feature of the English Society's operations. Story books, and beautiful pictorial books for children, with a Christian moral, are well enough in

their way; but we would like to see our Society spreading over the land a larger proportion of works of solid worth, such as are adapted to produce a generation of really strong Christian men and women.

SOCIETY FOR IRISH CHURCH MISSIONS TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS—
SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The object of this Society is stated to be "to promote the glory of God in the salvation of the souls of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, through the instrumentality of the Established Church of England and Ireland." It should be remembered that there is another Society having the same end, whose head-quarters is in Dublin, which makes the Irish tongue, and the Irish Bible, and the Irish school, and the Irish teacher, and the Irish missionary its main and *distinctive* instrumentalities. The *London Society*, whose report is before us, had an income for the last year of 36,735 pounds, or about *one hundred and eighty-four thousand* dollars. The Report states that "the tokens of substantial progress in the work of reformation in Ireland have been more apparent in the past year than in any previous year. While the hearts of the Missionaries have been cheered from time to time by occasional proofs of the power of spiritual life in some of the converts which have been the fruit of their ministry, the state of the congregations has shown in almost every place that an extensive effect is produced upon the minds of the Roman Catholics."

The Report also states "that the whole number of teachers at present employed is 336, and the number of their pupils is 3791. The number of Irish and English teachers being added to the agency before stated, will make a total of *seven hundred and eighty eight agents* employed by the Society. The missionary congregations are 47 in number, gathered in 15 churches, which have been built and consecrated as the result of the Missionary operations, and in 32 school-houses, licensed for the purpose. Divine service is held in these upon 31 occasions in each month in the Irish language, and upon 337 occasions in the English language." Thus it is that at this late day the English Church is beginning to unlearn its errors in the way of converting Ireland to the true Faith of the Gospel. The Irish heart can be reached only by kindness and with instrumentalities adapted to their race, nation and language. The means now used, and the ends now sought, are such as St. Patrick himself would bless; for it was only at a late day that Ireland came under the dominion of the See of Rome. St. Patrick was no papist.

The reports of the Irish Missionaries, almost uniformly speak of the violent, and now systematic efforts of Romish Bishops and Priests to counteract the labors of the Missionaries. Threatenings, violence, denunciations, promises, ridicule are among the weapons used; and yet the steadfastness, even unto death, of the converts, the simplicity and intelligence of their faith, show how strongly they are rooted and grounded in the Truth.

It appears from these Reports, also, that large numbers of these converts emigrate to Australia and the United States, hoping to escape the violent persecutions to which they are subjected at home. What becomes of these converts! In our large towns in the United States let them not hope to escape the watch of their foe. For here Popery is eagle-eyed, and is as intolerant as in Ireland. We here, again, charge upon Missionaries in Ireland, whose converts emigrate to the United States, to tell them of the Sister Church which here is ready to greet them, and to see to it that they have letters of introduction and recommendation to the minister of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" where they may chance to settle down.

CONVOCATION.—PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

The two Houses of Convocation for the province of Canterbury assembled on Wednesday, Feb. 4th, for the dispatch of business, the members of the Upper House in St. Anne's Bounty Office, Dean's-yard, Westminster, under the

presidency of his Grace the Primate; and members of the Lower House in the Jerusalem Chamber, under the presidency of the Dean of Bristol, in the absence of the Prolocutor, the Dean of Ely.

In the House of Bishops, the members present were the most Rev. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of St. David's, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Bishop of Salisbury.

In the Lower House, there were present the Deans of St. Paul's, Westminster, Bristol, Norwich, and Peterborough; Archdeacons of Maidstone, Taunton, Bath, Lewes, Barnstable, Bristol, Hereford, Salop, (Allen,) Nottingham, Monmouth, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Worcester, Coventry; and the Proctors for Ely, Exeter, Gloucester and Bristol, Hereford, Litchfield, Lincoln, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Salisbury, &c.

Matters of great importance were brought before the two Houses; but we can only give what was actually done, or proposed to be done, of course omitting debates, amendments, &c., &c.

The Bishop of Chichester presented a petition from a large number of the clergy, setting forth the difficulties they felt in reference to the burial service over persons who died in impenitence and sin, and praying that Convocation would take some measures for their relief. The difficulties of the subject were acknowledged. The Rubric, the sixty-eighth Canon, and the dictates of conscience, are clear enough; yet the Ecclesiastical Courts have enforced the monstrous impropriety. The petition was received and laid on the table.

The Bishop of Exeter presented a memorial from a large body of the clergy and laity on a subject which was now under the consideration of the Courts—that of *"Ditcher v. Denison."* He should not recommend that it should be taken into consideration by their Lordships at present. The memorial was not received.

The Prolocutor of the Lower House informed the President that the Lower House had deliberated on the question of a court of final appeal in matters of doctrine, and they commended to the consideration of their Lordships' House the principles embodied in their report of 1856. The Prolocutor also read the names of the committee re-appointed to confer with the committee of the Upper House on the subject of church-rates.

The Bishop of Oxford moved that the address of the Lower House with regard to the expediency of continuing and increasing the missionary efforts of the church both at home and in foreign parts be taken into consideration.

The Bishop of Exeter moved a resolution for the appointment of a committee, and also requesting the Lower House to appoint a committee on the same subject, which was to confer with that of their Lordships. This motion was agreed to after a hearty discussion, and it was one of the most important features of the Session.

In the Lower House, the principal topics of discussion were the admission of laymen and the constitution of a supreme ecclesiastical Court of Appeals. Among the resolutions brought before the House were the following, which will show the subjects, if not the temper and spirit of the debates.

On the subject of the admission of laymen into the Synods or Councils of the Church, the Rev. Canon Seymour moved as follows:

"That an address be respectfully presented to His Grace the President, and to their lordships of the Upper House of Convocation, requesting their lordships to take into consideration the following propositions: 1. That the law of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, for the government of His Church, and as witnessed to by primitive antiquity, while it vests the authority and power to govern primarily in the spirituality, does not forbid, rather does it encourage them to call and admit faithful laymen also to their councils in synod at such times and in such manner as they shall judge best for the welfare of the

Church. 2. That the circumstances of the present time present urgent reasons why the Church of England, in taking steps for the renewal of her synodal functions, should take advantage of this liberty, and should provide some more formal and regular opportunities than at present exist whereat the council and co-operation of the faithful laity may be secured to the proceedings of Convocation."

The debate which followed was worthy of the subject, and full of promise. Mr. Seymour's address was a noble effort. We wish we could give it in full, and may do so hereafter. The Rev. Canons Wordsworth, Hills and Woodgate, Archdeacons Denison, Hone, Thorp, Harrison, and Bickersteth; and the Rev. Messrs. Massingberd, W. H. Cox, McCaul, Caswall, Williams, and others, engaged in the discussion, and some of them with great ability. Mr. Caswall's speech was forcible and to the point. At last, the Rev. Canon Woodgate moved the following, which was adopted under the previous question, by a majority of eleven, or a vote of twenty-nine to eighteen. Its effect, as stated by the Prolocutor, was to *defer*, not to *negative* the motion of Mr. Seymour.

"Whereas, owing to the suspension of ecclesiastical discipline as regards the laity, every inhabitant of England, whatever his religious persuasion or manner of life, is recognized in law as a member of the Church of England, and admitted to a full participation of its rights and privileges: and whereas Dissenters have contended, both in Parliament and out of it, that Dissent ought not to involve the forfeiture of such privileges, or of a voice and vote in the management of the Church, it is neither just nor expedient to entertain the question of the admission of laymen to the councils of the Church, until by the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, or by some other method, effectual means are taken to determine what constitutes a *bona fide* member of the Church of England."

The Rev. Canon Wordsworth also moved as an amendment the following, on which no vote was taken. The motion, it will be seen, opens up an important principle, and one fully and practically recognized in our own Diocesan Conventions.

The Rev. Canon Wordsworth moved "That this House, fully recognizing the importance of the question now before it, concerning the association of the laity with the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation or provincial councils of the Church, is of opinion that the safe, orderly, and regular method of proceeding in this momentous matter would be to test and ascertain in the first instance the expediency of lay association and co-operation in diocesan synods; and with this view the House do hereby agree to present by the Prolocutor a respectful address to his Grace the President and their Lordships the Bishops, in the Upper House, earnestly requesting them to avail themselves of the organization already existing from time immemorial for this purpose in the office of churchwardens and *testes synodales* or sidesmen, and to associate with the clergy for deliberation at their visitations or diocesan synods such persons from the laity as may be invested with this ancient office, and as to his Grace and their Lordships may seem best, and as by the laws and usages of the realm they may now be empowered to do."

The Rev. F. G. Massingberd seconded the motion.

Convocation, after three days session, was prorogued to Friday, June 26th.

Little as these meetings of Convocation may seem to accomplish, they are surely doing a great work. They are at least reviving the *idea* of Church Synods. They are, by temperance, dignity, and intelligence of discussion, dispelling prejudices and winning confidence. They are doing still more, in bringing the best minds of the Church to bear upon her position, her wants, her disabilities, and her duties. After a suspension of a century and a half, it may take a whole generation of wise and careful effort to restore to the Church her rightful functions; but such a result is beyond doubt before her.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

Convocation in this Province was, as usual, a mere farce; the Archbishop forbidding not only the making of Canons and the doing of business, but even all deliberation and consideration whatsoever. And so Convocation was summoned with all due formality and solemnity; and then, with equal formality and solemnity, the members were told they might go home again.

CONVOCATION IN PARLIAMENT.

On Friday, Feb. 6th, in the House of Commons, the "liberal" Mr. J. D. Phillimore, asked, whether it was intended to allow the Convocation of the province of Canterbury to sit for any longer time? Sir George Grey, on the part of the Government, said:

"The House was aware that Convocation met in consequence of a summons from the Crown, and it was also no doubt aware that Convocation had no power to make canons or make changes without an express license from the Crown; therefore, any such proceeding which might occur this year, being without the license of the Crown, would be, he apprehended, invalid. The usual course was for the Archbishop of Canterbury to prorogue the Convocation a few days after its first meeting. There was no reason to suppose that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not pursue that course upon the present occasion, but should he not do so, it would become the duty of the advisers of the Crown to interpose, as it was inexpedient that the sittings of Convocation should be prolonged merely for the sake of discussion."

We beg to assure our English brethren, who take such a deep interest in some of our American "institutions," that there is nothing in American Slavery quite equal to this little speech from the mouthpiece of the British Government. We only add, that in our American General Convention, we have not only a representation of the Laity—an element not of weakness but of strength, as abundantly proved in our past experience—but we have also a full representation of the *working* Clergy of the Church.

But the above is not the only instance of intermeddling in Church matters by this motley Parliament. Lord Brougham has brought forward his measure to enable a clergyman to lay aside Holy Orders when he pleases; and Sir William Clay and Messrs. Nutt and Miall have brought in their Bill to abolish Church rates. These men have evidently no idea of letting the Church escape out of their clutches just yet.

DEATH OF THE LATE ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE.

ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, late Archdeacon of East Riding, England, died, Feb. 3d, at Albano, Italy, fourteen miles from Rome, whither he was proceeding for re-ordination. (Has he ever been deposed in the English Church?) He was attended in his last illness by Dr. Manning. The deceased was second son of the late William Wilberforce. He entered a Commoner at Oriel College, Oxford, in the year 1819, and took his degree—having obtained a double First Class—in 1823. He was soon afterwards elected a Fellow of his College, and appointed Public Examiner in 1830, and Select Preacher in 1849. Whilst Vicar of Burton Agnes, Yorkshire, he was appointed Archdeacon of the East Riding by Dr. Harecourt, Archbishop of York. Since his perversion his time has been spent chiefly at Rome. Very recently he received the Pope's *command* to enter into holy orders. He is said to have had no desire to enter the priesthood in the Church of Rome, but, on the principles of his own book, the Pontifical command left him no option. In his introduction to his last book he speaks of "increasing years" admonishing him "to sum up his results before the decay of the

body should affect the mind." And he added afterwards these words—"I write under a solemn sense of the shortness of time and the reality of eternity, and after earnest and continued prayer *that I might rather be withdrawn from this scene of trial than either adopt or encourage that which is at variance with His holy will.*" He has been withdrawn before the commands to enter the priesthood could be fulfilled. His prayer seems to have been answered. The deceased left two sons, neither of whom are Romanists.

DEATH OF THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

The Rev. R. Hussey, B. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford, died, Dec. 3d, suddenly, at his own house. He had held the office of Professor for fourteen years—ever since its first institution—and was deservedly popular with all classes. His election to the Hebdomadal Council at its first establishment was carried by a very much larger number of votes than that of any other member. He was always unremitting in his attention to all his duties, and was regarded as a person of sound learning, earnest piety, and excellent judgment. His death is attributed to apoplexy. He was born Oct. 7th, 1801, in the county of Kent. Mr. Hussey matriculated at Christ Church, having been a King's scholar at Westminster in 1821, and was placed in the list as a double first class in Michaelmas Term, 1824. He proceeded B. A., Jan. 14, 1825; M.A., Oct. 10, 1827; B. D., April 6, 1837; Senior Proctor, 1837; Public Examiner, 1838; Select Preacher and a Delegate of Accounts, 1846. He was appointed by the Crown Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the year 1842. Mr. Hussey only the previous day attended a meeting of the Hebdomadal Council, at which he proposed a committee for the special purpose of taking into consideration the theological studies of the University. His publications consist chiefly of sermons, the principal of which are on the Papal supremacy and the Church. A preface to one volume contains a refutation of the theory founded on the Syriac fragments of the Epistles of St. Ignatius. In 1851, he published "The Rise of the Papal Power, traced in three Lectures." This little volume contains in a small compass all the leading facts of a most searching investigation. He demonstrates that the Papal system cannot be a Divine ordinance, because we can point out with certainty *where* in the history of the Church it first begins—can trace every step of the progress of it, and show that "it grew up and increased by means of usurpation and frequent acts of oppression, favored by the weakness of other parts of the Church, and the vices of ages." He married a daughter of the Rev. Jacob Ley, of Ashpington, Devon, who survives him, together with an only daughter.

In place of Professor Hussey, the Rev. A. P. Stanley has been appointed by Lord Palmerston, as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford.

The Islington Clergy have proposed a scheme for ten new churches, to cost £50,000. The Bishop of London has presided at a meeting for advancing the object, and in a religious and thoughtful speech declared his conviction, after careful inquiry, of the urgent need of the proposed efforts, and testified to the active zeal of the clergy of that parish in promoting the cause of true religion.

The Golden Lectureship, vacated by Mr. Melville, has been conferred on the Rev. Daniel Moore of Camberwell, a clergyman of Evangelical sentiments, great zeal, moderation, considerable success as a preacher and parish priest. The candidates were thirty-eight in number.

EDITORIAL.

WE avail ourselves of the commencement of a new Volume to have a few words editorially with our readers.

In our published List of Contributors to the CHURCH REVIEW, comprising the names of eleven of the RT. REV. THE BISHOPS of the Church, and a large number of our most prominent Clergymen and Laymen, are those who are supposed to differ somewhat from each other in their doctrinal sentiments and sympathies. And hence, it has been concluded by some who have not been readers of the work, that the teaching of the REVIEW must lack positiveness, boldness, and consistency of tone. In reply to this supposition, we beg to say that if there are differences of doctrinal opinion among the contributors to the CHURCH REVIEW, such differences have never appeared on our pages; at least, in such degree as to mar the harmony of its teaching. Nearly every point of doctrine in dispute among Churchmen, has been discussed openly and freely. The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist; of Baptism and Regeneration; of Justification; of Conversion; of the Apostolic Succession; of the Inspiration of Scripture: all these have been treated thoroughly and without reserve. And we say, in all confidence, that on all these subjects, there has never been, either essential diversity, or uncertainty of sound, in the utterances of this Periodical. Certain questions of mere Policy, such as "Pews or Free Churches," &c., have been admitted to free discussion on both sides, and, as we believe, with the happiest results.

We claim for the CHURCH REVIEW no small amount of credit for the course it has pursued in this respect, during a period of now almost ten years. It has been a period of unwonted peril. Dangerous and antagonistic elements have been at work among us; and, to a certain extent, and in certain directions, they exist still. There have been, and there now are, the *Romanizing* element, and the *Rationalizing* element; the extreme *objective* tendency, and the extreme *subjective* tendency; both, apparently, equally conceited and dogmatical. The causes for the present activity of these two opposite elements, we shall not now discuss; though it is a question of some interest, and more practical importance. But that they have existed is no secret. The English Church has had both her John Henry Newmans, and her Francis W. Newman, and so have we; men who pretend that the Church was reformed too much, and was not reformed enough; men who would Romanize the Church, and men who would Puritanize the Church; men who make Sacraments to be everything, and men who make Sacraments to be nothing. Neither have our own Ives and our Shimealls lacked either disposition or effort to work ruin to the Church, by thus forcing both a Romish and a Puritan interpretation upon her Sacramental Formulas, her Liturgy and Articles. To what extent both these same mischievous elements still exist among us; and from which, most danger is now to be apprehended, we offer here no opinion.

The CHURCH REVIEW has, from the very outset, planted itself on the acknowledged Standards of the Church in their plain and literal mean-

ing; and, on this basis, has sought to unite the hearts and efforts of all faithful men among us. It has resisted tendencies to extremes. It has protested against party issues and party measures. It has rebuked both Romanizing and Rationalizing in the Church, and it will rebuke them still. And yet, it has sought to do its work, rather by presenting those fundamental and positive Institutions and principles on which all true Churchmen may and must agree, than by making points of Faith of theoretical interpretations, or by dealing in harsh and uncharitable denunciation. And it has sought to strengthen the bonds of union, by summoning the members of our growing Communion to those practical duties to which CHRIST is now emphatically calling us.

The CHURCH REVIEW has not labored in vain. Aside from the development of a strong conservative element, which is seen in the working of our Missionary Boards, and our Church Book Society; and has shown itself, unmistakably, in at least seven late elections to the Episcopate; and which will, we believe, hereafter defeat the election of any party man to that sacred Office; aside, we say, from this development, in which we have at least borne our humble part, we can point to those now worshipping and successfully ministering at our Altars, who have been won from the ranks of both Popery and Dissent by the instrumentality of the CHURCH REVIEW.

Lest we may be thought to have over-estimated the influence of the CHURCH REVIEW in this respect, the late Bishop of Rhode Island—and a truer friend the Review never had—said, not long before he died, in speaking of the Review, and gave permission to use his language at our discretion:

“Although commenced in times of great trial, when the Church was suffering much from the assaults of those without, and still more from the controversies and defections of those within her pale, the discretion and skill displayed in its editorial management, have proved equal to the crisis, so that this much needed Quarterly has exerted an important agency in protecting our Communion amidst the dangers by which it was threatened from opposite points. The firm vindication of the great principles involved in the Doctrines, Polity, and Ritual of the Church, accompanied by the unflinching condemnation of all Romanizing corruptions on the one hand, and of all Puritanizing latitudinarianism on the other, will secure for it the confidence and approbation of all those within our Communion, (and they constitute the great body of Churchmen,) who, free from the shackles of party bondage, hold fast to the Church System as embodied in her Creeds, Liturgy, and Articles.”

With this plain statement of our position, we once more commend the CHURCH REVIEW to the confidence and active coöperation of Churchmen in all parts of the country. Articles suitable for our pages are solicited. The aid of our friends in promoting the circulation of the work, and so, adding to our resources, is earnestly invoked. Our position in all matters of Church and State, thoroughly conservative, and at the same time earnestly progressive, exposes us perpetually to a cross-fire from both extremes, which, if it has ceased to annoy us, does not render the coöperation of our friends less needful or grateful.

We do not hesitate to affirm that our facilities for increasing the permanent value and active efficiency of the REVIEW were never so great as now; and we pledge them to this end without reservation.

THE
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No. 2.

ART. I.—THE ENGLISH REFORMATION A CATHOLIC WORK.

1. *Whately's Kingdom of Christ.* New York: 1843.
2. *Litton's The Church in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry.* London: 1851.
3. *Colton's Genius and Mission of the American Episcopal Church.* New York: 1853.
4. *Hildyard's Letter to Lord Palmerston: The People's Call for a Revision of the Liturgy.* London: 1857.
5. *Ira Warren's Cause and Cure of Puseyism.* Boston: 1847.
6. *Wilberforce's Principles of Church Authority.* Baltimore: 1855.
7. *Ives' Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism.* Boston: 1854.
8. *Shimeall's Romanism of Low Churchism, and End of Prelacy.* New York: 1855.
9. *Noel's Union of Church and State.* New York: 1849.
10. *Coleman's Antiquities of the Christian Church.* Andover: 1841.

WHAT we design to show in the following pages, is, that the English Reformation was conducted on the strictest Catholic principles; or, first, that the Church of England had the right

or power to reform herself; and second, that, in reforming herself, she duly exercised that right.

There are numerous collateral points, which we shall not touch; or at most, only incidentally. Such as, that a Reformation was absolutely demanded by the condition of Morals, Doctrine, and Discipline; and this, by the strongest consentient testimony of numerous antecedent Romish writers for many hundred years; that the Reformation was Scriptural in its character as well as Catholic; that there were agents and agencies Providentially employed in bringing about the Reformation, for which the Church is not to be held responsible—these, and numerous similar questions, we shall pass by. Our business now, is, to show, not so much what was done, as that the Church had the right to act in the work of Reformation; and then, that she did not transcend the limits of that right.

Neither does it pertain at all to our present enquiry, who it was, that first established the Church in England. Nor would it affect the question before us, even if it could be shown, that Romish Missionaries first planted the cross in England; and that a willing allegiance had been paid to the Church of Rome down to the period of the Reformation. And yet, in fact, the Church was established in England in the very first age of Christianity; probably, by Joseph of Arimathea; or, by St. Paul the Apostle; or by both; but, indisputably, hundreds of years before Augustine landed on her shores. Her Rites and Ceremonies all showed an Eastern instead of a Western origin; and, we have before us the long and well attested history of protest and remonstrance, with which, step by step, the English Church met the progress of Romish usurpation. In fact, Rome, in her grasping ambition, was the tyrannical usurper over, not the founder of, the English Church. But, as we said, the *origin* of the English Church has really nothing to do with the merits of the question now before us; though we shall glance at that origin in the course of the discussion.

It was, and is, a Catholic principle, that, as all the Twelve Apostles were equal in Mission, equal in Commission, equal in Power, equal in Honor, equal in all things, except in priority of Order, (St. James presided in the first Council of the Apostles,) so the Bishops, as successors of the Apostles in the Ministry and Government of the Church, are all equal in the above respects; there being but one Episcopacy, whereof each and every Bishop hath an equal share. This, we say, is a well established Catholic principle. Even the Council of Trent, of which more than one-half or *one hundred and eighty-seven* of its *two hundred and seventy-two*

prelates, were Italians, again and again professed to be guided in its judgments "by the unanimous consent of the Fathers," and the decisions of the Œcumenical Councils, and this, too, while it demanded obedience to Canons, and a belief in novelties opposed to the whole teaching of the Early Church; and then, sought to enforce those novelties by the authority of a packed body which can in no sense be called a General Council. The Church of England, in the Work of Reform, took as its guide that same great Catholic Principle; to wit: **HOLY SCRIPTURES AS THE RULE OF FAITH AND ORDER, ACCORDING TO PRIMITIVE CATHOLIC INTERPRETATION.** This will appear clearly before we are done.

The first Œcumenical Council at Nice, A. D. 325, consisting of 318 Bishops, was assembled mainly to consider and act upon the Arian Heresy. The case of the Church of Alexandria, however, came up for consideration also; troubled, as it was, by the irregular proceedings of Miletius, Bishop of Lycopolis; and the sixth Canon of that Council commences with the following declaration:

"Let the ancient customs prevail, that are in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria have power over them all, forasmuch also, as the Bishop of Rome hath the like custom. In like manner in Antioch, and all other Provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the Churches."*

The distinct and perfect independence of each Provincial Church, its power to manage and superintend its own concerns, and the limitation of the power of Rome within its own provincial district, are here broadly and unqualifiedly asserted.

The Second Œcumenical Council was held at Constantino-ple, in A. D. 381; and was attended by 150 Oriental Bishops; and was assembled mainly to appease the troubles in the East caused by the various Heresies of the Arians, Macedonians, and others. Here the old Catholic principle, of the independence of each Provincial Church to manage its own affairs, and its entire freedom from any subjection whatever to the See of Rome, is again asserted. The Second Canon commences as follows:

"Let not the Bishops go out of their Diocese, (patriarchate,) to Churches beyond their bounds, nor cause a confusion of Churches, but, according to the Canons let the Bishop of Alexandria order the affairs in Egypt only, and the Bishops of the East in the East only, saving the dignity of the Church in Antioch, expressed in the Canons of Nice," &c.†

* Canons of Council of Nice, Can. VI.

† Canons of Council of Cons. Can. II.

The Third Œcumenical Council assembled at Ephesus, A. D. 431; and was attended by 200 Bishops and Fathers. It was called to settle the contentions growing out of the doctrines of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople. But it appears that the Patriarch of Antioch had challenged to himself the ordination of the Bishops of Cyprus; and, consequently, a patriarchal jurisdiction over them. The case was thoroughly heard and argued; and, at length, sentence was given as follows:

“Since common diseases do need greater remedies, because they bring greater damages, if it be not the ancient custom that the Bishop of Antioch ordain in Cyprus, as the Council is sufficiently satisfied, the Cyprian Prelates shall hold their rights untouched and unviolated according to the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and the ancient custom, ordaining their own Bishops. And let the same be observed in other Dioceses, and in all Provinces; that no Bishop occupy another Province, which formerly, and from the beginning, was not under the power of him or his predecessors. If any do occupy another Province or subject it by force, let him restore it, that the Canons of the Fathers be not slighted, nor pride creep into the Church under the pretext of worldly power; lest, by little and little, that liberty be lost which Christ purchased for us with His Blood. Therefore, it hath pleased the Holy Synod, that every Province enjoy its rights and customs unviolated, which it had from the beginning.*

The same principle is taught in the Canons, known as the “Canons of the Holy Apostles;” and which, whatever the precise date of their origin, certainly originated at a period, “during a portion of which, at least, heathenism was dominant, the sighing of Christian prisoners was heard, the blood of Martyrs was flowing.” One of those Canons is as follows:

“The Bishops of each Province ought to know who is the chief among them, and to esteem him as their head, and not to do any great thing without his consent; but every one to manage only the affairs that belong to his own Parish, and the places subject to it. But, neither let the chief Bishop do anything without the consent of all; for thus there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified by CHRIST, in the Holy Spirit.”†

And again, “Let a Council of Bishops be held twice in the year; and let them ask one another the doctrines of piety; and let them determine the ecclesiastical disputes that happen;

* Council of Ephesus, Can. VIII.

† Constitutions and Canons, Book VIII, Ch. XLVII, Can. XXXV.

once in the fourth week of the Pentecost, and again on the twelfth of October.”*

In the authoritative proceedings of each, and all, of these General Councils, not only is no sort of subordination of other Provincial Churches to the Roman See, recognized; but decisions are pronounced, and are enforced, utterly irreconcilable with any such subordination, expressed or implied.

Now, it is certain, although Sharon Turner and some other English writers have ignored the fact, that for the first six hundred years of the Christian Church, the Bishops of Rome had no sort of connection with, or authority over, the British Churches. And yet, it is equally certain, that during this whole period, the Church did exist in England, and in its completeness. Tertullian, Eusebius, and Origen, all describe the British Church as founded in the very earliest age of Christianity; and Eusebius says it was by the Apostles themselves.† There were three British Metropolitan Bishops at the Gallican Council of Arles, in A. D. 314; viz, Eburius, Bishop of York; Restitutus, Bishop of London; and Adelfius, Bishop of Caerleon; together with a Presbyter and Deacon.‡ Soon after, the number of Provinces was increased to five; and it is believed that by the close of the fourth century, there were *twenty-eight* Episcopal Sees in Britain, and within the five Provinces, not less than *seven hundred* Clergy.§ Nor, as there is reason to believe, and as we might easily show, has the Succession from those old British Bishops ever been lost in the English Church down to the present day. The Saxons, on their invasion of Britain in the middle of the fifth century, burning with the lust of conquest, at once attempted the extermination of the Christians. Gildas, the earliest British historian and the principal authority of Bede, although the editor of Gildas says he does not do justice to the valor of the Britons, has the following: “From the East to the West, nothing was to be seen but Churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were extirpated by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their houses. The altars were daily profaned by the blood of the slain thereon.”|| And Bede says, “The Priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the Bishops and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword.”¶

* Constitutions and Canons, Book VIII, Ch. XLVII, Can. XVIII.

† Tertull. c. Judæos, c. vii; Eua. Præp. Evang. iii, 7; Origen, Hom. in Ezek. IV, in St. Luc. Hom. 6.

‡ Thackeray's Ancient Britain, Vol. I, pp. 275-9.

§ For a list of these twenty-eight Sees, &c. see Thackeray's Ancient Britain, Vol. II, pp. 80-92, and Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. c. ii.

|| Works of Gildas, sec. 24.

¶ Bede's Ecc. His., B. I, Ch. 15.

Augustine, the Romish missionary, landed in Britain in A. D. 597 with his forty monks, and found the way already prepared by the Christian Queen, Bertha, for a successful effort among the Saxon idolaters. Having been consecrated Archbishop, and received the *pall* from Pope Gregory, he now, according to Papal instructions, determined to reduce the old British Churches to the Papal obedience. These still existed in considerable numbers, having retired to Cornwall and Wales before the Saxon invaders. Assisted by King Ethelbert, Augustine summoned the British Bishops to a Synod on the borders of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and demanded of them, 1st, To observe the Roman time of keeping Easter; 2nd, To adopt the Roman Baptism and ceremonies; 3d, To join the Roman clergy in converting the Saxons; 4th, To acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope. This First Synod was held at a place called Augustine's Oak, about A. D. 601, or, as others say, A. D. 603. These Bishops desired time for consultation, and also for the meeting of another and larger Synod. At this second Synod, seven Bishops were present, and as is said from Hereford, *Llandaff*, St. Patern's, Bangor, Clyd, Worcester, and Morgan; together with several most learned men from their monasteries.* At length the Synod returned the following answer, by Dinoh, the Venerable Abbot of Bangor.

We give the translation of Aylett Sammes, from the old British or Welsh language: "Be it known and without doubt unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the children of God; *and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be Pope, nor to be the father of fathers to be claimed and to be demanded.* And this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Kærleon upon Uske, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual."†

This decision cost them their lives. It was received with threats of vengeance. The old Anglo-Saxon Chronicle given by Bede, records the saying of Augustine, "If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons." Soon after, King Ethelfrid, in A. D. 607, invaded North Wales with a great army, and cut off the little

* Bede, Ecc. His., B. II, ch. 11.

† Sammes' Antiquities of Britain. Folio, p. 511.

army of the Welsh at Chester; and hearing that a company of Christians were praying for the success of their countrymen, he ordered them to be immediately massacred. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, that *two hundred priests* were slain, and that about fifty escaped. The Monastery at Bangor was reduced to ruins; and Bede acknowledges, that "about *twelve hundred* of those that came to pray, are said to have been killed."*

But what part did Augustine share in this murderous deed? It appears that Bede has been tortured by forgery to screen that Romish usurper from any participation in it; the words, "*quamvis Augustino prius mortuo*," now found in that author, being wanting, it is said, in the original copies. The learned Bishop Jewell, after carefully examining the ancient authorities, says, "Hereby it appeareth, that this Augustine not only enkindled this cruel war, but, also was alive and present in the army.†" But whatever might have been the truth as to Augustine's guilt or innocence of this wholesale massacre of the old British Christians, the fact itself shows with what spirit they met the claims of the Papal Supremacy; and that is all with which we are now concerned.

The positions, which we have now made good, are sufficient to establish our first point; to wit, that the British Church had a perfect right, ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES, to reform herself. She was an original, independent, integral branch of CHRIST's Church. Founded by Apostles, or Apostolic men, she never held nor could hold other relations to dominant Rome than as to a tyrannical usurper. The decisions and Canons of the three General Councils, already cited, established it as the common Law of Christendom, that "every Province shall enjoy its rights and customs unviolated which it had from the beginning;" and "that no Bishop occupy another Province which formerly, and from the beginning, was not under the power of him or his predecessors. If any do occupy another Province, or subject it by force, let him restore it; that the Canons of the Fathers be not slighted, &c., lest, by little and little, that liberty be lost which CHRIST purchased for us with His Blood."

In the strong, but faithful language of another: "The Church of Britain has never yet been canonically under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. It is true that the yoke of the Roman pall has been imposed on the shoulders of her Archbishops, and Romish legates have insolently lorded it over God's heritage in our land. True it is, that the 'smoke

* Bede's Ecc. His., Book II, Ch. 2.

† Defense of Apology. Part V. p. 498. See also, Sammes' Ant. of Brit., p. 511; Bramhall's Works, p. 84; Sir H. Spelman's Br. Councils, p. 111, App. ii; and Timpeon's Br. Eccl. History, p. 79.

silver' has been wrung from the labor-worn hand of the British peasant. True it is that, with a blasphemous assumption of spiritual dominion, the Pope poured forth his anathemas against our Church, and dared to excommunicate the Christian Sovereign of these realms. But this dominion over the British Church was usurped; was submitted to from necessity, and only tolerated till it became intolerable. I repeat, that the dominion of the Roman pontiff over the Church of Britain was usurped and uncanonical. For no National Synod had granted to him that dominion; nor had any General Council decreed that she should be under his jurisdiction. On the contrary, in direct opposition to, and in the contempt and breach of the Canons of both the General Councils of Nice and Ephesus, he extended his dominion over the provinces of the British Bishops."

The growth of the power of the Roman See; the facilities, amid the civil disruptions of the Empire for the centralization of despotic sway in the hands of him who held the Bishopric of a city whose prestige it long had been to be hailed as Mistress of the World; the gradual uniting of civil and ecclesiastical power in his one person; the stupendous frauds and forgeries on which that proud Prelate at length based his claim to be the temporal, as well as the civil Ruler of the world—a claim never yet withdrawn, but absolutely defended by his obsequious creatures in our own country—all this belongs to a full exposure of the usurpation by the Romish Bishop of the rights of the old British Churches. On this latter point, the forgeries on which the Pope bases his claim to universal temporal power, even *Gosselin*, a late Romish historian, has the following bold and honest language, for which he has been abused, but never refuted: "It was long believed that the Emperor Constantine, to testify his respect for the Holy See, had granted to it forever by a solemn act, 'the city of Rome, with Italy, and all the Provinces of the Empire of the West.' The deed of this pretended donation, which appears to have been published for the first time in the *ninth* century among 'the Spurious Decretals,' was afterwards confidently cited by a great number of authors, and *was even generally regarded as authentic from the tenth to the fifteenth century*. But, after the revival of learning, many critics demonstrated that it was spurious; and, at the present day, it is generally admitted, that the donation of Constantine, both as it appears in the collection of the spurious decretals, and in the *principal Collections of Councils*, is an apocryphal document."*

* "Gosselin's Power of the Pope during the Middle Ages." Vol. I, p. 181.

Here we see the workings of a power in its full development, which, already as early as the sixth century, had fastened its evil eye on the old churches in Britain. Yet in the days of the Saxons, that power continued to be more nominal than real. As Blackstone says, under the Anglo-Saxon dynasties the island was comparatively independent; and was more in *communio* with, than *subjection* to, the Italian pontiff. But the Norman line of monarchs, after William the Conqueror, submitted to the dictation of the Popes, and conceded one point after another, until the nation found itself completely under the foot of a foreign bishop.*

And yet, neither did the British nation or Church submit quietly to this foreign domination and tyranny. Protest after protest, and remonstrance after remonstrance, were sent to the Pope of Rome; who only returned back anathemas and chains, instead of justice and mercy. Henry I, A. D. 1100, forbade all appeals to Rome, as a thing "unheard of in his kingdom, and altogether contrary to its usages." Henry III, (A. D. 1216,) issued an order to seize all persons bringing any bulls or mandates from Rome. And, during his reign, in the year A. D. 1245, *the Lords spiritual and temporal*, and the whole commonwealth of England, unanimously agreed in a complaint to Rome, of which the following is a pregnant passage:—"Unless the king and kingdom be quickly freed from these grievances, we must make a wall of defense or partition for the House of the LORD, and the liberty of the kingdom, which we have hitherto forborne to do, out of our reverent respect of the Apostolic See."†

And Sewell, Archbishop of York, in A. D. 1256, resisted the usurpation of the Pope; and, though excommunicated, the people crowded to his funeral and honored his tomb.

These, and similar facts in abundance, prove that the papal supremacy in England was regarded as a usurpation of the catholic rights and privileges of that Church; that it was never submitted to willingly, and would have been utterly indefensible, on Catholic principles, even if it had been; and this on the old axiom, that "no length of time can make that to be valid and right which was in the beginning and in itself inherently wrong." *Quod ab initio fuit invalidum tractu temporis non convalescit.* Nor should it ever be forgotten that,

* Blackstone's Comm. B. 4, ch. 8. See also, for the encroachments of Popery in England, Bramhall's Works, Tom. I, Dis. IV, p. 317. And for the comparative purity of the Anglo-Saxon Church, see Garbett's Bampton Lectures, Vol. II, pp. 231-3; and Soames' Bampton Lectures, pp. 406, 412.

† Math., Paris, An. 1246.

when, at length, a rival and schismatic Church was organized in England, it was done by the Pope himself; but not until the twelfth year of Elizabeth, and not until the Reformation was fairly and canonically established. The responsibility of the schism rests, therefore, with Rome herself.*

We come now to the English Reformation itself. And here, we are met at once, by Papist and Puritan alike, that the English Reformation was inaugurated and principally brought about by the instrumentality of the sacrilegious and lascivious Henry VIII; who only aimed, by means of it, to subserve his own personal and corrupt purposes; and so made himself, instead of the Pope, spiritual head of the Church of England. To this we have two things to say. First, it is not true. Second, there was no further interposition of the civil power in breaking the shackles of Romish domination, and restoring the Church of England to her primitive and apostolic freedom and purity, than was authorized by the most abundant Romish precedent, previous to the Reformation; and no more than has been claimed and justified by both Papal and Puritan authorities since. In our own country there has been since the Revolution, such complete sundering of all connection between Church and State, that this portion of the history of the mother Church can hardly be duly appreciated. But, it should not be forgotten, that, in all Christendom, for nearly fourteen hundred years, there has scarcely been a parallel to the condition in which the institutions of Christianity now exist among ourselves. And, this state of things was established here at the first from necessity, and not from choice.

Henry VIII was active in giving an impulse to the English Reformation; and yet, even Bossuet himself admits that God has made use of very evil princes to accomplish great works.† That English king did exercise a power of Convocating and proroguing Ecclesiastical Synods; Confirming Synods; reforming the Church by Synods; and suppressing novel innovations by ancient canons. We acknowledge that the clergy did so far submit to the King, as to agree that "all Convocations had been, and ought to be assembled by the King's writ, and promised, *in verbo sacerdotii*, never for the future to enact any new Canons in their Convocations without the King's license."‡ This was submission to the civil power to an extent not required by authority of any General Council; although it was not regarded, then or subsequently,

* See Gladstone's *State and Church*, Vol. II, p. 167.

† *Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, liv. vii, 49.

‡ Act 25, Hen. VIII, c. 19.

as we shall show by and by, as interfering with her freedom. Still it was not necessary for her efficiency or safety ; for the Church never flourished more vigorously than in the very teeth, and in bold defiance, of the powers of this world. Nor, should we much dislike to see the English Church come to an open issue, if need be, with the State at the present day, on a point like this. By the constitution of the Catholic Church every Bishop has the right to convene his Clergy in a Diocesan Synod ; and every Archbishop, his Bishops and Clergy in a Provincial Council ; and although these powers have been held in abeyance since the time of Henry I, when Convocations became the Ecclesiastical Parliament of the Kingdom, and are still formally convened with every meeting of Parliament, yet the ancient rights of the Church still belong to her, and may be resumed at pleasure.*

But then, it should also be remembered, that German, Spanish, and French Emperors have exercised the same prerogatives, and to a still greater degree ; and Popes themselves have, again and again, been privy to, and have formally sanctioned such interference. Charles the Great called the Council of Franckford, consisting of 300 Bishops, and in the records of the doings of that Council, the Emperor's language is : " By the Council of our Bishops and Nobles, we have ordained Bishops throughout the cities, and do agree to assemble a Synod every year, that in our presence the Canonical decrees and laws of the Church may be restored."

Henry IV called a German synod at *Wormes* ; and another, of Germans and Italians, at *Brixia*, wherein sentence of deprivation was given against Pope Gregory the Seventh.

So also Frederick the First called a Council at *Papia*, to settle the right succession of the Papacy, wherein Roland the Cardinal was rejected, and Victor declared lawful Bishop of Rome. And the words of the Emperor of that Council were as follows ; and with those words, we might well leave this part of the argument : " Although I know that by virtue of our office and imperial dignity, the power of calling Councils rests in us, especially in so great dangers of the Church ; for, both *Constantine*, and *Theodosius*, and *Justinian*, and of fresh memory, *Charles the Great*, and *Otho*, Emperors, are recorded to have done this ; yet I do commit the authority of determining this great and high business to your wisdom and power," that is, to the Bishops there assembled.†

* See Massingberd's Eng. Refor., Ch. XII ; Grant's English Church and Sects, Vol. I, p. 285 ; Palmer on the Church, Vol. II, p. 329.

† Bramhall's Works, Tom. I, Dis. II, p. 104.

So also, in France, the French Kings have again and again, "with their Princes, their Peers, their Parliaments, their Embassadors, their Schools and Universities, in all ages, affronted and curbed the Roman Court, and reduced them to a right temper and constitution as often as they deviated from the Canons of the Fathers, and encroached upon the liberties of the Gallican Church."*

The principle then, of civil interference in Church government, is one which the Papists have no right to fault. And as to the Puritans, they have never objected to clothing Civil Rulers with Ecclesiastical power, when their own ends were to be subserved by it. The "Westminster Confession of Faith," (Presbyterian,) declares, that the Temporal Prince "hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church; that the Truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and Heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in Worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the Ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God."†

And the Puritans, in this country, as well as in England, taught and acted upon the same principle. Thus the famous JOHN COTTON, whose biographer says of him, "such was his influence in establishing the order of the churches, and so extensive was his usefulness, that he has been styled the Patriarch of New England;" published in A. D. 1644, his famous "THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN." What then does this Puritan "Patriarch" say of the power of the Civil Magistrate in Church matters? In enumerating the list of things which belong to him, he mentions: "The establishment of pure Religion, in Doctrine, Worship, and Government, according to the Word of God; as also the Reformation of all corruptions in any of these." And he teaches how to enforce this Puritan religion too; to wit: "by civil punishments upon the willful opposers, and disturbers of the same. . . So Josiah put to death the idolatrous Priests of the high places. . . Nor was that a peculiar duty or privilege of the Kings of Judah. . . Yea, and of the times of the New Testament, it is prophesied, that, in some cases, capital punishment shall proceed against false prophets, and that by the procurement of their

* Bramhall's Works, p. 109.

† West. Conf., Ch. xxiii.

nearest kindred, &c. &c.”* There certainly was nothing even charged upon the English Reformation, which would not have been justified by these Puritan authorities. And that the chief Civil Magistrates in the Puritan Colonies of New England regarded their headship of the “churches” as more than nominal, history clearly proves.† The Puritan Synod of 1649, which prepared the “Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline,” was called by the Civil Magistrates; and though it required a Sermon, on “Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the Mount of God,” to remove the scruples of a few, yet the platform itself was reported back to the General Court, and by that Court was accepted and approved.‡

There is still another important fact to be remembered in connection with the position toward the Church conceded to the King. The temporal power of the Pope, and the fact that by at least two Roman Councils, claimed to be Ecumenical, the duty of persecuting “heretics” with fire and sword had become an established doctrine of Popery,§ (persecution has never been made a *doctrine* of the English Church,) and the fact, too, that this power had not only been claimed, but exercised, without measure or restraint—all these facts seemed to make the connection of the King with the Church an absolute necessity to her protection. That it met that necessity so effectually, sufficiently accounts for the sudden and continued qualms of the consciences of the Papists.

The conclusion of this whole matter, therefore, is, that Henry VIII made no new Law; he only vindicated the ancient liberties of England. There was no power exercised by him, or his successors, in forwarding the English Reformation which had not been exercised repeatedly by the Christian Emperors and Kings of Europe; and which is not abundantly sanctioned by the common usage of all Christendom. Henry VIII, to be sure, bore the title of “Head of the Church;” yet when the question of granting him this title was referred to the Church in Convocation, in A. D. 1531, the Clergy utterly refused any such headship, except on a condition, which condition the King himself accepted. This may be seen in the language in which the title was acknowledged: “*Ecclesiae et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum, et (quantum per Christi legem licet) etiam supremum caput, ipsius*

* *Keys of the Kingdom, &c.*, pp. 95-7.

† See Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. I, Book II, ch. VI.

‡ Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. II, pp. 181-3.

§ See Concil. Later. III, Can. 27; and Concil. Later. IV, Can. 3, Labb. Concil., Vol. X, p. 1522; and Vol. XI, pp. 147-51.

majestatem recognoscimus." That is, the Church acknowledged the King as head of the Church, so far, and only "*so far as is allowable by the Law of Christ.*" Besides, Queen Elizabeth would not allow herself to be called "Head of the Church;" and took Order in her First Parliament to have it left out of her title. Neither did James I, or Charles I, allow themselves thus to be called; and yet a Political Headship of the Church was granted to the Kings of Israel and Judah, to Christian Emperors, to English Kings, before the Reformation, and even before the Conquest. It is therefore without the shadow of a reason, that Papists and Puritans, alike, harp perpetually upon this agency of Henry VIII, and for the purpose, doubtless, of diverting attention from the real principles on which the English Reformation was conducted. We may sum up this statement in the words of Bramhall:

"Whatsoever power our Laws did divest the Pope of, they invested the King with it. But they never invested the King with any *spiritual* power or jurisdiction. Witness the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth. Witness the public Articles of our Church. Witness the professions of King James. Witness all our Statutes themselves, wherein all the parts of Papal power are enumerated which are taken away—his encroachments; his usurpations; his oaths; his collations; provisions, pensions, Tenths, first-fruits, reservations, Palls, Unions, Commendams, exemptions, dispensations of all kinds, confirmations, licenses, faculties, suspensions, appeals, and God knoweth how many pecuniary artifices more. But of them all there is not one that concerneth jurisdiction purely spiritual, or which is an essential right of the power of the Keys. They are all branches of the external regiment of the Church."*

Queen Elizabeth, in A. D. 1569, issued a proclamation as follows. That she "claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors; that she pretended no right to define Articles of Faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the Word, or the Sacraments of God. But that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian Religion, to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed, and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by Archbishops, Bishops and Ministers."†

And James I, in the Declaration prefixed to the Articles,

* Bramhall's Works, Tom. I, p. 840.

† Lingard, Vol. V, p. 295. Gladstone's State and Church, Vol. II, p. 24-5.

clearly states the relative position of the State and Church in the work of Reformation, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "That we are supreme Governor of the Church of England; and that if any difference arise about the external policy, concerning the injunctions, canons, and other constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under our broad seal so to do: providing, that none be made contrary to the laws and customs of the land."

"That out of our princely care, that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, *the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation*, upon their humble desire, shall have license under our broad seal to deliberate of, and to do, all such things as, being made plain by them, and assented unto by us, shall concern the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established; from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree."

These full disclaimers of spiritual functions, and these explicit statements, from the Sovereigns of England, of what they regarded as the rightful prerogatives of the Church of England, are sufficient for our purpose. They show that the English Church had, and was regarded as having, the rightful power to reform herself. For both by the authority of General Councils, and by immemorial usage of the Catholic Church, Provincial and National Councils have the right of condemning Heresies and Errors, and correcting abuses. Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Sabellius, Arius, Apollinaris, the Donatists, Pelagians, &c., were all first condemned by particular Councils; and such Councils, at Arles, Carthage, Toledo, &c., made judgments in controversies of Faith. And from first to last, the Church of England, in reforming herself, stood ready to appeal, and did appeal to the judgment of the Catholic Church in all ages, in defense of what she had done. The old rule, "QUOD SEMPER, QUOD UBIQUE, QUOD AB OMNIBUS, TRADITUM EST," was the rule by which she was guided. And no General Council of the Church ever has declared, or ever will declare, that she violated that rule in the work which she thus accomplished.

Nor did the English Church enter upon this work without the full consciousness of what she was doing, and a full sense of the responsibility of her position. For in those Canons in which she finally set the seal of her authority on what she had done, she declared, in the Canon entitled "A National Synod the Church representative," "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm,

that the Sacred Synod of this Nation, in the name of Christ and by the King's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error."*

The English Reformation was a slow work. It was a progressive work. With the Revival of Learning, and the turning of attention on the part of scholars from Scholastic Theology to the original Scriptures, the seeds of Reform had long been germinating, all over Europe, in a deep, rich soil, and were sure, sooner or later, to shoot forth and to bear fruit. Come under what circumstances it might, the event itself, was inevitable; and all central and northern Europe proved its preparedness for such a development. From the accession of Henry VIII, in A. D. 1509, who furnished the occasion for striking the first effective blow, to the final completion of the English Prayer Book, under Charles II, in A. D. 1661, was a period of a century and a half. The Reformation was retarded at the first by Henry VIII, who discovered, at length, that there was a breadth and depth to the movement which he had not measured; a spirit and power in it which looked beyond his ambition as the end in view. And the Reformation was in constant danger, ere it was fully matured, of being precipitated unduly, by the self-will, the private whims and fancies of men who had been brought under the influence of the Continental Reformers. But the Church preserved her continuity and her integrity. She restored the Ancient Faith, and Worship, and Discipline. She became, what she was not before, thoroughly and truly Catholic. And she deserves to-day the tribute which Dryden paid in his time :

" Her front erect with majesty she bore,
The crosier wielded and the mitre wore,
Her upper part of decent discipline
Showed affectation of an ancient line;
And Fathers, Councils, Church, and Church's head,
Were, on her reverend phylacteries read."†

It is remarkable, and we doubt not it was specially providential, that the period of greatest activity of Convocation, and when that organic power, and representative of the Church of England was most vigorous and untrammelled, was that very period when the glorious work of Reformation was placed in its hands. It extended from the reign of

* Canon CXXXIX.

† Hind and Panther, Part I.

Henry VI, A. D. 1422, down to the time of Charles II, a period of more than two hundred years. Convocation became a living body, just as Wycliffe, with all his errors "the morning star of the Reformation," rose upon the world; and, though at the bidding of Pope Martin V, it violated his grave and dug up and burnt his bones, and cast his ashes into the River, it lived to make full atonement for all its sins. In the work of Reform, the ordinary course of procedure was, that the work of discussion, preparation, and determination of all matters strictly spiritual and ecclesiastical, was done by the Church in Convocation; and it was then left to the civil power to ratify, publish, and confirm. And, though in the next century and a half, amid the strifes of civil and religious discord, there were occasional instances of irregularity of procedure, there was nothing to mar the harmony, or weaken the authority, of the work which the Church was called to do.*

To the doings of the Church herself, let us now turn.

First. The first effective blow struck in the Reformation by the Church, was the abolishing of the Pope's Supremacy. As the Records of Convocation have been burnt, we are obliged to rely upon other monuments of Convocation; of which, however, there is no scarcity. In A. D. 1534, the question being proposed to the Bishops and Clergy in the Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, "whether the Bishop of Rome has, in the Word of God, any greater jurisdiction than any other foreign Bishop?" it was determined in the negative. The Universities, Chapters, &c., also throughout the kingdom, declared their assent. With one solitary Bishop (Fisher) alone excepted, this was declared to be the solemn decision of the whole Church of England.

In accordance with this decision of Convocation, Parliament, as early as 1534, unanimously passed an Act abolishing the Pope's power in the kingdom, and prohibiting those multi-form pecuniary exactions by which the coffers of the Pope had been so long and copiously replenished.

Second. The next great step in the Reformation, was a motion, made in Convocation, that there should be a Translation of the Bible in English; to be set up in all the Churches of England. This was in A. D. 1536; which, after a long debate, passed both Houses of Convocation. A Petition to this effect was sent to the King, who ordered the work to be done immediately; and three years subsequently, having been begun at Paris, the printing was completed at London. This was usually

* See Gladstone's *State and Church*, Vol. II, p. 26.

called Cranmer's, and sometimes Matthew's Bible. Thus the necessity of relying on Wickliff's and Tindall's Translations was obviated, and the Word of God, in itself the strongest antidote to Popery, was made accessible to the mass of the people. This was placing the Reformation on solid and reliable ground; and in A. D. 1540 the Bible was set up in all the Churches of England.

It was at this period, A. D. 1542, that the First Book of Homilies was published. For Bonner, Bishop of London, having forbidden the Clergy to allow any one to preach in his Diocese without a license from himself or the King, a set of Homilies was set forth by the Archbishop, which obviated the evil of a want of Preachers; while, at the same time, the minds of the people in those turbulent scenes were quieted and directed. Of that First Book, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins, and Becon, were unquestionably the authors. Of the Second Book, Archbishop Parker, in 1563, speaks of them as being "revised and finished, with a Second Part, by him and the other Bishops."*

But whoever were their several authors, they were authoritatively set forth by the Church, both in A. D. 1552, in the XXXIV of the XLII Articles of Edward VI; and in A. D. 1562, in the XXXV of the XXXIX Articles of Queen Elizabeth. Their influence in moulding and strengthening public sentiment, and in guarding against the insidious reasonings of Popery was incalculable.

Third. The next step in the Reformation was the publication of the Articles of Religion; known as "The English Articles of 1536." In 1536, June 23, the Lower House of Convocation sent to the Upper sixty-seven Opinions, Abuses, Errors, &c., which needed reformation; and the "Articles of Religion" were at length agreed to, being signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seventeen other Bishops, by forty Abbots and Priors, and by fifty Arch-deacons and Proctors of the Lower House of Convocation. The First of those Articles is as follows.

"All Bishops and preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the Three Creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words; and condemn all Heresies, contrary to them, and particularly those condemned by the first Four General Councils."

The Catholic tone and temper of those men, and of the work

* Strype's Parker, I, 253.

which they were about, may be fairly judged by this Article; and the main design of the whole, evidently was, to hold in check the old heresies of the Lollards, which were now revived by the Anabaptists and others.*

Fourth. In 1537, and 1543, Convocation set forth two Formularies of Doctrine, "The Institution of a Christian Man," and "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition;" (both lately republished in England.) In these, Convocation disclaimed and rejected many of the superstitious rites and ceremonies of Romanism; as the Doctrine of Indulgences; the Worship of Images; the Doctrine of Purgatory; and the Invocation of Saints was greatly guarded and restricted, though not as yet formally forbidden. A still greater advance was made, in a primary movement towards a PRAYER BOOK, for the people in their own language; as the "Necessary Doctrine" &c., contained a translation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. And, to anticipate a little, in A. D. 1545, the King's PRIMER was set forth, which contained, in addition to the above, the Venite, the Te Deum, the Litany, and sundry Hymns and Collects; all which were commanded to be "taught, learned and read, and none other to be used," throughout the King's dominions.

The next step in the Reformation, was a step backward. It was the enactment by Parliament, in A. D. 1539, of the Six Articles of Henry VIII, reëffirming certain Romish errors and superstitions; and the attempt, though futile, in Convocation, to prevent the circulation of the Bible, now nearly ready, in the common language; but these, as they fall not within our present design, we pass by. They only show the vigor with which the Popish party, with Gardiner at their head, plied their arts to stay the progress of a work which they thoroughly hated. For the denial either of Transubstantiation, or Auricular Confession, or the Celibacy of the Clergy, was to be punished with burning or hanging, at the pleasure of the Court.

We have now noticed the work of Reform, in the Church, and by the Church, down to the time of the death of Henry VIII, Jan. 27, 1547. The writings of the prime movers in those important events show, clearly enough, that those noble old English Reformers examined carefully every step of their way. Cranmer, as Archbishop Parker tells us, had "unrolled the most Ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin; he investigated all the Councils, and every part of antiquity up to the

* See Hardwick's History of the Articles of Religion. Phila. 1852. p. 50.

very times of the Apostles." Henry VIII sinks into insignificance before us, as an agent and actor, in the work of reform, when we come fairly in contact with the solid learning and intellectual and moral power of those old Bishops, and see the heroic intrepidity, and masterly skill with which they exposed not only the *ερωρον ψευδος*, of the Papacy, but the tissue of novelties, superstitions, and corruptions, with which Rome had overlaid the Apostolic Faith and Order of the Church.

The accession to the throne of Edward VI, A. D. 1547, gave a new impulse to the Reformation, though opposed, at every point, by Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonsal, and at their instigation, not less, by the Princess Mary. But God had raised up, in the Primate of all England, a man equal to the occasion; and to him we are principally indebted for the sobriety of the work now so well begun, and for its accordance with pure and primitive models. The great steps in Reform under this Reign were, the preparation, and adoption, of what was known as the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, and the XLII Articles of A. D. 1552.

Fifth. In the first year of the Reign of Edward, *Convocation having unanimously approved of the measure*, an Act of Parliament was passed, (Dec. 1547,) converting the Mass into a Communion; and requiring that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be delivered to the people under both kinds. A Commission having been issued for this purpose, Cranmer and the other divines prepared an Office for the Holy Communion, which was completed March 8th, A. D. 1548, and which was forthwith published, and its use enjoined by authority.

Sixth. A new Commission was issued to the same Commissioners to prepare a complete collection of Divine Offices for Public Worship. This Commission met at Windsor, May, A. D. 1548, and prepared a **BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER**. *It was formally approved by Convocation.* It was ratified by an Act of Parliament, in Jan. 1549, and its use enjoined from the Festival of Whit Sunday of that same year. In this "First Prayer Book of Edward VI," the old Prayers, hallowed by the pious use of centuries, were translated from Latin into English; while Romish novelties and superstitions were rejected. We have no room here to show how far this First Prayer Book differed from the Roman Breviary and Missal in previous use. But the order of the Services was better arranged; while the Ave Maria was omitted; Scripture Lessons were substituted for legends and stories; and the Invocations of the Virgin Mary, and of individual saints and angels, were struck out. But

the Collects of the Ancient Church were closely followed so far as they were Scriptural and Catholic.* This Book of Common Prayer was set forth by the common agreement and full assent both of Parliament and the Convocations of Canterbury and York. The Committee who prepared this Book were thirteen in number; Archbishop Cranmer; Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Henry Holbech, Bishop of Lincoln; George Day, Bishop of Chichester; John Skip, Bishop of Hereford; Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; William May, Dean of St. Paul's, London; Simon Heynes, Dean of Exeter; John Redmayne, Prebendary of Westminster; Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; and Thomas Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester.

Seventh. In the Convocation of A. D. 1550, the question of a further revision of the Prayer Book was entertained. As the Prayer Book contained no Form for consecrating and ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, an Office for that purpose was drawn up, was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and was published in March, A. D. 1550. The Commissioners also revised the whole Book of Common Prayer; which was completed in the year 1551, and was finally set forth by Parliament, A. D. 1552, April 14th. Parliament declared that the alterations made in it proceeded from curiosity, rather than any worthy cause. It was ordered to be used throughout the kingdom from the Feast of All Saints following. This is known as the "Second Prayer Book of Edward VI." It was also formally received, approved, and adopted by the Convocation at London, in 1552, in the Thirty-fifth Article; and was subsequently, with slight alterations, adopted unanimously by both Houses of Convocation, of both Provinces, Dec. 20th, A. D. 1661, as we shall hereafter notice.

The alterations in this Second Prayer Book were, principally, as follows. The Sentences, Exhortations, Confession, and Absolution, were added to the beginning of Morning and Evening Service; the use of oil in Baptism, the Unction of the sick, and Prayers for souls departed, were omitted; the Prayer of Oblation in the Communion Office, and the Rubric ordering wine to be mixed with water were also now left out. The Rubric on the Absolution in the Visitation of the sick was also omitted; and in the Exhortation to the Communion, an expression on the Nature of Absolution was altered.

Eighth. The next important step in the Reformation, was

* See Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Ang.*

the setting forth of the "XLII ARTICLES OF 1552." The *special* origin, or causes for the setting forth of these Articles, it is not necessary here to consider. They were well described in the copy first printed by Richard Grafton; "for to roote out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of trew religion."* It appears that these Forty-two Articles were drawn up originally by Cranmer; were submitted to the most careful and learned inspection; and that for eighteen months they underwent repeated revisions. For, the King in his letter to Ridley, says, they had been "devised and gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part of our Bishops of this realm, and sundry others of our clergy."† That they were formally submitted to and adopted by Convocation in A. D. 1552, (as they certainly were, "by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces in A. D. 1662,") is evident from several other considerations, as well as from their Title: "Articles agreed on by the Bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord God, 1552, for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of Religion. Published by the King's Majesty's commandment, in the month of May, 1553."‡

These Articles of 1552, solemnly and formally adopted and ratified by the Church, both now and subsequently, contain a clear and authoritative statement of the Doctrines and principles of the English Reformation. They were designed to define Catholic Truth and Order, in distinction from Romish, Anabaptist, and other errors, heresies, and corruptions.. They were not meant as Articles of peace, except so far as they were Articles of Truth. And, by these Articles, adopted and applied as tests subsequently, the work of the English Reformation was consolidated, clearly defined, and made practically effective.

This brings us down to the death of Edward VI, who breathed his last July 6th, 1553. The Catechism of Cranmer, an important contribution, belongs to this portion of history, but does not come within the limits of our present design.

The accession of Mary to the Throne of England in July,

* For a copy of these Articles and a comparison of them with the Thirty-nine Articles, see Burnet's History, Vol. II, Records, p. 209. See also Hardwick's History of the Articles, Ch. V, p. 79.

† Strype, Eccl. Mem. II, p. 421.

‡ That the "Forty-two Articles" were submitted to Convocation, in 1552, though questioned by some, is proved, we think, by Hardwick. See his "History of the Articles," Ch. V.

1553, interrupted the work so well begun. She died Nov. 17, A. D. 1558, after an unhappy reign of a little more than five years; mortified, as for other more personal causes, so also that her murderous cruelties were inefficacious to uproot the true, reformed, Catholic religion. Fourteen Bishops were expelled from their Sees. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, in all five Bishops, twenty-one clergymen, and hundreds of others, were burnt at the stake. At least nine thousand, Burnet says twelve thousand, clergymen were deprived. An Act of Parliament was passed in Oct., A. D. 1553, suppressing the Liturgy of Edward VI, and repealing the Statutes of the late reign which confirmed the Reformation. Cardinal Pole came over from the Pope to "reconcile" the English nation; and was met by a packed Convocation of Bishops holding usurped Sees, who received papal absolution on their bended knees. *It does not appear, however, that the "Forty-two Articles" were ever formally abolished by this, or any future Convocation under Queen Mary.*

But the whole of these acts and doings was uncatholic, unauthorized, null, and void. For the Sees were filled by Bishops schismatically appointed, and so, having no power to legislate for the Church of England; and even if it had not been so, the whole procedure was in direct violation of the rules and Canons of the Catholic Church in her Early Councils, as we have already seen; and destructive of the rights and privileges of the English Church herself. For, even Provincial and National Synods have no right to trample upon Canons by which the whole Body of the Church is sacredly bound. The sum of this matter then is: 1st, The "Forty-two Articles" were not repealed. 2d, There was no body then in power competent to repeal them. 3d, Their repeal, if attempted, would have been uncanonical.

Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen of England Nov. 17, 1558. She determined to revive Public Worship as it had been celebrated according to the reformed rites of Edward VI. The Questions which she propounded to her Secretary, Sir William Cecil,* show with what deliberation and caution she proceeded. She called to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, a man admirably fitted to succeed the martyred Cranmer in presiding over the destinies of the Church in that stormy period. Like Cranmer he was thoroughly imbued with a Catholic spirit. Says his biographer, "His great skill in antiquity reached to ecclesiastical matters, as well as historical; where-

* See Burnet, Vol. I, p. 327.

by he became acquainted with the Ancient Liturgies and doctrines of the Christian Church in former times. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public Offices of the present Roman Church, *because they varied so much from the Ancient.*" And in his last Will, he declared: "I profess that I do certainly believe and hold whatsoever the Holy Catholic Church believeth and receiveth in any Articles whatsoever, pertaining to faith, hope and charity, in the whole sacred Scripture."* Such was the man now called to the helm when ultra Protestantism and Popery both began to bring their forces to bear upon the Reformed Church of England. He was duly consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17th, A. D. 1559, as the Canterbury Register shows, by John Scory, Bishop elect of Hereford; William Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and John Hodgkin, Bishop of Bedford.†

An Act of Parliament, passed April 29, 1559, had already enjoined all spiritual persons holding preferments to take the oath of Supremacy under pain of deprivation,—and that oath was now tendered by the Court of High Commission. Out of 9,400 beneficed men in England, only 189 refused to take it,—*a little more than one in fifty.*

Ninth. In the latter part of 1558, a Commission of ten persons had been appointed to revise King Edward's Liturgy; and a bill for restoring that Prayer Book, with slight alterations, passed both Houses of Parliament, April 28th, 1559, entitled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments." The Act was to come into operation on the day of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1559. The principal alterations in this Prayer Book, from that of the Second of Edward VI, were in joining both forms of the sentences together in administering the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; in restoring the Rubric, requiring that Morning and Evening Prayer should be said in the Chancel, instead of in the Body of the Church, as was allowed at the instigation of Calvin and Bucer in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI; and in several other similar changes, indicating a determination to resist the Puritan innovations and intermeddlings which had been so strongly felt in the latter part of the reign of King Edward. Queen Elizabeth publicly and formally declared, "that there was no new faith propagated in England; no new Religion set up, but that which

* Strype's Parker, pp. 530, 500. And Appendix, No. C.

† For a most thorough exposure of the fable of the Nags-Head Ordination, see Bramhall's Works, Tom. I, Disc. V, p. 425.

was commanded by our SAVIOUR, practiced by the Primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity." This Prayer Book, adopted by Parliament on the Report of the Commissioners, came up for discussion and adoption in the great Convocation of 1562. The Puritan party was strong in the Church, and such things as kneeling at the Sacrament, the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, and the continuance of Organs in the Churches, &c., &c., were only saved by a close vote. Relatively toward Rome, the voice of Convocation was unhesitating. And the Prayer Book was formally adopted, Feb. 13th, 1562, by Convocation.*

This Prayer Book, to conclude its history here, continued unaltered till the first year of James I, A. D. 1603; when, after the conference of Hampton Court, some Forms of Thanksgiving were added at the end of the Litany, and an addition was made to the Catechism concerning the Sacraments.

So the Prayer Book remained until after the Savoy Conference of A. D. 1661, under Charles II, between twelve Bishops and nine assistants on the one side, and the same number of Presbyterians on the other. The names of the Commissioners are as follows. Of Churchmen, there were: Dr. Fruen, Archbishop of York; Dr. Shelden, Bishop of London; Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Warner, Bishop of Rochester; Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. Henchman, Bishop of Sarum; Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Laney, Bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Stern, Bishop of Carlisle; Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. Their assistants, were Dr. Earles, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Heylin; Dr. Hacket; Dr. Barwick; Dr. Gunning; Dr. Pearson; Dr. Pierce; Dr. Sparrow; Mr. Thorndike.

On the part of the Presbyterians, there were, Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Tuckney; Dr. Conant; Dr. Spurston; Dr. Wallis; Dr. Manton; Mr. Calamy; Mr. Baxter; Mr. Jackson; Mr. Case; Mr. Clark; Mr. Newcomen. Also, their assistants; Dr. Horton; Dr. Jacomb; Mr. Bates; Mr. Rawlinson; Mr. Cooper; Dr. Lightfoot; Dr. Collins; Dr. Woodbridge; Mr. Drake.

This Conference, fruitless as to any plan of Union with the Presbyterians, sufficed to prove at least one thing; that no compromise would silence the demands of a party which had

* See Burnet's Hist. of Ref., Vol. III, p. 302, and Grant's English Church and Sects, Vol. I, p. 420.

not scrupled to imbrue its hands in the blood of a martyred Archbishop, and a martyred King. And this conviction on the part of Churchmen saved the Prayer Book from being further tampered with. Baxter would not allow that the Prayer Book was even capable of amendment; and had the assurance to propose a *new one* of his own composition. The Bishops, however, suggested certain alterations which were subsequently adopted. The terms *Presbyter*, and *Priest*, were used more definitely in the Rubrics. Several Lessons were changed in the Calendar. The Prayers upon particular Occasions were disjoined from the Litany. Prayers for Ember-week, for Parliament, for All conditions of men, and the General Thanksgiving, were added. A Rubric was added for giving personal absolution to the Sick. Several Collects were altered. The Office for Adult Baptism, and the Form of Prayer to be used at sea were also added. *The English Prayer Book, as it now stands, was unanimously adopted, and subscribed, by both Houses of Convocation of both Provinces, Dec. 20th, A. D. 1661.* The English Prayer Book, therefore, was established by the Convocations, or Provincial Synods of the realm. Besides its authority by Act of Parliament, it was the work of the Church herself, acting in the rightful exercise of her own legitimate authority.*

Tenth. Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, another important step in the Reformation was taken by the Church. In the year A. D. 1562, the Articles of 1552 came up for consideration in Convocation. Previous to this, however, "The Eleven Articles of Religion," compiled by, or under the eye of Archbishop Parker, with the sanction of the other metropolitan, and the rest of the English prelates, had been adopted and enforced as a test of doctrine upon the clergy; but as they were never adopted by Convocation we pass them by. In 1562, summons was issued for an assembling of the Convocations of Canterbury and York; which met Jan. 12, A. D. 1563. The object of this meeting was to revise and act upon the XLII Articles of Edward VI. Convocation assembled Jan. 12th, 1563. After a most thorough discussion those Articles were altered, amended, and added to, until at length on the 29th of January they were unanimously subscribed to in the Upper House. These Articles were now XXXIX in number. They were transmitted to the Lower House, where they also passed, it is believed, unanimously; but the actual signatures of *one hundred and six* members attest a very large

* See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, p. 33.

majority of that body. In the year A. D. 1571, on the assembling of Convocation, the XXXIX Articles were brought into the shape which they retain to the present day, and were enforced as a test on every Candidate for Holy Orders. Having, subsequently, passed both Houses of Parliament, they finally received the royal assent, June 29th, 1571, and subscription to them was required on the part of the Clergy.

The history of these Elizabethan Articles; the alterations in them from the former Articles of Edward; the efforts of the Puritan party as Baxter, and Burgess, to effect still more important changes in them; their pointed precision in defining the doctrine of the Church of England as distinguished from the dogmas of the Trentine Council then recently terminated; their moderation and wisdom; and their essential agreement with the true Faith of the Catholic Church—these are points worthy of the most careful attention. Their full meaning can only be known by a most thorough acquaintance with their origin and history; but, to regard them as a set-off against the Liturgy, the Catechism, and the Sacramental Offices, in questions of Doctrine, or, to regard the Articles as belonging to one system of teaching, and the other symbols alluded to, as belonging to another, is a most gross fallacy. They are all in harmony with each other and with the teaching of the Catholic Church. The best compend of the history of the Articles is that to which we have already referred.* Nor must we fail, in this connection, to mention the immortal work of Hooker; who, at this particular juncture, or turning point, in the progress of the Reformation, demonstrated certain great principles of Church Polity, which, from that day onward, were like a wall of fire to the Reformed Church, on the right hand, and on the left. The power of Puritanism to tamper with the Church then ceased. It could still rail and persecute; it could not corrupt. The reaction cost a King and an Archbishop their lives; but the Church herself, humanly speaking, was safe.

The instances of formal acknowledgment and recognition of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and of the XXXIX Articles, on the part of the Church, as her System of Worship and her Rule of Christian Doctrine subsequent to the times which we have now considered, we need not examine. Both are specified in the V and XIV Canons of the Church of England, adopted in the Convocation at London, A. D. 1603, and set forth by royal authority in that same year.

We have now applied two tests of Catholicity to the English Reformation. We have shown that on Catholic principles,

* Hardwick's History of the Articles of Religion. Phila.: Hooker. 1852. 8vo. pp. 266. See also Cardwell's Hist. of Conf., 266.

the Church of England, as an integral branch or member of the Church of CHRIST, had a perfect right to free herself from the shackles of bondage imposed on her by a usurping foreign Bishop, and to purify herself from unscriptural and uncatholic errors, heresies, superstitions, and corruptions; and then, we have shown, that in a work extending through a period of over one hundred and fifty years, the Reformation was taken up, carried forward, and completed, by the Church herself. It was also ratified and confirmed, at every step, by the civil or temporal power.

We confess, that the Church hampered herself unwisely, under Henry VIII, in consenting to hold, and to legislate in, Convocations, only at the will of the Sovereign, and in obligating herself to elect and consecrate for her Bishops men nominated by the Crown, no matter who or what they be, or incur the pains and penalties of a *præmunire*. Still the Act of Henry, VIII,* and all others relating to the King's ecclesiastical supremacy, are, in the language of Hickes, "to be interpreted in a sense consistent with those other Acts of Parliament, which confirm the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Church of England; and the form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. In those Offices, the Sacerdotal Power, as distinct from the civil, is clearly expressed and asserted."† And yet, unquestionably, the Church yielded rights essential to her independence and freedom of action; and should Kings and Queens, instead of proving nursing Fathers and Mothers to the Church, become her tyrants and oppressors, in respect either to Doctrine, Discipline, or Government, then the Church would clearly owe it to herself, and to her Great Head, to break the chains of bondage at any worldly sacrifice. It might prove ruinous to the State, but it would be a glorious triumph for the Church. Supposing, however, as the Church did suppose, a *Christian* Sovereign placed at the helm of State—a Sovereign bound by his coronation Oath, "to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the protestant *reformed* Religion, established by Law;" and "to preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all such rights, and privileges, as by law do, or shall, appertain unto them, or any of them;" we say, the Church, supposing all this, as she was bound to do, relying upon a fair,

* 26 Hen. VIII, Cap. 1.

† "Dignity of the Episcopal Order," pp. 285, 286.

and Christian construction of that Coronation Oath on the part of the Sovereign, has not forfeited her spiritual character, nor surrendered anything essential to her spiritual Constitution.* Only let her beware, lest, by her silence, or acquiescence, she may sanction, or seem to sanction, at any time, the slightest encroachment of worldly power on her birthright. The attempted revival of Convocation at the present time is an auspicious event; it will prove a test of the vital power of the Church as a living Body, and is evidently so regarded by both friends and foes.

There is still another test of the Catholicity of the English Reformation, to be applied. And that is, as it respects the nature, and character, of the things done in themselves. So far as the rupture with Rome is concerned, which is the chief point now under examination, we have already, incidentally, yet really and fully, met that point in the previous portion of our argument. The Canons of the Catholic Church, at the only period in the history of Christendom when such a judgment could be obtained, settle that question unanswerably. Nor can Rome dispute this position, except by begging the whole question. But to go into a careful examination of what was done, to take up the English Liturgy, to note every doctrine of Religion taught in the Articles, to scrutinize everything which the Church has stamped as error, heresy, and superstition, to apply the test of Catholicity to this interior work of reform, is, of course, beyond our power, now. We only say, that a fresh familiarity with the writings of the Reformers has led to a deeper conviction, not only of the truly Catholic nature of their work, but of the treasures of wisdom and learning, of the high order of genius, of the intellectual power, philosophical accuracy, profound scholarship, exalted piety, and chivalric heroism, which were made to subserve that great event in the History of the Universal Church, the ENGLISH REFORMATION. It was the golden age of English Literature—the age of SPENSER, and SHAKESPEARE, and BACON, and HOOKER, and TAYLOR, and CUDWORTH, and HALL, and JEWELL, and CHILLINGWORTH. “In point of real force and originality of genius,” says Lord Jeffrey, “neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo the Tenth, or of Louis the Fourteenth, can come at all into comparison.” And yet, during this more than a hundred years, the richest resources of learning and genius laid their choicest treasures on the altars of England’s Reformed Church. And

† See Gladstone's *State and Church*. Vol. II, Ch. VI, Sec. 11. p. 12.

as the result, she is, almost beyond comparison, together with her American daughter, the truest representative now existing of the Church which JESUS CHRIST and His Inspired Apostles established on the earth. The history of the last twenty years teaches us, that the man who sneers at the English Reformation, is, at least, to be pitied as a simpleton, or watched as a knave.

Nay, more. So impregnable is the Reformed Church of England, on this primitive and Catholic basis, that the best Romish Controversialists yield this point; and admit, that Rome *can* be defended only on other grounds; some, sticking for the infidel theory of Development—and some for the equally infidel theory of Authority; but all admitting, that the old Catholic Rule, the “*semper, ubique, ab omnibus*,” is *for* the good old Church of England, and *against* themselves. Thus Brownson, the ablest Romish controversialist in this country, said, not long since: “These [developmentists] not accepting the authority of the Church, *cannot without such theory, get over the difficulties presented to their minds by the Fathers, nor can we, without it, satisfactorily explain those difficulties to them.*” Nor do we hesitate to add, that had this Catholic position of the English Church been clearly defined, and strongly fastened in the minds of certain men who had been originally trained in the ultra-Protestant School of the Church of England, as Newman, and Manning, and Wilberforce, and Faber, they would, we believe, have been saved from the curse of Popery, and would have remained steadfast and loyal defenders of a true Catholicity, which, alas, they never had been taught, which their hearts yearned for, and which they never yet have found. The lamentable issues of the Rationalistic School—a mixed conglomerate of Arnoldism and Bunsenism, now struggling for power in the English Church—are already teaching, and, let the reader mark our words, are hereafter to teach, this same lesson, with a more startling emphasis.

As an appropriate conclusion to this whole examination, we shall adduce a few specimens of the evidence, showing the Catholic tone and temper of the leading English Reformers. Portions of this evidence, such as the strong testimony of Archbishop Parker, we have before cited. The same spirit pervaded the work which we have already traced, as the records themselves everywhere indicate. But a thorough examination of the lives, the writings, and labors, of those men, would develop this feature in their character, to the satisfaction of the most incredulous. It is, we know, customary, with

both Papists and Puritans, to harp upon individual expressions, or upon isolated facts, which may be culled out of the *debris* which have floated down to us from that *transition* period. It is forgotten, that a union, on a Catholic basis, of all the ranks of the reformed, was an object dear to the hearts of the wisest and best men of that age; and was frustrated, in great measure, by the cunning wiles of the Jesuits; who, to this end, turned Puritan, and in disguise, out-puritanized Puritanism itself in urging on the work of schism, and especially in assailing the Catholic features of the English Reformation. This is an important chapter in the history of those stirring times; and, at some future opportunity, we intend to spread it before our readers. Nobody could then determine what shape the Reformation on the Continent would finally assume. In fact, it unhappily settled down upon a different basis from the Reformation in England. The English Reformers were, at times, strongly under this continental influence. And if anybody chooses to torture individual and inconsistent expressions of the English Reformers, under those peculiar and unparalleled circumstances, into an endorsement either of Romish corruptions and usurpations, or of the mongrel schisms and heresies, the mushroom growths of our own times, and so, to Romanize or Puritanize those men, on points of Doctrine, Orders, or Sacraments, we do not hesitate to say that every such attempt is as unjust to them as it is treacherous to the Church. And, even were it not so, individual opinions are one thing, official acts are another thing. The authorized standards of the Church, the very Prayer Book itself, are the only fair guides to the honest and deliberate opinions of those men.

But let us see what their private opinions were. Archbishop Cranmer said: "When they, the Papists, boast of the Faith which has been in the Church these thousand years, we will join them on this point. For that doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove, that the Order of the Church set out at this present by the Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years past."*

Again, "Lest any man should think that I feign anything of my own head, without any other ground or authority, you shall hear, by God's Grace, as well the errors of the Papists confuted, as the Catholic Truth defended, both by God's Sacred Word, and also by the most old approved authors and Martyrs of Christ's Church."†

* Cranmer's Works, Vol. IV, pp. 2 and 3.

† Ib. Vol. II, p. 313.

Again, "This is the true Catholic Faith, which the Scriptures teacheth, and the Universal Church of Christ hath ever believed from the beginning, until within these four or five hundred years past, that the Bishop of Rome, with the assistance of his papists, hath set up a new faith and belief of their own devising."*

Again, in A. D. 1556, "Touching my doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my doctrine of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand, anything contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the Sacred Scripture, and of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning; and also, according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and martyrs of the Church."†

Again. In his Speech on General Councils, A. D. 1534, or 1535, he said: "That when all the Fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God, and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceits."‡

Thus much for Archbishop Cranmer. We have quoted already Archbishop Parker, under whom, in time of Elizabeth, the Reformation was brought to its effectual completion. He is equally explicit and decided. The public and formal Exposition of Doctrine put forth A. D. 1543, called the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition," and signed by all the Bishops and in behalf of the whole Church of England, declares: "All those things which were taught by the Apostles, and have been by a universal consent of the Church of Christ ever since that time taught continually, and taken always for true, ought to be received, accepted, and kept, as a perfect doctrine apostolic."

And again, it declares, as to the Articles of the Creed, that we must "interpret all the same things according to the self-same sentence and interpretation which the words of Scripture do signify, and the holy approved doctors of the Church do agreeably entreat and defend;" and that we must refuse and condemn all opinions, "which were, of long time past, condemned in the Four Holy Councils."§

The most authoritative testimony is borne to this point, also, by the Canons of the Church of England, agreed upon in the

* Cranmer's Works, Vol. II, p. 356.

† Ib., Vol. II, p. 14.

‡ Ib., Vol. IV, p. 126.

§ Formularies of Faith, pp. 221 and 227.

Convocation of A. D. 1603. The XXX Canon declares, "Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practiced, that as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they *were fallen, both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolic Churches* which were their first founders."*

The Homilies, as the reader of them well knows, are full of this appeal to the Fathers and to Catholic testimony. Here is a specimen. "Before all things, this we must be sure of, especially, that this Supper be done and ministered, as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done, as the Holy Apostles used it, and the good Fathers of the Primitive Church frequented it."†

The XXIV, of the XXXIX Articles, declares: "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have Public Prayer in the Church or to Minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people."

The Preface to the Ordination Service adopted by the Reformers recognizes the same principle: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," &c.

And finally, Bishop Jewell, whose "Apology" is quoted authoritatively in the Thirtieth Canon as cited above, and whose famous challenge should never be forgotten, in that "Apology," defends the English Reformation distinctly on this ground, its Scriptural, Primitive and Catholic character. He says in it: "Our doctrine, which we may much better call the *Catholic doctrine of Christ*, is not so new as but that it is commended to us by the Ancient of Days, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in most ancient monuments, the prophets, and gospels, and writings of the apostles. . . . But, then, as to their religion, if it be so ancient as they pretend, *why do they not prove it so from the examples of the Primitive Church, from the Old Fathers, and the Ancient Councils?* Why doth so ancient a cause lie desolate and without a patron for so long a time? Indeed, they, the

* Sparrow's Collection, Canon XXX.
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† Hom. on the Sacraments, Part III.
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Romanists, never want fire and swords; but then, *as to the ancient Fathers and Councils, there is with them a deep silence.*"*

Again. "We, the English Reformers, have approached, as nearly as possibly we could do, the Church of the Apostles, and *the ancient Catholic Bishops and Fathers*, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry, or any great or public error. Neither have we only reformed our doctrine, and *made it like theirs*, but we have also brought the celebration of the Sacraments and the forms of our public rites and prayers to an exact resemblance with their institutions or customs."†

This rule, then, was the unerring guide of the English Reformers; HOLY SCRIPTURE INTERPRETED BY PRIMITIVE CATHOLIC ANTIQUITY. As Tertullian says: "This principle avails against all heresies. Whatsoever is first, is true; whatsoever is later, is adulterate." Given, the supernatural establishment of Christianity AS AN INSTITUTION; and from this rule there is no appeal. So, the English Reformers believed; and so, they acted. And the Anglican Reformed Church stood forth, restored to its pristine purity and beauty; Catholic, for every Truth of God; Protestant, against every Error of man. The Continental Reformation, on the contrary, proceeded upon a different basis. Its rule was, Holy Scripture interpreted by human reason; another name for private fancy, and perverse self-will. As this was the *ruling*, so it has been the *ruining* principle of the Continental Reformation; as it led the way to all those blasphemous conceits of the Rationalistic Schools of modern Germany, which have made that Reformation a failure and a by-word; and which are exerting such prodigious influence in England and our own country at the present day.

It would be easy to fill volumes with similar testimony, from the men who were the confessed and authoritative leaders in the great work of the English Reformation. Isolated opinions, of isolated men, can be quoted in defense of almost any whim which a papal, or a puritan partisan may choose to espouse. But we say, fearlessly, and challenge contradiction, that, in the language of another, "It was not because their doctrine was *Protestant*, but because it was *Catholic*, that our Reformers, and such Divines as Jewell, Nowell, Hooker and Andrews defended the doctrines of the English Reformation. And in the

* Ch. V, Sec. 2.

† Ch. VI, 15.

declaration of Faith which our Reformers directed to be made by ministers, they were required to say of the Book of Common Prayer, 'that it is *Catholic*, apostolic, and most for the edifying of God's people.'"*

The discussion to which we have invited attention, to many of our readers will not be new. But a compact statement of doctrines, on which the very foundations of the Church rest; and of an argument for those doctrines, which no boldness can question, or ingenuity evade, will not, we trust, be unacceptable to any; while, to some, away from books and authorities, and yet compelled to battle with the insolent pretensions of Rome on the one hand, and with a hydra-headed and bitter Sectism on the other, what we have written will, we venture to hope, prove a grateful offering. To our younger Clergy, especially, on whom the future glory and prosperity of the Church is so much to rest, our line of argument cannot be too familiar. Our Laity, too, who are clothed with such ecclesiastical powers in our Diocesan and General Synods, should learn what some of them never yet seem to have learned, that when, in the Creeds, they profess their belief in "One Catholic and Apostolic Church," they do not mean Popery. And every child in our Sunday Schools should be taught to understand, cherish, and revere, a Term, so much abused, and yet so hallowed with sainted memories, and pregnant with principles which are the very foundation of the Doctrine of Christ. The Papists are wiser than we in these matters.

This True Catholicity, in tone and temper, in Order, Ritual, and Doctrine—a Catholicity robed in the profoundest wisdom, and loftiest attainments, and most elegant culture which this world can give, and yet, kneeling at the Cross like a little child in deep humility, and asking what CHRIST would have us do—a Catholicity, which knows how to eschew the strait-laced metaphysics of Puritanism, the disgusting puerilities of Mediæval ceremonialism, and the cast-iron rigidity of a mere Literalism—a Catholicity, which has solidity as well as bulk; a heart as well as a head; and a heart which beats with all the intensity and fullness of this restless, stirring age—this is the Catholicity which the Church now needs.

Alas! alas! for the obdurate self-will; the noisy pharisaism; the bitterness and littleness of party hatred; the unscrupulousness of personal ambition; the crushing, grinding, hard-heartedness of Mammon-worship; the absolute dearth and barrenness of the Church's charities; the perpetual pleadings

* Strype's Annals, Vol. I, Part I, p. 327.

and expostulations necessary to wring from the gripe of baptized misers the merest pittance, where all is CHRIST'S! It makes the head sick, and the heart faint, to see what ought to be, and yet, what is. Thank God! for glimmerings, here and there, of a brighter day.

The argument which we have given above, is as vital with us, as it is with our brethren of the English Church. For, in the character of the English Reformation, the Catholicity of our own Branch of the Church, is directly involved. Several of the volumes placed at the head of this Article—and the whole list is significant—show from what opposite points we have been, and are to be, assailed. Indeed, everything indicates, that, whether willing or unwilling, we are to be driven to the necessity of contending, with a Martyr's firmness and a Martyr's zeal, for the "Faith once delivered to the Saints." Alas! that it should be always true, that the Church's chiefest foes should "be they of her own household"! and that the Son of Man must always be betrayed with a kiss! The line of defense already pointed out, will, with God's help, prove a safe protection, let the assault come from whatsoever quarter it may. In an age of intense theological restlessness and conflict, the ultimate issues of which no one can yet fully predict, we have indicated the direction to which, in our judgment, the mind of the Church should be turned. Still, the Church's life flows from the old "Fountain of living waters."* Still, her strength is in Him, Who standeth round about His people, even so, as "the hills stand about Jerusalem."†

* Jer. ii, 13.

† Ps. cxxv, 2.

Prof. Cutting

ART. II.—EMERSON'S ENGLISH TRAITS.

English Traits. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston: 1856. Seventh thousand. 1857.

THERE is one point on which we are of the same mind with the author of this book. As there are many points on which we are of a very different mind from him, it is satisfactory to start with something concerning which we are agreed. This is the greatness of the subject he has written on. That he appreciates it, appears not only from repeated expressions in the course of his work, but from the title. He does not undertake in his three hundred duodecimo pages to set before us a complete image, but rather the few lineaments which he conceives himself to have seized and to have reproduced. It is not England, but simply English Traits, glimpses of the form, passing expressions of the countenance, scattered outlines of the matronly majesty of our mother-land. In this, he does well; he has our thanks, if he will accept them, for his comprehension of his theme and of himself. As Andrew Erskine wrote to Boswell, "there is a great deal of humility in your vanity."

We not only agree with Mr. Emerson on this point, but we mean to imitate him. The ten or twenty pages of an article afford no space for proper discourse upon England, or even upon English Traits. We confess the absurdity of attempting as much, even if there were stronger reasons for making the attempt. Fortunately, we feel no obligation, and we certainly have no desire to strain the reaches of our pen so far; what we wish to do, what we think it our bounden duty to do, is of a more limited, or at least of a more definite nature. A single chapter of Mr. Emerson's is to be our text. It is the thirteenth; its title, Religion. The Westminster Review pronounces it "perhaps the best in the book."

We speak of the Church of England. It would be presumptuous to say that we speak for her; enough if we speak of her in such a way as to exhibit the injustice that is done her in this volume. None have ever spoken, even of her, with deeper reverence for her beauty, her truth, her glory; none with readier acknowledgment of their own unfitness to do her justice, than we.

The Church of England in her relations with the sister Church of the United States, is the strongest tie between the two lands. We repeat it, in the very earnestness of our con-

victions—the strongest tie, stronger than blood, than language, than literature, than history, if literature and history can be set up as separate things from the Church to which both owe all that is highest and holiest in them. Nor is this a mere assertion. The experience of years, of the present hour, proves it a reality. Who amongst Englishmen have so soon forgotten the controversies of the past, who are now looking towards us with so friendly a smile upon their lips, so cordial a feeling in their hearts, as the Churchmen, the Catholic Churchmen of England? And who on our side give back the warmest sympathies to our brethren of the land from which our fathers came, who but the Catholic Churchmen of America? Who could be,—we do not fear to put the question literally,—who could be, or can be as united as those who, though of different countries, are of one faith, one Holy Catholic Church? Yet this bond is not recognized in the book, or the chapter before us. The author does not seek to sever it; he does not even seem to be aware of it. Like others of our countrymen, he prefers fainter sympathies, weaker ties with our kindred beyond the sea. It is for the Churchmen of America to take up the silver cord which they who are not Churchmen drop from careless hands. It is for the Churchman, if others join not in the anthem, to lift his own voice the more earnestly in swelling the strains in which England and America may unite heart to heart, and soul to soul, as one nation.

Mr. Emerson does more than ignore the means of union between the countries. He does what he can to weaken it by depreciating the Church of England. Here it is that we join issue with him. We have no intention of being personal or vituperative. Mr. Emerson's position is explicable, as we may find hereafter, on grounds that leave us no wish or right to quarrel with him; we meet him in sorrow, not in anger. But we meet him resolutely, earnestly; we have a cause to maintain against him, a cause of national and international, nay, of world wide importance, and there can be no shrinking on the part of one who understands its significance.

We do not mean to overestimate the effect of Mr. Emerson's discourse. To call it an argument, or an assault, would be making a great deal too much of it. In itself, it is of no moment. In its intent, so far as Mr. Emerson is concerned, it is equally trivial. "I have always been," he wrote long ago, "from my very incapacity of methodical writing, 'a chartered libertine,' free to worship and free to rail. . . . I could not give account of myself, if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you cruelly hint at, on which

any doctrine of mine stands. For I do not know what arguments mean, in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare to say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men." Nothing could be franker or fairer than this. It sets Mr. Emerson in the light in which he ought to be, and in which, if we understand him, he would wish to be,—not as an oracle, not as a seer, but as a simple, careless, meandering thinker,—a wayward rill without apparent source or outlet, rather than a full-volumed stream, springing high up amongst the mountains, flowing through long stretches of vale and plain, and issuing at last into the infinite sea of thought, of power and of beneficence.

Why then turn aside from graver contemplations to follow out this thread-like reverie? It looks as though we thought it might prove, if we did not think it already, of greater significance. The reason is very simple. Whatever Mr. Emerson's meditations are in themselves,—whatever his own honest opinion about them is, they are unquestionably regarded with very great reverence by a large number of men and women. He has his disciples; beyond their circle he has his admirers and his readers, the majority of all whom catch up the thoughts which he drops heedlessly, string them, pray by them, live by them. But for these followers, he would be harmless, an amiable spirit contending with no man, perverting no man, dreaming by himself and by himself bearing the consequences of his dreams. It is not so; if he dreams, others dream; if he speaks, others listen and speak in their turn; the chance expression from his lips becomes a watchword with them, the random sketch from his pen is made their ideal, their creed. To himself, he is the thinker; to them, he is the prophet, the milk-white aunnays of the Oriental paradise, the bird of graceful carriage and transcendent speech, whose eyes penetrate the recesses of mortal minds. This it is which renders Mr. Emerson and his sentiments important. What we should have no occasion to notice, were it merely his own utterance, demands instant and earnest attention, when it rises echoing and reëchoing from the band surrounding him—a band no longer confined to the shades of Concord or to the shores of New England, but spreading over the country and beyond the country to England and her dependencies. Our words will not reach them, we know before hand; but it is not the less our duty to speak.

One cannot but wish, in a connection like the present, that Christopher North had come nearer the mark when he said, "It is pleasant to know how immediately everything said or done in this world is forgotten. Murder a novel," he adds,

"or a man, or a poem, or a child—furnish Balaam to a London Magazine at thirty shillings per bray—in short, let a man commit any enormity, and it is forgotten before the first of the month. . . . Soap bubbles all—blown, burst, vanished and forgotten!" Not so, not so! The things that ought to be forgotten are too often remembered; nay, more, they grow, as they are remembered, more ominous than when they first appeared. It sometimes seems as if only what should be remembered is forgotten, like the sermon whereof Tickler speaks, in answering North. "I know a worthy and able minister of our church, who has been preaching (and long may he preach it) the self-same sermon for upwards of forty years. About the year 1802, I began to suspect him; but having then sat below him only for some dozen years or so, I could not, of course, in a matter of so much delicacy, trust to my very imperfect memory."

The suggestion from this experience of Tickler's is not to be resisted. That "self-same sermon for upwards of forty years" is exactly in the style of Mr. Emerson. He writes now, it seems to us, just what he wrote a score of years ago. He touches on various subjects, it is true, but it is always in the same vein, the same rambling, transitional tone of thought and of expression. This book, this chapter that we have in hand, is but the repetition of what we have had before; and though we do not pretend to familiarity with all Mr. Emerson's writings, we have read enough of them to recall the antecedents of these present theories. Whether this is consistency or shallowness, the reader may determine.

One thing is certain, that in taking the same stock of theories and the same style of utterances which he had already employed, to England, Mr. Emerson doomed himself to mistaken views and mistaken statements of what he was to see and hear. We mean all that we say, in saying that a man of our author's stamp could not comprehend England or her traits, much more her Church. We will go further. No dissenter of any stamp can thoroughly comprehend the mother-land. He is perplexed, confounded; he wonders here; he criticises there; declares that one man would be truer if he were out of the Church, or that another is too true to go into it; pities the nation for having such a burden as he thinks he sees it bearing; and in a word, assumes such a tone of compassion and indignation, of freedom and superiority, that his views not only of the Church and its relations, but of the country and the people, collectively and individually, become utterly distorted. How much such a spirit loses in the pilgrimage through England! What

blessed links with the present and the past, what sweet communings with mortal and with immortal natures, are passed by on the other side! The Churchman finds a home in England. The dissenter too often discerns but a show, a vanishing vision of error and of decay. If this is true of the dissenter generally, it is eminently true of one like Mr. Emerson. Others have the sympathies, or may have them, of the Christian with the Christian—of those who confess a LORD and SAVIOUR, though in their own way, with those who make the same confession in their fathers' way. But Mr. Emerson, unless we do him wrong, has no such sympathies as these. He cast off, years ago, all that could really unite him with the Christian Englishman. He spoke, it is true, in his speech at Manchester, of "the moral peculiarity of the Saxon race,—its commanding sense of right and wrong" as "that which lures a solitary American in the woods with a wish to see England." But read his book through, nay, read the mere speech through, and you will see that the conscience of the English is to be traced, according to him, in outward things; the inward mysteries, the interchanges of faith and hope and charity, deep in the hearts of the stranger and the nation, these were not for Mr. Emerson.

Yet he presumes to analyze the Church of England! Without penetrating, without even seeking to penetrate the life within, he lays his hand upon the forms without, and says, Lo, here! lo, there! At Salisbury, the crown and glory of the English Cathedrals, "we loitered," he says, "in the church outside the choir whilst service was said." At York, he ventures inside the choir to hear the Evening Service. "It was strange," is his strongest impression, "to hear the pretty pastoral of the betrothal of Rebecca and Isaac, in the morning of the world, read with circumstantiality in York Minster, on the 13th January, 1848, to the decorous English audience just fresh from the Times newspaper and their wine, and listening with all the devotion of national pride." What a stand-point! It reminds one of what Johnson said about Garrick: "He finds out the Latin by the meaning, rather than the meaning by the Latin." One saying of Johnson's is apt to recall another. "Sir," said he to a Presbyterian of Scotland, who talked to him of fat bishops and drowsy deans, "Sir, you know no more of our Church than a Hottentot."

Mr. Emerson's main position is taken at the outset of the chapter on Religion. "No people," he says, "at the present day can be explained by their national religion. They do not feel responsible for it; it lies far outside of them. Their loyal-

ty to truth, and their labor and expenditure rest on real foundations, and not on a national Church." Observe the antithesis in the closing line, "real foundations, and not on a national Church." A national Church, then, is unreal; not merely in England, we take it, but everywhere. It is far outside of the nation; they are not responsible for it, nor is it responsible for them; it cannot even explain them. We must get at the meaning of these statements before going beyond them; for they concern not only the Church of England, but every Church in the world.

Mr. Emerson intends nothing very serious. We must return to his own definition of what he is and aims at, or we shall attribute too much weight to his unusually oracular announcement in this place. He does not mean, good, easy man, to be oracular or threatening, not he; he throws out as one would blow a whiff from his cigar, the idea that a national Church—he means any Church—has no reality, and waits only to see it wreathing and vanishing before exhaling some fresh conception. But it comes up again, and more than once, as if he were actually impressed by it himself, and to deal fairly by him, we must get a sort of impression from it for ourselves. He thinks a Church a *simulacrum*, because it dates from the past, because its foundations have become concealed beneath the accumulations of ages; this is one reason. If we took him at his word, another reason would be the degeneration of the race to a point from which the Church could no longer be appreciated. "In seeing old castles and cathedrals," he remarks, "I sometimes say, as to-day in front of Dundee Church-tower, which is eight hundred years old, 'this was built by another and a better race than any that now look on it.'" In either case, whether the Church have grown too old, or the nation too degenerate, the conclusion is the same, namely, that the Church and the nation are no longer in harmony. Why Mr. Emerson should turn this against the Church rather than the nation, is not clear, but he does so; and pronounces the Church a discord to which men will listen with only closed or heedless ears. The theory at the bottom of all this is transparent. A Church is not for all generations; adapted to one, it becomes a burden to another; it has no precious ever-living truth to pour out upon every succeeding age, but what it gives to one, is so much gone, so much that another will never find. In this aspect,—the Church not merely a human, but a temporary institution, a kind of make-shift for this year or for that,—in this aspect, it must strike us as it strikes Mr. Emerson, that a national Church is altogether unreal. But that it never wears this aspect to a devout and thoughtful eye, need not be argued in these col-

umns. Should they fall into a stranger's hand, it will be enough for them to ask him to consult any Churchman whom he knows, and there will be no danger that Mr. Emerson's view will be regarded as the only one possible.

To go on with the chapter as it concerns the Church of England. "England felt the full heat of Christianity," says the author, "which fermented Europe. . . . Christianity lived by the love of the people. . . . The priest came out of the people, and sympathized with his class. The Church was the mediator, check and democratic principle in Europe. . . . The English Church has many certificates to show of humble, effective service in humanizing the people, in cheering and refining men, feeding, healing and educating. It has the seal of martyrs and confessors; the noblest books; a sublime architecture. . . . Heats and genial periods arrive in history, or shall we say plenitudes of Divine Presence, by which high tides are caused in the human spirit, and great virtues and talents appear, as in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and again in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the nation was full of genius and piety." So far, so good; the Church of England is confessed to have at least a noble, a saintly history.

But it is only a history. "The age of the Wickliffes, Cobhams, Arundels, Becketts; of the Latimers, Mores, Cranmers; of the Taylors, Leightons, Herberts; of the Sherlocks and Butlers, is gone. Silent revolutions in opinion have made it impossible that men like these should return, or find a place in their once sacred stalls. The spirit that dwelt in this Church has glided away to animate other activities; and they who come to the old shrines, find apes and players rustling the old garments. . . . Their religion is a quotation, their Church is a doll." "Coleridge," says Mr. Emerson in another chapter, "narrowed his mind in the attempt to reconcile the gothic rule and dogma of the Anglican Church with eternal ideas." There we have it all. The Church, once living, is now lingering, without men, without life, without even English elements of character and of power. And what has wrought the change? We are not told. "Silent revolutions in opinion" are mentioned, but not described; and we must fall back upon the alternative already brought out in connection with any national Church,—that the Church is old or the nation degenerate, one or the other; the Church in either case being the guilty party and therefore rightly sentenced to hollowness, hypocrisy and decay.

Let us pursue these lucubrations without as yet attempting

to controvert them. The Church is in decline ; thus much Mr. Emerson considers established. But as its members are very numerous, its resources very extensive, its ramifications very vast, our author is driven to ask himself what supports this monstrous framework of a faith that has faded and fallen. His answers come like scattering shot. "The national temperament deeply enjoys the unbroken order and tradition of its Church ; the liturgy, ceremony, architecture ; the sober grace, the good company, the connection with the throne and with history which adorn it. . . . The gospel it preaches is, 'By taste are ye saved.'" Thus taste is one of the props ; good-breeding, it appears, is another. "The religion of England is part of good-breeding. . . . It is the Church of the gentry. . . . It has a general good name for amenity and mildness. It is not in ordinary a persecuting Church ; it is not inquisitorial, not even inquisitive,—is perfectly well-bred, and can shut its eyes on all proper occasions." There is also a political element in the adhesion which the Church receives. "The stability of the English nation is passionately enlisted to its support from its inextricable connection with the cause of public order, with politics and with the funds. . . . The Anglican clergy are identified with the aristocracy." After all, however, Mr. Emerson feels more secure in asserting that the Church owes its existence to the religious lethargy of the English. "The torpidity, on the side of religion of the vigorous English understanding, shows how much wit and folly can agree in one brain. . . . I suspect that there is in an Englishman's brain a valve that can be closed at pleasure, as an engineer shuts off steam. The most sensible and well-informed men possess the power of thinking just so far as the Bishop in religious matters, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer in politics. They talk with courage and logic, and show you magnificent results ; but the same men who have brought free-trade or geology, to their present standing, look grave and lofty, and shut down their valves, as soon as the conversation approaches the English Church. After that, you talk with a box-turtle."

We must interrupt our analysis for a moment. The picture of the author and his friend in free-trade or geology, is too good to be passed over without dwelling on its grouping and its expression. It needs but little imagination to call up the scene and the conversation, the flow of talk and pointed saying, perhaps on both sides—a little doubt in the Englishman's mind as to the standing of the stranger, a great deal of doubt in the stranger's mind as to the penetration of the Englishman,—but the train rolls on, the road seems smooth, the

carriage strong. Of a sudden, there is a check. Bless me, exclaims the Englishman, what have we here! A philosophic thought, replies the American; a bit of courage, a fragment of logic lies across the track, but we shall soon be moving all the more rapidly. But the delay is final. The grave and lofty look, the box-turtle attitude, has been taken; and Mr. Emerson leaves his companion with one proof more that the Church is dead and its members paralyzed. Did it never cross his mind that these were proofs of life? Was it beyond his instincts, beyond his imaginings, to conceive the love and reverence of those English hearts for the hallowed institutions under which they had been born, through which they possessed the Sacraments, and in allegiance to which their fathers had died as they themselves prayed that they might die? It is easy to call all this torpidity; much easier for one like Mr. Emerson, than to understand its true name.

But to return. The torpidity of the Church has its developments, which we must follow out with the author. "The doctrine of the Old Testament," he observes, "is the religion of England. . . . The English Church, undermined by German criticism, had nothing left but tradition. . . . The English, abhorring change in all things, abhorring it most in matters of religion, cling to the last rag of form. . . . The Church at this moment is much to be pitied. She has nothing left but possession. . . . Any examination is interdicted with screams of terror. . . . When the hierarchy is afraid of science and education, afraid of piety, afraid of tradition, [just now there was 'nothing left but tradition,'] and afraid of theology, there is nothing left but to quit a Church which is no longer one." Granted, granted; when these things are so, there will be no Church, but simply a hierarchy, a reign of terror, call it by what name you will. But is it so, is it so even to Mr. Emerson, in England? Will the "chartered libertine," as he has called himself, limit the realms of science, education, piety, tradition and theology, to his own range? It is of such a range as his that the hierarchy is afraid, and we cannot say that the fear is unfounded, considering the number of followers to every similar leader. But will Mr. Emerson have us think, will he himself think, that because the Church of England repels his science, his education, and the rest, that she repels the science and education of the Christian world? Not he, we believe, not he. It was but another breath of smoke that he threw out to watch it curling upward. Of his other fancies, we will take notice presently. But on that reign of terror we could not wait for

the proper place. Some thoughts act like instantaneous blisters; there's no getting into a comfortable posture before they begin to draw.

Mr. Emerson touches on some delicate points; we have seen it already, and there are other instances in store. "No chemist," he says, "has prospered in the attempt to crystalize a religion." It is his elliptical fashion of implying that the English Church would be crystalized, but for the impossibility of such a thing. "When wealth accrues to a chaplaincy, a bishopric, or rectorship, it requires moneyed men for its stewards. . . . The curates are ill paid, and the prelates are over paid. . . . A Bishop is only a surpliced merchant." "The Bishop is elected by the Dean and Prebends of the cathedral. The Queen sends these gentlemen a *congé d'élire*, or leave to elect; but also sends them the name of the person whom they are to elect. They go into the cathedral, chant and pray, and beseech the Holy Ghost to assist them in their choice; and after these invocations, invariably find that the dictates of the Holy Ghost agree with the recommendations of the Queen." Here, alas! the stranger has reason to doubt and to satirize; he has found sore spots, and we must bear with him if he probes deeply. But what shall we say of the conclusion to which he comes? "There is alive somewhere a man whose honesty reaches to this point also, that he shall not kneel to false gods. . . . England accepts this ornamented national Church, and it glazes the eyes, bloats the flesh, gives the voice a stertorous clang, and clouds the understanding of the receivers."

There, we have done with analysis. It has been no slight task to gather the disjointed utterances of the author into any sort of order. "The man was a chaos of truths," said Coleridge of another person to Mr. Emerson; and the expression may be applied to Mr. Emerson himself, though he is not a chaos of truths alone. We wish he were; but there are other things, which no mildness of language can term truths, that enter into and increase the confusion. We repeat it, drawing a long breath, that to get our author's ideas into shape has been no slight matter. Nor can we be sure that we have got them into the shape which he would confirm. Remember his own confession, "I could not give account of myself." Even if we satisfied him, we might still be adrift; the points selected might still be so far from one another, so severed, so broken, that no complete outline could be made out after all. "Learned and discreet reader," writes Southey in the Doctor, "if you should not always discern the track of associations over which I have passed as fleetly as Camilla over the standing corn; if

the story which I am relating to thee should seem in its course sometimes to double like a hare in her flight or in her sport, sometimes to bound forward like a jerboa or kangaroo, and with such a bound, that like Milton's Satan, it overleaps all bounds ; or even to skip like a flea, so as to be here, there and everywhere, taking any direction rather than that which will bring it within your catch ; learned and discreet reader, if any of these similitudes should have occurred to you, remember what Mr. Coleridge has said for himself formerly, and prophetically for me, *intelligenda non intellectum adfero.*" Well, well, we are glad that it is done. "There must be conclusions," as Nym says.

Mr. Emerson is at home in describing his sea voyage, or in touching on American landscape. He has an eye and a heart for the nature which is of the earth. But for that which is human, that which is heavenly, he has much less aptitude. To follow him as he threads the mazes of life and of faith, is to be filled with compassion, so far as we are concerned. He bears a glittering spear ; the breastplate upon his form throws back at times a dazzling reflection from the sun ; but the armor is loose, its most important pieces broken or lost, a suit of brittle fragments rather than of tempered steel. His movements are never certain ; his blows are not so much blows as demonstrations ; his weapon is rather brandished than wielded. Fortunately, perhaps ; for were it more vigorously handled, its imperfections might be more signally proved. Tom Purdie thought the American axe was fit only for *pairing a kebbuck*,—that is, trimming the thinnest of cheeses. What an instrument for the felling of an oak ! What a bauble to turn against the Church of England !

The Church of England is certainly a creation of the past. Its members rejoice, its brethren of kindred Churches rejoice that it is so. They look back with adoring gratitude to the days when their SAVIOUR instituted His Universal Church, to the later days in which His Apostles and their successors extended it, until it had spread far from its birthplace and the East, to the very islands of the West, to Britain, to England. The preservation of this dependence, to give it the most emphatic name it can bear, upon the ages of yore, is the deepest of the Churchman's purposes in relation to his Church ; the rupture of it, the keenest of his apprehensions. So far from thinking antiquity of structure a cause of weakness, he regards it as a tower of strength to the Church, to him, to every one within the hoary pile. On the other hand, he makes no depreciation of the present, of the principles and forms which age after age

has reared, to which the actual age is still adding, upon the original foundations. So far from that, he is ready to recognize the weaknesses of the past and to give praise that from many of them, and those the gravest, the present has been mercifully redeemed. The English Churchman, in looking back, beholds at one period, a prevailing corruption, when error of doctrine, oppressiveness of ritual and of discipline carried the day against all longings for purification, all attempts for reform; when the tyrant, with sentence of death on his lips and the warrant of execution in his hands, stood up against the confessor and the martyr. Generations later, the Church having professedly thrown off its corruptions, an era of blood arises; the victims fall by families, by communities, and the crosier of the persecuting prelate waves side by side with the sceptre of the persecuting monarch. To these scenes, it seems, the dissenter returns as to scenes of life, of holiness; the Churchman does not. He exults in the constancy of the persecuted; they, rather than the persecutors, are his brethren; but no exultation over an individual drowns the anguish excited for the whole of the Church; the time is a time of shame, of sin—let us thank God, we say, that it is gone. So far, therefore, from finding none but signs of life in the past, to match with which the present has only signs of death, the Churchman discovers in the Church of his own time, the more generous, the more elevating vitality. Not that he is blind to the infirmities of the later period; the truer his attachment, the keener his susceptibility; in such wise, that he who is most loyal to the Church is most strenuous against its perversions, whether they be of the body or of the separate members. But enough, and more than enough on this head; the substance of our assertions lies in a phrase, which is, that the life of the Church of England is not in the past, nor yet in the present alone, but in both, in the whole process of the ages.

It follows at once that the supports of the Church are rather different from those imagined by Mr. Emerson or the non-conformist in general. She is glad that her services should be tasteful and decorous; glad that the cultivated and refined should be, to so great a degree, amongst her members. Whatever adds to her grace and to her culture, adds to her influence for good; she would have gentleness mingling with her gravity; beauty with her solemnity, loveliness with her awfulness. The consequences of the impression which she thus produces give her no pain; why should they? They are the witnesses of her authority, of the hold that she has upon the consciences and the affections of her members. That her members should

confide in her, repose in her; that they should give up the more than questionable privilege of doubting, quarreling, denying; that they should live with one another and with her as if the Angels had really sung, "Peace, good will toward men," is no sign of torpor in her eyes. It is the pledge of faith, the seal of Christian confidence and rest. The more this spirit develops itself, the truer and the deeper she feels her life to be. If it confesses the Old Testament as well as the New, she recognizes her doctrine, her desire. She has taught what the Gospels teach, how the SAVIOUR in His first Sermon declared that He came, not to destroy, but to fulfill the ancient Covenant; how, after He had laid down His life, and taken it up again, He still referred to "Moses and all the Prophets," expounding "in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." It is enough for the Church of England, as for any branch of the Church Catholic, to know that CHRIST our LORD is in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. If in the professions or the practices of individuals, the truth is exaggerated into falsehood; if the man of taste, for instance, makes taste the single tie between him and the Church; if the confessor of the Old Testament confesses only a part of its doctrines, dwelling on its material and its human points, rather than on its spiritual and its Divine ones; this is no reproach to the body of believers. You might as well make your idea of an artist or of art in general depend on the lambkins of Mother Goose or the demons of Orcagna. The Church is not responsible for weaknesses or exaggerations against which she is perpetually exhorting and warning her children.

But setting weaknesses and exaggerations aside, the Church does not depend upon the principles that have been mentioned, not even on them in their integrity. She rests on much deeper, much broader, much more enduring supports than these. Her foundations are of Divine laying; her walls and spires have risen by Divine command; her breath is that which Christ breathed into her—where, when and how for the first time, it is not for us to say; her strength is that which CHRIST not only gave but still gives, abiding in her and in her members, as she and they abide in Him. Here and thus she lives—lives, though ages have rolled away since her life began—lives, though every generation has assailed her, sometimes through the unfaithfulness of her own children, sometimes through the ignorance or the malevolence of her enemies; and here and thus, it needs no prophet to tell, she will live until her HEAD and LORD requires her no more.

But the condition on which she holds her life is to be con-

fessed—confessed by her members and her friends. It is not that she should be merely the Church of England. Let those remember it, who would narrow her down within the rigid limits of that name; who cry, it is enough; we are a Church by ourselves; we ask nothing more, no sympathy, no coöperation beyond our own pale. Beware, beware, ye advocates of isolation. Your Church is no Church by itself or in itself alone; it is not a Vine, but a Branch, a Branch of the Church of Christ. Can it live without sharing in the life of the other Branches? Will all the sunshine of the heavens mature it as it hangs in the air; will the gracious blossom and the soul-satisfying fruit ever visit or crown it, if it seeks to be isolated? Not so; the Church of England exists only by virtue of her participation in the being of the Church Universal, the One Body of CHRIST.

It is only within a comparatively recent period that this great law, as it may be styled, has been revived in England. Fifty or a hundred years ago, it was sinking, if it had not actually sunk. The Church was declared complete in herself. It was but a step from this position to that of declaring her perfect. Here and there a more earnest voice was heard denouncing the folly and the impiety, as we do not hesitate to style it, of the mass of Churchmen; but a chorus of execrations would rise, and the voice die away within the limits of the Church, to be raised again without them, and this time, against the institutions for which it had so vainly sought to plead. Efforts languished; benevolent enterprises failed; Missions, extensions of the realm of Faith, got to be regarded as dreams; the life of the Church of England seemed to be ebbing away. But the turning-point was reached at last. The eyes of Churchmen were opened; they saw the lethargy creeping over their own body; they beheld the activity around them, not only in England but beyond her waters; the penetrating inquiries of the German; the presumptuous dogmas of the Roman; it was time to move, to expand, or to be fast bound for ever. It is not within our province to describe the movements that ensued. They form one of the great eras in the English, in the Catholic Church; and whatever may be their short-comings or their excesses, they have done what above all things needed to be done, they have restored the Church of England as a Branch of the Church Catholic, let us trust, for evermore.

It was not merely the hand of man that wrought the restoration. The Arm of God was lifted to raise the English Church to its old position in time for it to meet the thick-coming emer-

gencies of the age. Thousands and millions of untaught, of almost unteachable men, women and children, were clamorous for relief, for inspiration. Beyond the seas, worlds, rather than colonies, were calling for missionaries, for civilizers, for martyrs. At home, the struggle between those who would have the Church independent of the State, and those who would keep her dependent upon it, was about to begin; parties the least considerate towards the Church were rising to power in the State, while in the Church the hope of escaping this subserviency to political influences was urging earnest men to restore the action of the Church in Councils of her own, where the Clergy and the Laity might meet on equal terms. Look at these momentous issues, and doubt, if you can, that the Church of England was put in her true place to meet them; nay, doubt, if you can, that until they are met, she is not really in her true place, not the Church Catholic that she hath been called to be.

To these heights of duty that surround the Church as the hills stand about Jerusalem, the way lies open, yet it is beset with difficulties within and without, behind and before. This is no place to expose them, but they may be recalled. Foremost amongst them are the parties into which Churchmen have divided themselves, often so fierce against one another, as to wear the look of hostile believers rather than of differing brethren; often so unscrupulous as to confess or deny the prayers, the Fathers, the very Scriptures of the Church, according to the relation of these holy things to their own purposes or intrigues. At other times, the indifference of various classes is such as to render preferable even the animosity of parties. Indeed, indifference is too mild a term; hypocrisy, treachery, would be more applicable, in some cases; the clergy enjoying cures that they do not administer, and preaching sermons that they do not write. What but this unfaithfulness explains the ground and lofty tumbling of the sectarian pulpits, the clowns of Exeter Hall and Surrey Gardens, where not a man in his right mind would think of going were the Churches what they ought to be! One of the intolerable hindrances to the Church is the closing of her sanctuaries; the great Minster of the city, the little chapel of the village being alike barred against the worshiper, except at a few prim seasons, unless—shame to confess it—the worshiper pays a fee to enter the house of prayer! “You owe it,” wrote Charles Lamb, seldom remembered as he should be, for his earnestness of heart, “You owe it to the venerableness of your ecclesiastical establishment, which is daily lessened and called in question

through these practices, to speak aloud your sense of them; never to desist raising your voice against them till they be totally done away with and abolished." But we stay the pen, lest we should seem to be falling in with Mr. Emerson, after all. It will not seem so, we trust; it will not appear that denunciation of the obstacles in the way of the Church is denouncing, but rather reverencing the Church herself—the Ark, the sacred hope of England, the Branch of the Church Catholic of CHRIST.

We must touch on one point more, the distinctive character of the English Church as a Branch of the Universal Church. Its experience, at the period of general rupture throughout Christendom, was not in all respects what a faithful Churchman loves to look back upon. But it may be said in general, without a shade of sensitiveness, that the Catholic Truth, the Truth at the heart of every genuine form of Christianity, was the life-blood of the English Reformation, and that in its circulation, vigorous and inspiring, it enabled the body of the Church to throw off the maladies of either extreme, whether of Romanism or of Protestantism. The character then assumed has never been laid aside; it still marks out the Church of England as so far ripe for labor, for glory and for blessedness.

We may seem to be in danger of what Sydney Smith called "the most grievous error into which a writer can possibly fall," namely, "to write without the fear of the deluge before one's eyes, and to handle a subject as if mankind could lounge over a pamphlet for ten years as before their submersion." But we have not yet done. Indeed the gravest, though not the longest portion of our Article, is yet to be written. Until we have attempted something towards explaining Mr. Emerson's views of the Church of England, as we hinted we should do, the most important portion of our duty is left undone. But we promise to remember the deluge as we go on.

It was during one of the darker periods to which we have alluded, in the history of the English Church, that the first Churchmen came to Jamestown and the first Puritans to Plymouth. They came not as members of a common household, intent upon building up a common home in the untried lands to which they repaired; they came as foes, to either of whom the success of the other was a sting, the peace of the other a curse. For this, we do not blame the Puritans alone. The shadows upon the infant settlements were not from them, we are ashamed to say, so much as from their antagonists. How, but for inflexibility in the Church, would the first Puritans have arisen; how, but for persecution from the Church, would others

have joined the first in one long, threatening front of resistance! Heaven knows we have little enough to rest on, as Churchmen, in that beclouded era.

The Puritan Colonies waxed numerous and strong. The bloody triumph of their brethren at home gave them a new impetus, which did not cease when their brethren fell; the restoration of the Church, if restoration it can be called, was one to corruption and to imbecility for the time being. Churchmen, contented at home, emigrated to the Western colonies in small numbers, and these at once from their paucity and their natural habitude of dependence upon the mother country, rather lingered than expanded. But it was impossible for the faithful to sit by and see the continent puritanized; the danger, whether springing from errors in the Church or from errors out of the Church, must be averted. From the shores of England there went forth many a devoted spirit, and many another arose on the shores of America, resolute to restore the unity that had been broken; nor was it the resolution of individuals merely, but that of associations, classes, in short, of the great body of influential and active Churchmen. Their work, however, was not so striking or so effective as one begun amongst the Puritans themselves, several of whose prominent personages, divines or brethren, returned from the wastes about them to the green pastures from which their fathers had wandered away. Then the limits of the Church extended North and South, and the process of reunion seemed to be on the eve of fulfillment. But the Revolution approached; the Churchmen, generally more attached to the mother country, took one course, the Puritans and their fellow-dissenters another, though not without signal exceptions on both sides. When the war broke out, a Churchman took command of the American army, led it and the whole nation through its stormy trial, and was hailed alike by Puritan and Papist, by Dissenter and Churchman, the Father of the Country. But it is not to be denied that the struggle for independence threw back Church matters half a century, and the beginning of our national, like the beginning of our colonial history, finds almost any other Christian body triumphant rather than the Church of England or the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.

The fact that the Church thus started, so to speak, at a disadvantage, has led more than one of its earnest members into what we cannot but regard as an error. For ourselves, at any rate, we can see no satisfaction in calling our Faith an exotic, one that is alien to the instincts and to the wants of our coun-

trymen. Far otherwise; it is dissent in any and every form which we regard as foreign, derived as it is from the dissensions not of our own land, but of Europe. Behind the period of strife from which these warring creeds date their origin, there lies a period of peace when the Church of England and the Church of Europe were one. That it was also a period of corruption, that its unity was not maintained without sacrifices of purity and of holiness, is not to be ignored; but however dimmed, however dishonored the Catholic Faith, it was still the one wide-waving oriflamme of the Old World. Restored, emblazoned afresh as it was in England, it was transferred to our shores years before the Puritans came hither. That same standard is the natural, we have no hesitation in saying it, the natural rallying point of the various races that are mingled in the American. It calls them all from their scattered positions to gather on the common ground where their ancestry was once united; it makes no strained appeal, it asks no impossible sacrifice. Since Puritanism first seated itself upon our coasts it has been breaking up; it has given way everywhere, and in some spots where it was once peculiarly dominant, it has yielded to what may be called anarchy. On the other hand, the Church has grown strong where it was weak, strong even where it once had no existence at all. Which of the two is the exotic, which the natural growth of America?

All the greater, however, is the responsibility of the Church. Allow it to be an exotic institution, and the next thing to allow is that it must be supported by a few, or that, to be supported by the many, it must unbend, transform itself. Now no Churchman on earth can be farther than the writer of this Article from wishing the Church which he reveres to be swathed and motionless as a mummy. It is the daily plea with him that it should be "ramm'd with life," to use Ben Jonson's phrase, and that its life should be so generous, so versatile and so flexible as to fill the varying measures of those whom it gathers or whom it approaches. But this adaptation to the wants of humanity is one thing; a sacrifice of its own powers on the part of the Church would be quite another; indeed, the very opposite. Whatever constitutes the Church's life and the Church's power is to be retained, expanded, vivified, not because it is alien, but because it is kindred to the country, because it is fitted for the many, for the whole nation, with all their changing hopes and fears. For them, for the vast territory occupied by them, the Church is responsible before God and Man; not, indeed, that she must be accepted by the nation or else be condemned, but that she must do her best,

awaken her soul and stretch every nerve, to be accepted, to bless and to be blessed.

But it is not as a single isolated body, complete in its own panoply, that the Church is to win this immortal victory. She will find herself powerless, at least in proportion to the work before her, unless she arms herself with Catholic weapons. Just what we said of the Church of England may be repeated concerning the Church of the United States, without further writing, that her life and her labor depend upon her position as a Branch of the Universal Church of CHRIST.

She may do this more easily than the Church of England. All the years, all the resources of the latter cannot be made to counterbalance her dependence upon the State, her subjection to the merely worldly influences of parties and of ministers. The Church with us occupies a far higher elevation. No intrigues of candidates or of administrations mark her out for a victim. The strifes of factions and of sections leave her unharmed. Her skirts, trailing though they do from sea to sea, eastward and westward, from the granite of the north to the jungle of the south, catch in no frettings, no base compliances with the political machinery of the nation.

What then hinders the Church? What hems her in, year by year, so that she is still struggling as she moves on? The answer is written all around us. It is her own divisions, her own ignorances, if such a word may be used reverently, that close her advance, that turn what ought to be a triumphant progress into a halting amble. Of the parties which rack her with their contentions,—this is no place to describe them—the strongest, numerically, is one that dreads, yes, actually dreads her, dreads her strength, her sway; one that would keep the block a block forever, fearful of the statue, the majestic limbs, the awful countenance, that might be created from it; one to whom the idea of a Church Catholic is a precipice from which they must be perpetually pulling back, if they would not be dashed to fragments in the abyss that yawns beneath. Can we wonder that the holy work of the Church is yet to be done?

If there is one portion of the Church rather than another, where these millstones hang about her neck and drag her down, it is the diocese of Massachusetts. There the prevailing tone is dread, foreboding; truth, they say, is hurried, imperiled; they must put a break upon the wheels, or the annihilation will be instant and complete. Of course, there is a natural tendency to the other extreme, a danger of deifying the Church, of exalting it, we may say, to the throne of God, of worshiping it, rather than Him, of obeying its rubrics, real or imaginary,

rather than its universal and eternal realities. At the same time, we rejoice to discern a growing band of Catholic Churchmen, on whom the future of the diocese may safely depend; to the present, they are too few and too powerless to give a tone. The aspect of the Church in Massachusetts is that given to it by the majority; the aspect of a body of immense pretensions and immense apprehensions; denying, in one breath, confessing in another; and bending their whole energies, not to advance the Church, so much as to defend it; and not to defend it so much as to defend themselves, their prejudices and their weaknesses, against the Church itself. Thus absorbed in their own troubles, they see none of the immense opportunities before them. The State is strewn with the wrecks of Dissent; storm-tossed, and weary, the descendants of the old Puritans stretch forth their hands and ask for aid, for peace; but those to whom they turn are busy trimming their own bark, more terrified upon her unbroken deck, than the others upon the fragments of their foundered craft. But we will not despair: it cannot have been ordained that such an upheaving should take place without a result proportionate to the dangers and the agonies of the crisis. Massachusetts will yet be pacified and saved.

But why, it may be asked, this special reference? Why single out a diocese for exhibition and for lamentation? Because, to this diocese, territorially speaking, Mr. Emerson belongs. Because, from this he gathered the notions concerning the Church, preoccupied with which he went to England. Because, in this, as it is at present, neither he nor any like him, can learn, except by a miracle, to respect the Church of England, the Church of the United States, or even the Holy Church Universal.

ART. III.—SALARIES OF THE CLERGY.

1. *Convention Address, 1856.* By the Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF INDIANA.
2. *Convention Address, 1856.* By the Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF ILLINOIS.

WHY should not a Minister of the Church be paid as well as a Teacher of Music, the Fine Arts in general, or even as adequately as a good bookkeeper? Is there any assignable reason why the services of a Clergyman should be received and enjoyed almost gratuitously, while other professional men are remunerated as a matter of course? We should wish much to see an essay or tract written in defense of the custom of restricting the incomes of the Clergy to such a limit as makes the support of their families one continued struggle. We should have much pleasure in replying to its arguments. But as those arguments have not been published, we shall endeavor to imagine them, and in this paper make some remarks on their validity. Before, however, entering on the discussion with such Christian Politico-Economists, a word or two of Preface may not be out of place.

All Christians speak of "the one thing needful." There is no difference of opinion concerning the tendency of Christ's Religion to promote happiness, and further civilization, yet strange to say, the class of men whose whole time and thought are devoted to the cause which men profess to love so well, are the worst paid, and the most laboriously worked of any body of educated men in the community. A Physician who visits family after family professionally is deemed a "laborer worthy of his hire;" but a Clergyman whose office it is to step into a sick man's room not for a few minutes only, but to remain hour after hour, administering such consolation as religion alone can give, must inhale the noxious vapor of infectious disease, as a matter of privilege to himself; he is sometimes considered deserving of gratitude, but generally nothing else. The praise of Miss Nightingale is in all the Churches, because with heroic spirit she voluntarily exposed herself to death on her errand of mercy. Yet hers is no isolated case, a something which never occurs in the annals of the Church. It was her sex and station in life that formed the peculiarity of

her case, and helped to attach to her name such enviable distinction. Now, does it never strike the Christian public, that in every city and town are to be found men, who have forsaken the comfort of home, and the prospects of ambition which other professions afford, for the purpose of walking through hospitals, visiting sick and afflicted families, and exposing themselves to dangers from which men who were not devoted to Christ would inevitably shrink. And this, and much more, they do for a pittance enough to support life, but not sufficient to maintain respectability. A Lawyer, who holds a brief from a client, demands and is paid his fee, whether he be successful or not in pleading his case; but a Minister—an ambassador holding a Brief from God, and pleading day after day with the ungodly and profane—is thought worthy of such remuneration as a skillful Mechanic would disdain. Hence we have the anomaly of a people spending on a cause they profess to have most at heart, less money than on most other items of ordinary expenditure. Professions indeed so much outrun performance, that were it not for some artificial spurs to benevolence, we should witness still more deplorable results in the Church. Perhaps at last profession might come to be considered so availing that the cry of “Lord, Lord” would be substituted altogether for “Doing the things which *He* said.”

Fortunately, as the world is circumstanced, it is creditable to character to speak of the progress of the Gospel; it tends to respectability to appear to take an interest in Ecclesiastical affairs. Many men, therefore, do pay money enough to maintain character and respectability, but far from enough to prove them, in the estimation of Scripture or reason, either honest or conscientious. Unworthy motives, of various other descriptions, help to fill the coffers of the Church. The steady Conservative who is fearful of Revolution, and dreads the name of Socialism, gives his five dollars to a Mission Fund, because he regards Missionaries (as they are) as a Moral Police to preserve the knowledge and practice of morality in the commonwealth. The wealthy Capitalist does the same, because Christian honesty is essential to the healthy progress of Commerce, and gives his mite, (as he calls it,) to convey the idea that he deserves to share the commendation bestowed by our Redeemer on one who gave all her living to God's Treasury. The successful man of the world, or the thriving farmer, gives his subscription to his Pastor's salary, because in his settlement, the society of an educated Clergyman is such an acquisition, and a Church in the neighborhood improves his property.

But we shall refrain from any further imputation of motives.

We have no desire to appear cynical, though in all honesty we protest that we might truly attribute even baser motives than these to many other classes of society in their contributions to religious purposes. It makes us sad to consider the result to the Church, were all the gifts to her support which originate in selfishness suddenly deducted from her resources. "We believe and therefore speak," and are driven to our conclusions sorely against our will by overwhelming evidence. The Clergy as a body are kept at starvation point. The problem which the Laity seem striving earnestly to solve is this, "What is the minimum amount of support compatible with moderate clerical efficiency?" We cannot help imputing base motives to the donors, when the recipients of their gifts are *said* to be an indispensable requisite, and their duties the most solemn imaginable, and yet the former are penuriously dealt with, and the latter miserably paid for. Should a man profess to value a Bible beyond gold and silver, and yet pay for it with a bad grace, striving to reduce its price and procure it at the uttermost farthing of abatement, we should doubt his veracity. Should a sick man, with protestations, declare that he believed fervently in the efficacy of a certain medicine, and yet make but little exertion and no sacrifice to obtain it, we should think him bent either on suicide or hypocrisy. Similarly, we cannot evade the inference, that the bulk of nominal Christians who read that "*Even so* hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel," are wickedly inconsistent, if they believe the text, and sadly hypocritical if they disbelieve it.

Now, we ought to look for some way of accounting for this wide-spread deviation from principle in the matter of Clerical maintenance. Selfishness, alone, cannot account for it. It must have some apparent assistance from expediency, or supposed sound reasoning. Because when a defect springs from pure selfishness, there is a remedy to be found in exposing it, till what is not done from a sense of duty, is at last done from a sense of shame. A mere exposition, however, of the hardships of Clerical life, of the difficulties the Clergy have to encounter in providing food and raiment for their families, of the pangs they have to endure from the humiliating process on which even what is given them is doled out,—a detailed statement of such grievances would perform but little good, and that little only temporarily. We must not only shame men into compliance with the requirements of the Bible, but convince them of the fallacy of those arguments by which their selfishness is fostered. And we know of no excuse for selfish-

ness more prevalent or more successful than the oft-repeated argument, that if the Clergy were too well paid, there would be at once a temptation to young men to enter the sacred Ministry from inferior motives. This is a pitiable apology for parsimony. Does it follow that because assiduous and competent Clergy are adequately paid, that the unprincipled or incompetent must be paid equally, or even employed at all? Because honest and industrious tradesmen are well remunerated, dishonest and idle men will no doubt learn trades, but must they necessarily be employed or receive high wages? The argument again is irrelevant, for the question is not whether the Clergy should be too well paid, not whether they should receive more than enough, but whether it be not the duty of the Church to see that they have a sufficiency. And besides its irrelevancy, the argument proves too much. For if the average income of a Clergyman (say \$400 per annum) be at present a security that unworthy motives will not actuate candidates for the Ministry, an income of \$100 would make the security still more secure. Nay, a promise of food and raiment alone, would make the guarantee still stronger.

It is worth considering also, that in all trades and professions the great majority never attain beyond a mere living; they are but able to live and nothing more. This fact, however, does not prevent thousands from daily recruiting the ranks of those professions. Why, then, does not the same rule hold good in the Clerical profession? Why are Clergymen more difficult to be procured, than tradesmen or lawyers? Clearly because they are not paid as well, proportionably, as other laborers, as also because there is an utter disparity between their income and the status in society they are expected to maintain. The fact, therefore, that the supply of Clergy is quite inadequate to the demand, proves incontestably that they are more inadequately paid than any other profession, because experience shows that multitudes enter on avocations in every other grade of life while the chances are incalculable against their ever attaining beyond a tolerable livelihood. Now, when we would claim for the Clergy *suitable* provision, it is no answer to talk of the ill-results likely to follow from a *luxurious* provision; when the Clergy are assimilated to other professional men in the payment of their labors, it will be time enough to quell the alarms of the objector. But let us suppose for a moment, that the stipends of the Clergy *were* such as to render the Ministry a desirable profession in a worldly point of view, we ask, is it not better that young men should be attracted to the work of evangelizing the world, even though the

motives at first were not wholly disinterested, than that the work should languish and die through want of laborers altogether? Suppose the number of candidates for Holy Orders largely increased owing to greater liberality in Clerical maintenance, may we not say with St. Paul, "What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice"

Again, are those persons who are so scrupulous in reference to the purity of motive with which the Clergy should be influenced, and who make their scruples a pretext for economy—are such persons equally scrupulous in not throwing any obstacle in the way of Clerical devotedness? Do they require in the Clergy an abnegation of self merely, or do they not add to the load of self-denial by requiring in general that the Clergy should be married men? Do they demand that unalloyed disinterestedness should actuate the Clergy in taking Orders? So far well, but why call on them in addition literally "to hate wife and children?" It may be quite reasonable to demand that the ministry of reconciliation be not accepted for filthy lucre sake, but why insist on a Minister absolutely crushing the feelings of a man, and exhibiting to the world an illustration of one who cares not to "provide for his own household," placidly indifferent to his childrens' future welfare, or their present education? True it is, that the Saviour declared that when wife and children are brought into competition with him, they should be forsaken by the true disciple, but He never made the test so afflictive as to impose matrimony on his Ministers as an indispensable condition of ministerial usefulness.

But the world is more exacting than its Redeemer. It is notorious, that congregations are dissatisfied unless their Pastors are married, and that every imaginable method is used to intimate their wishes on the subject to their Ministers. It is whispered, what an advantage to the success of his labors, it would prove were he only married; how useful in his Parochial work a prudent wife might make herself; these and such like observations are continued until he is made to believe that marriage is a duty he owes to the Church, and thus is an additional weight of care and responsibility heaped on a Minister, already, it may be, sufficiently embarrassed in his effort to maintain a respectable appearance in society. Let those persons then, whose scruples prevent them from assisting to maintain the Clergy in comfort and independence, on the ground that there should be no temptations of a selfish kind to Clerical life, take the subject of celibacy into their serious

consideration. Few men like to take on them a vow, or, what is equivalent, a necessity of living in a state of celibacy. Let celibacy then be made a *sine quâ non* with candidates for Orders, and our objectors will have a still surer guarantee for purity of motive, while they will have the gratification of knowing that they are more merciful, as well as more consistent.

There can be no doubt of the fact, that many worthy men are deterred from the sacred Ministry by the belief that they are not called upon to expose their families to hardships which they would willingly encounter as individuals. Now a *competent* provision for the Clergy, while it would take away this plea for refraining from the work of the Ministry, would never of itself be sufficient (to the extent supposed) to induce persons to assume the responsibility of the Clerical profession from unworthy motives. When we remember that we must look for our principal supply of Clergy from the various Theological Schools, and that the bulk of the candidates will be derived from classes of young men who have to submit to long training prior to their Ordination, there can be little danger lest the ranks of the Clergy be filled up from the refuse of other professions, or with men who would accept a competency in the Church which they could not earn either in trade or literature. We would therefore express our honest conviction that the danger to be apprehended from the attraction of young men by a competent provision for the Clergy, is not worthy to be compared with the practical loss sustained with the repulsion of excellent men by an incompetent provision.

It is, also, seldom duly reflected on that the Clerical profession differs from all others in this respect, that the Clergy on taking upon themselves the vows of their sacred calling must renounce all ambition—the severest of all struggles to a gifted or aspiring mind. Let a Clergyman become settled as a Parish Priest, in nineteen-twentieths of cases he is at the top of his profession. It is easy to speak of his highest ambition as being by right necessarily centered in making converts and filling his Churches. True, indeed, such *is* the only ambition of multitudes; but is there no sacrifice in thus entering on a career in which the highest preferment is all at once gained, and where the same round of duties, with perhaps lessening remuneration, and grave apprehensions for the fate of their declining years form the daily task of their natural life? Would it not be considered a hard fate for a Medical or Legal Practitioner to be informed in the days of his health and activity, that when his professional income reached the sum of \$400 or \$600 per annum, he was to make no further progress in ambi-

tion or wealth? These are considerations that are becoming more and more significant. In a country like this, where amid free institutions and innumerable avenues to wealth and importance, a young man is excusable for aspiring to the highest honors, and most influential positions in society, it is self-evident that a candidate for the Clerical profession *must* make sacrifices. Give him, we say, a competency to live on, (and that is all we contend for,) and still there will remain a balance of self-denial sufficient to deter, in the great majority of instances, from the vows of Ordination, unless the Candidate be impelled by a desire to promote the honor of God and the edification of His Church.

But we will now look at this subject from another point of view. Admitting that the provision made for the maintenance of the Clergy were such as would attract and not repel young men from the profession, still we contend that the evil likely to arise from the operation of base motives on the part of some Candidates would be more than counterbalanced by the improvement that would be felt in the learning, talent and general superiority of the Clergy. The more numerous the aspirants, the larger the field from which the Ecclesiastical Authority can make selection. We hold it to be an obvious principle that it is (or should be) a desideratum in the Church to make that body to whose care are intrusted the solemn interests of man's eternal welfare, conspicuous for its ability and erudition. It is a matter of the greatest importance that the Clergy be not allowed to degenerate as a class. In these days when the adversary of the soul is so ably assisted by genius and learning enlisted on the side of infidelity, a thoroughly educated and able Ministry are of inestimable importance to the progress, nay, the very character of the Church. And while treating of this subject, we would not have our remarks misunderstood, as though we disbelieved the Scripture, which says, "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." We are far from placing reliance on man's unaided ability to bring the Gospel home with power to the soul. But as God has no need of man's talent and philosophy, when He would spread His Gospel and enlarge the borders of His Church, so we believe neither is ignorance nor mediocrity of talent essential to the success of Christianity. On the most sublime of topics let the highest intellect be expended, and it will not be expended in vain. Would that we might reasonably anticipate the prospect of witnessing the same amount of skill, accomplishment and ability which mark the world of trade or politics made subservient to the glorious task of defending true

religion and preaching the Word of the living God. Therefore, should a marked improvement in the temporal condition of the Clergy be the means of augmenting the number of applicants for Holy Orders, we contend that any selfishness of motive on the part of some Candidates would be more than counterbalanced by the facility afforded to our Bishops and congregations of selecting from a larger supply the most "apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation."

But we fancy we hear the objector of the class who give "grudgingly and of necessity," asserting that the Clergy are paid well enough, considering what they have to do. Here, again, we must join issue, and state our belief that no class of men perform more work under more trying and discouraging circumstances. Of course, the labors of the Clergy are not of that nature that publicity attends them all, and therefore they are comparatively unknown, but it would be a tedious task to enumerate the various items which go to make up a Clergyman's constant duty. There are two or more Sermons to be composed each week, written with the knowledge that they are liable to criticism, for delivery, composition and doctrine. This labor is, perhaps, the best known and appreciated of his duties, though the difficulty of keeping up the interest of a congregation requiring as it does, research and novelty in idea and expression, is not fully understood; especially as care is generally taken to avoid even the appearance of repeating an old sermon, however admirable in composition, or suitable to the occasion, it being considered a crime in a Clergyman to be detected in such guilty economy of labor. But, besides the preparation of sermons, and attendance on burials, and other rites of the Church, which are considered by some as a Clergyman's only duty, there is the ceaseless round of visiting; a labor which like upheaving the stone of Sisyphus, is completed only to be renewed; the attention to the Parochial and Sunday School, in keeping both teachers and children interested in the work and regular in attendance; the visitation of the sick; the painful, ever recurring duty that springs from being brought into contact with scenes of suffering, whether the result of sickness, destitution, or crime; the applications of the poor for assistance, and the emigrant for advice; the Confirmation Class and the Bible Class; the collection of funds for benevolent objects in general, but especially for the building of Churches; (this latter duty both distasteful and thankless, being for the most part imposed on the Clergy, who, like the Mendicant Friars of former days, itinerate on the business of their congregations;) the Lectures at

Mechanics' Institutes and Literary Associations;—these are but a part of the routine of duty which must be performed in any tolerably populous Parish, and they constitute, in the aggregate, severe labor, accompanied with great mental anxiety.

If this be a fair statement of a Clergyman's labor, (and who that is acquainted with the working of a Parish can doubt it?) let us see how he is remunerated. Having considered what he has to do, let us reflect on what he has to suffer. In the first place, the average income of the Clergy is miserably small; but the manner in which they are paid makes the matter still worse. The subscription list which should be promptly redeemed when due, is the source of many bitter feelings. A portion of the sum subscribed reaches the Minister, but it is accompanied with the remarks of the subscribers, which never fail to reach his ears. There is the humiliating innuendo, that the money is given from any other motive than love or respect; the feeling brought home to the Clergyman, that some of his supporters imagine that with their subscriptions they have purchased the right to dictate to him on all manner of subjects; he is made aware that some of his parishioners accuse him of this fault, or that neglect; by some he is charged with neglecting the poor, by others with courting the rich; and these rumors are specially rife on pay day. A few honest-hearted individuals, however, bring the subscription list nearly through the ordeal, and the result is, that the Minister is paid, though a balance be left due; and who, except the victim to such selfishness, can fully enter into the feelings of a Pastor thus treated by his flock? With hope and sanguine expectations, he entered on his charge, pleased with his work for its own sake; liberal himself, he expected liberality; and honest in his belief in Scripture and the Lord's ordination, that they "who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," he hoped to receive cheerfully-paid remuneration. But after a few years of struggle with pecuniary difficulties, with an increasing family, and it may be, impaired health, having received his stipend or a portion of it more as reluctant alms than honest wages, can we wonder if he sinks under such a load, either into sad dependency or callous indifference? Are we to feel surprised, if when food and raiment for their families are made dependent on their keeping in the good graces of a wealthy parishioner, that some should fall into the snare and barter their independence of conduct for bread? Or, is it to be accounted strange, that a high-minded, impulsive Clergyman accused of such truckling to the great, should be tempted to offer unnecessary oppo-

sition or slight to an influential parishioner, in his eagerness to prove the independence of his character.

There is moreover an additional sting in such treatment of a Minister. The debt which is due is one of honor, not of legal obligation. He therefore feels that he is indeed neglected or despised when such a debt is repudiated by Christian men. His case is also peculiarly helpless; should he apply himself to trading; farming or speculation, notwithstanding every excuse of necessity, his character as a Clergyman would be compromised and his usefulness materially lessened. Retreat from his position is impossible; the "vows of God are upon him;" before him lies heartlessness and opposition; and behind him, the resource of secular employment which he may not attempt as dishonoring to his profession. Ardently, therefore, and emphatically do we adopt the language of the Bishop of Illinois in his Convention address: "Anything that can give the defenseless Minister who would and does suffer most deeply rather than complain, who would die rather than treat this sacred debt—on record with acknowledgment in God's book—as a question for an earthly suit; anything that can make him officially protected by the Church's sentiment and inquiry, will be of deep use and expanding effect, in its ramified influence for the purity and progress of the Church in our land."

The more, indeed, we reflect on this subject, the more amazing do we regard the treatment of God's Ministers by the mass of professing Christians. Considering that, as a class, they do not thrust themselves on the people who undertake their support, but enter on their duties by the solicitation and at the *call* of a number of highly respectable individuals, we must admit the existence of a criminal neglect of the precept "owe no man anything." Should a parish be vacant, or the organization of a new one be contemplated, the newspapers teem with regret at the religious *destitution* of the locality. There is a general commiseration excited, and an unprejudiced spectator would suppose that the presence of a resident Minister would be not only hailed as a boon, but paid for as a valued blessing. A Clergyman is sought for, and earnestly solicited to undertake the cure. He consents with hopeful anticipations, and the result too generally is such as we have attempted to detail. There is (it is true) a general demand on the part of the people for perfection of character and accomplishments in their Minister, and of course they are always disappointed; but it seems seldom to enter into their heads that it is well nigh impossible for a Clergyman to enter heart and soul into his duties unless he is at least independent in circumstances so as to be able to

meet the fair demands of his creditors. And yet a Clergyman, no more than any other man, can sit down to his work, to the composition of sermons, or proceed to visit his flock effectively, if his mind be burthened with the dread of want in his family, or the still graver apprehension, lest after all his preaching to others he should be compelled to appear himself as a bankrupt. He naturally broods over in his mind the ingratitude, or the thoughtlessness of his people. He thinks it but reasonable that the Church which required him to spend a large sum on a theological education should pay at least modest interest on his expenditure. He finds every day more and more necessity for study and research, in order that he may preach to advantage and cope on equal terms with the sceptic and schismatic, and yet he finds also that his slender pittance, doled out too, not as stipend, but alms, is barely adequate to the support of life, so that nothing is left to enable him to increase his library, or even to purchase a Periodical. Now we protest that this is a fair statement of the treatment of multitudes of worthy, talented and learned men; and we shall refuse to take as an excuse for it, any insinuations about the precedent of the fishermen of Galilee, and the good of souls being a reward in itself, until we see that a self-denying zeal and a threadbare coat become a passport to the good graces of our congregations.

Let us, however, pass from the consideration of Clerical support to the wide subject of Church support in general. And the more we scan and examine the whole system, the more fully must every unprejudiced man be impressed with the idea that there is an almost total lack of Evangelical motive influencing the contributors. We miss any traces of self-denial, sacrifice, abnegation of self, in short, any symptoms of acquiescence in the common sense observation of David, "I will not offer sacrifice unto the Lord, my God, of that which doth cost me nothing." The far greater facility of building Churches than of supporting Ministers arises in great measure notoriously from the fact that the former adds much to the value of property, while the latter is of course a constant demand on the resources of the people. Wherever we can see that there is tangible or apparent value received, we invariably find money freely given for religious purposes. Hence the popularity of Soirees, Tea Meetings, Bazaars, Donation Parties and eloquent Preachers; in each, and every one of these devices for gratifying self to the glory of God, we can on analysis detect the base precipitate of value received. In a leading newspaper we lately observed an advertisement of a

Soiree with a remark of approval by the Editor, because "the Soiree was now become one of our settled religious Institutions." The funds arising from the sale of tickets of admission to a pleasant gossiping tea party, are devoted to the sacred purposes of erecting a Church or converting the heathen; and should the proceeds be large or (what is equivalent) should the party be a taking one, the revelers are dismissed with the benediction and an address of congratulation "for the grace of God bestowed on the Church of——."

Again, multitudes expend money largely at Bazaars, who never give largely at any other time or place, just because they get *something* for their money, or are seduced into a temporary benevolence by the importunate raillery of Ladies. True it is, we can imagine a Bazaar got up under admissible circumstances; were the articles for sale made exclusively by persons who had little or no money to give to religious purposes, and who were yet desirous to aid a good work with the labor of their hands, while the purchasers were persons who did not confine their liberality to such occasions, buying for the express purpose of affording to the makers of the goods for sale the wished for privilege of assisting (in their only possible way) the object in view, *then* we should regard the design as a good one and allowable on Gospel principles. But it makes us shudder with apprehension for the fate of men, who, with motives the most selfish and earthly, can point to the Church or Parsonage (erected by the exertions of a few earnest-minded women) as a proof of the liberality of the Congregation, with whom they worship Him, "who, though He was rich, yet for their sake became poor." With precisely similar feelings, we regard donation visits, when made a pretext for an evening's amusement, or subscriptions to support an eloquent preacher, when little or nothing can be obtained to maintain a zealous Parish priest, who attaches more importance to the Prayers of the Church and the worship of God than to preaching to the people, and devotes more time to Parochial visiting than to such discourses as may tickle the fastidious ears of his flock. Indeed, the more deeply we ponder on the rise and progress of these Protestant Carnivals and Christian Saturnalia, the more amazed we become at the sad self-delusion of professing Christians. No Jesuitical sophistry, no fine drawing of texts, can by any possibility reconcile the manner of *giving to God* which now prevails, with the spirit of the Gospel, or the Offertory Sentences of the Church; and we are driven to the conclusion that the prevalent practice of endeavoring to serve at once God and Mammon, must spring from unbelief.

It may be said that the majority of contributors are really under the delusion that what they give is quite respectable and proportionate to their means and God's requirements. It may be so, but this admission must be made at the expense either of their consistency or their understanding. There is no palliation for such delusion but either neglect of the Bible or misunderstanding it. If the former be the cause, there must exist a melancholy inconsistency between profession and practice. If the latter, there must be a lamentable deficiency of intellect when the Scriptural doctrine of giving to the glory of God *can* be misinterpreted. We know, indeed, that the delusion we speak of is in a great degree fostered by the Public Press. A trifling donation to a Minister, or a paltry subscription to a Church, is often alluded to under the flattering heading, "Magnificent Donation," or "Handsome Present." We clip (as an instance) the following announcement from the columns of an influential Journal :

"Handsome Present to a Clergyman.—We understand that series of meetings at S—— school house in R——, under the labors of the Rev. Mr. ——, have resulted in the conversion of about fifty souls, many of whom are heads of families. On Friday night, when the Rev. gentleman was about to close the meeting for the night, he was interrupted by his Congregation while they proceeded to pay over to one of their number \$40, for the purpose of purchasing him a new cutter."

Observe in this announcement the lamentable *naïveté* with which it is intimated that \$40 was a handsome present from fifty converted souls to their Minister, being less than a dollar each for their conversion.

We give another notice of a different description, illustrating the mode in which Gospel Charity is made compatible with "fleshly lusts that war against the soul:"

"The Ladies' Circle of the Universalist Society, at Utica, will hold their Annual Festival at Mechanics' Hall, on Thursday next. They will give an Oyster Supper, and Smith's Quadrille Band will be in attendance. Tickets \$1. The avails of the Festival will be appropriated towards paying off the Organ debt." Here we are openly informed that any money that shall be available after the company have regaled themselves with oysters, and amused themselves with dancing, *ad libitum*—any remnant of the funds after expenses are defrayed, shall be applied to payment for an Organ, wherewith to "praise God in his holiness and the firmament of his power." Such extracts might be multiplied at will, and the most disheartening feature of the case arises from the fact that the Press does

not lead public opinion, but follows it on such matters. It may and does foster, but cannot create such a perversion of right judgment as calls "the vile man liberal or the churl bountiful." No, this unscriptural standard of motive and extent in our donations to God, has become so ingrained in the Christian public, that nothing but a total revolution of sentiment, arising from a prayerful and impartial study of the Scriptures, will force men into the right, though long neglected path of duty—the duty of giving, as a minimum, one-tenth of our income to the Treasury of God.

We are, however, in this Article, concerned chiefly with the question of clerical maintenance, though it is difficult to treat of it without allusion to the general question of Church support. Space will not permit us to extend our remarks to this general question, further than to lay down the principle of self-denial as a necessary qualification for rendering our good works acceptable to God. No one (as far as we know) dreams of disavowing this Gospel principle as an unnecessary one; and yet plain as it is in operation, and Scriptural as it is in theory, it is a stranger to the great mass of Christian people practically. So evidently is this principle connected with religious profession theoretically, that the Clergy are required to become practical illustrations of it. Unless a Clergyman is a self-denying man, he is lightly esteemed. Now we claim for the Clergy, as a body, a self-denying character. Rightly and Scripturally do they deserve it, but we protest against the attempt to perform any Christian duty by proxy. The devotedness of the Clergy will not atone for the illiberality of the Laity. It will not make amends for the parsimony of men who fare sumptuously every day, that their spiritual teachers were forced to assume compulsory vows of poverty—"Every man must give account of *himself* to God." An idea, springing from the absence of self-denial in the Laity, is a main cause of the poverty of the Clergy. We mean the erroneous opinion that the obligation to support them extends no further than payment can be demanded from their congregation for services rendered to the members individually. On this principle, a man who attends Divine Service regularly every Sunday, is bound to pay twice as much as one who attends alternate Sundays only. The convenience of having a Minister to officiate, and the advantage taken of such convenience, are the only items of consideration when payment is demanded. It is forgotten that every Christian is, on Gospel principles, a Missionary. He must, either personally or by others, preach the Gospel. Though incapacity, caused by illness, age, or distance from the house of God, should prevent

any from individually profiting by the Ordinances of the Church, the duty still lies on them to see that the poor have the Gospel preached to them, and that the work of evangelizing the world be not retarded through want of means, so long as they possess the power of assisting the laborers. This view of the matter is almost wholly ignored. The subscription, or pew rent is paid, as remuneration for the enjoyment of the Sermon, or the convenience of the seat, with total neglect of fellow Christians who have neither one or the other. And what is the effect on the world at large? Infidelity is greatly promoted by this conduct of believers. The unbelieving man of the world sees the cushioned pew with its velvet apparatus and luxurious accommodation, rented according to its value, on the same principle precisely as a box at the Opera. He sees, moreover, in many instances, the occupant limiting his donations to the cause of religion to that rent. There is no trace of self-denial, and the worldling naturally concludes that this church-going is the man's foible, like a taste for articles of virtu, or literary refinement; it is his hobby, and that he neither cares for his brethren, nor believes, himself, in the doctrines of the Church.

Such is one evil arising from the absence of self-denial in our offerings. Another, of course, is the utter disproportion between the contributions of the Church and the necessities of the times. It is no reply to our strictures to point to the number of Churches and the respectable appearance of the Clergy in our cities. There is no more self-denial in the cities than in the rural districts; the more efficient support of the Clergy in the former, is due more to the number and wealth of their parishioners than to self-denial. Not unfrequently such Parishes contain single individuals, a tithe of whose income would exceed the whole expenses of the Parish and their charities besides. And then a small sum from each member assumes in the aggregate quite respectable proportions; and yet even in such favored localities, there is room for more Ministers and more Churches. Besides, cities, attracting as they do the ablest of the Clergy, no doubt exhibit all the results likely to follow brilliant appeals and talented labor. We therefore affirm, that not even in the most apparently prosperous phases of clerical maintenance, is there evident proof of a self-denying, evangelical principle being the actuating motive of Christian Churchmen. And as a necessary consequence of the poverty of the Clergy, restlessness ensues, a desire of shifting and changing from one sphere of duty to another, an evil now so prevalent as to call for the warning voice of our Bishops. The restric-

tion of the gifts of the Laity to a standard regulated by avarice, the supposed value of clerical duty, or the amount given by richer neighbors, has entailed poverty on the Clergy, and the evil of constant change on Parishes.

The truth is, penury is no recommendation to a Clergyman, however holy he may be. Piety in rags, in vain seeks admission to our pulpits, or the *entree* to our drawing-rooms. This the Clergy well know. They feel that if unable to maintain a decent exterior, the poor will be tempted to despise them, and the rich to neglect them. Naturally, therefore, do they seek for a Parish where a better income will enable them to do their duty under more favorable circumstances and from a more commanding position, and thus does the lack of suitable maintenance lead to the constant removal so prevalent, and snaps asunder a bond of love and respect which a long period of intercourse engenders between a Clergyman and his flock.

Complete worldliness of motive in giving, is also a main stay of the pew system. A large amount of stipend reaches the clergy under that system, which (unless the grace of God prevent the evil) would otherwise never be obtained. A pew holder who is dissatisfied with his Minister will not, for the most part, punish himself by surrendering his pew, in order to annoy his Pastor. The pew system being a species of indirect taxation from the proceeds of which the executive officers of the Church are paid, affords in many cases a better, always a more certain income than a subscription list. And as the payment of indirect taxation does not necessarily entitle a man to the name of Patriot, similarly the payment of pew rent cannot obtain for a Christian the character of "a cheerful giver." A man will not deprive his family of the luxuries of life because an unpopular Secretary of State is paid his salary out of taxes on such luxuries; there is therefore no Patriotism in the payment of indirect taxation. But should a political emergency arise, and the Treasury be well nigh empty, then indeed if a man come forward and subscribe liberally in his country's aid, he would earn for himself the title of Patriot. Now there is ever such an emergency in the Church of Christ; and he alone who pays his contribution, without reference to any return in the shape of an easy pew, or a pleasing sermon, deserves the designation of a good and faithful servant of Christ. The result of such a state of things is this, that the Clergy of two evils choose the least, and prefer the certain income from pew rents to the very uncertain one from voluntary donations. They are thus directly interested in supporting a system which is fearfully retarding the popularity and growth

of the Church. Only let the laity once show their practical belief in the doctrine that every baptized Christian is bound to give not according to caprice, but "as God hath prospered him," and forthwith, as far as the Clergy are concerned, the doom of pews is sealed; and those partitions originally erected to screen Puritan irreverence from the eye of the law, will no longer disfigure the House, nor distinguish the worshippers of God.

Nor, let any false inference be drawn from these remarks as though nothing but selfish motives prevented the Clergy from declaring in favor of Free Churches. The mass of the Clergy are, on principle, opposed to the present system of subdividing the area of our churches *into lots to suit purchasers*. But, then they foresee that the small stipends which they at present receive from pew rents are likely to become smaller still under the Free Church system, *unless the principle of the pew holders be changed*; and that thus the evils arising from the pauperism of the Clergy will be greatly increased by greater aversion on the part of young men to enter the ministry, and by the degradation of the clerical body socially. Pews may be made free, more easily than the occupant made liberal. The Clergy are therefore apprehensive as to the result of a wide-spread change to the Free system. They (or at least a large number of them) think that the Church is not prepared for it, or in other words, not yet sufficiently imbued with Evangelical principles on the subject of giving. They dread a failure of the experiment. They know that should there be a decided want of success in carrying out Free Churchism, the old system of Pews will be riveted tighter than ever on themselves and their children. They are therefore timid as to the result, though the majority have little doubts as to the comparative merit of the two Systems, as viewed in the light of Scripture or reason.

We therefore reiterate our belief, that if Churchmen would perform their duty in giving one-tenth of their means to the cause of God and the Church, there would soon be no repugnance to Free Churches, and that new principles in giving would lead to new principles in other things, one of which we suspect would be, the recognition of the right of the poor to "have the Gospel preached to them." But it may be replied, what is to prevent a man from paying his tithe and yet retaining his pew? The tithe may be regularly paid, and yet pride and exclusiveness combine to perpetuate the appropriation of seats. We think not. Whenever such a revolution comes over the Church, as will make her members as liberal as the Jews of old, we shall witness still further progress in the right direction. The heart which is sufficiently enlarged to pay a tenth,

because the Scripture requires it, will, we imagine, next obey the precept which bids us "preach the Gospel to every creature." The man who at the call of principle checks his covetousness by giving a tenth, will also surrender his pride by resigning his pew. And let it not be forgotten that if the members of the Church were thus liberal, sufficient church room might be provided so as to afford a pew to every Episcopalian family in the land—the only consummation which could be pleaded as an apology for not adopting Free Churchism.

We fear that some of our remarks may be regarded as too sweeping, or misinterpreted; as though we believed that there is nothing being done in the way of liberality to the Church on true Evangelical principle. We deprecate such false deduction. Thank God, there are in His Church a remnant that have not bowed the knee to Mammon. But, alas! they are but a REMNANT. The great mass of Christians are not self-denying men. Their Offerings lack that incense which can alone recommend them—a self-denying zeal, an effort to imitate the Saviour in his self-sacrificing devotedness. And yet *a Jew* was commanded by Jehovah to offer thirty per cent. of his income to maintain the Priesthood, the Temple and the poor. Is a Christian's obligation less? Are there not the very same virtues to be educed and strengthened under the Dispensation of the Gospel, as were required to be exercised under the Law? It would have been no difficult matter to have apportioned a part of Canaan to the Levites had God so willed it; but this tribe of God's ministering servants was to be supported by the remaining tribes for the express purpose of training them up in the practice of self-denial and of compelling them to acknowledge and feel that the silver and gold were the Lord's. The belief that they were but trustees for Jehovah—that it were as great a crime to withhold His tithe as to appropriate the trust money of a neighbor, was thus instrumental in keeping up a constant recognition of God's sovereignty and man's dependence. The effect on the Jewish mind intended to be produced by the requirement of tenths and offerings is well expressed by David when in the fullness of his joy at the freewill offerings of his people, he exclaimed, "For all things come of thee and of thine own have we given thee."

Now, where is the assignable reason for not fostering and perpetuating the same high moral feeling in the Christian Church? Why is the standard of self-denial lowered in the Church? Is self-denial one of those carnal ordinances, which were abolished by the Gospel? Or, if it be admitted, that it is still a virtue, immutable in its nature, we ask again is its

standard degraded? Under God's special government, a Jew was trained to self-denial and a confession of his dependence upon God by the demand of a tenth of his worldly substance; and can a Christian be perfected in the same grace on easier terms? The funds of God's treasury contributed by Jews were required for the Jewish poor and the Jewish Ritual exclusively; and yet a tenth was the minimum donation. Millions of heathens are thrown on the mercy of the Church now; and a tenth is not even an acknowledged obligation. The systematic payment of tithe tests sincerity, and is to some extent, self-denial to all. Hence, its unpopularity. Hence, the endeavor to evade it, and to prove its burden no part of the Gospel system.

But, setting aside all allusion to tithe, casting away System altogether for the sake of argument, let the Christian Church read, mark and inwardly digest these words, "If any man will come after ME, let him DENY himself." If then a tenth be given, and yet cause no self-denial, a tenth is too little; if a fifth can be spared, without feeling its loss; if it be bestowed and yet no restriction ensue to the vanity or pride of life, then a fifth is not enough. But we forbear; the truths of God cannot be expressed precisely in arithmetical terms, there is however one rule which no skill can evade or ingenuity misinterpret, and it is this: "*If any man will come after me, let him deny himself.*"

In one respect, the Christian Priesthood is made to resemble the Levitical. They must have no part nor inheritance among the people. They must refrain from the mart, the office, and the labor of their hands. The Church more exacting than in primitive times forbids them to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. Tent-makers they cannot be. But here the similarity ceases. The value received, or rather expected by Christians, differs from that expected by Jews. In the case of the latter, it consisted in the consciousness of having obeyed the divine law; in the habit of self-denial thus formed; in the constant remembrance of Him "who gave them power to get wealth;" and in the gradual preparation for the resignation of all property at death. And who will contend that similar practice in the Christian Church will not produce similar results? Let a disinterested spectator *honestly* say, what is in fact the value expected in return for the offerings of too many Christians! Perhaps in giving less, they expect less in return than the Jew. But the value, too often expected is the comfortable pew; the membership in a fashionable congregation; the eloquent discourse; the name of respectability; the improvement of property; the escape from importunity; the satisfaction of not being outdone; the fascinating Ritual; the

delightful music ; the character for liberality ; and the gratification of ostentation. We mean, these must be the return expected by the large proportion of donors, *because* their donations are generally limited to that sum which the foregoing motives naturally suggest and account for. If the Love of Christ constrained to self-denial, such a spectacle as that of a wealthy congregation in a splendid temple, expending on themselves, more than on their needy and destitute brethren, could not be presented to our view. Did true Christian principle actuate the Church, so many of her members would not be content to live in luxurious ease, while the privations of the Clergy were unrelieved, or the Means of Grace withheld from a large proportion of the population.

ART. IV.—THE REV. STEPHEN R. WRIGHT.

THE life of a faithful Minister of JESUS CHRIST, who, sacrificing worldly honors, pursuits and pleasures, yields himself up to the service of his Divine Master, ought always to be dear to the heart of the Church ; and there are occasions when the record of such labors deserves to be preserved, as due to the memory of the departed, as an incitement to the living, as a rebuke to the sluggish and the worldly, and as an honor and praise to the Great Head of the Church.

Besides, there is a special charm in Biography, above the power of mere precept. It is duty in action ; addressing our habit of imitation ; challenging, alike, our curiosity and our sympathy ; encouraging our fearful hearts as it points to victory achieved by men frail and helpless as ourselves. Professor Tholuck, of the University of Halle, the very best of modern Germans, and who is laboring so earnestly to resist the tide of modern infidelity now sweeping over that unfortunate country ; not the scoffing infidelity of Frederick and Voltaire, and D'Alembert, but of Bauer, and Bretschneider, and Feuerbach—Tholuck, lately said, "the biography of the Missionary, HENRY MARTYN, the man who was known, even among the Persian Mohammedans, as the holy—opened also in my own life, a new era of religious progress." Would that our own American Church Literature were far richer than it is, in the recorded lives, not of our controversial pugilists, nor of our noisy partisans, nor of those self-satisfied persons whose vocation it seems to be, to be perpetually publishing to the world how much more pious they are than other people ; but of those "holy and humble Men of heart," who, having faithfully, and patiently, and meekly, borne the burden and heat of the day, do now rest from their labors. The Church does high honor to herself, when she shows that she knows how to honor unobtrusive, unostentatious, noiseless worth.

Such an instance occurs in the recent death of the Rev. STEPHEN R. WRIGHT. He was almost unknown to fame. The incense of popular applause, offered up to that gaudy butterfly, the mere fashionable preacher of the day, he knew not and sought not. Although a ripe scholar, and possessing a mind enriched with thorough and varied study, still it was not in profound scholarship, that his rare excellence is to be sought. For there was, indeed, that in him, and about him, which for-

bids that he should pass from our midst without a tribute paid to his worth.

STEPHEN R. WRIGHT was born in Hingham, Mass., Feb. 15, A. D. 1812. His maternal grandfather was a Mr. Richardson, a descendant, as is supposed, of the Thomas Richardson, a Puritan, who sailed in the "Speedwell" from London for Boston, in A. D. 1656, and from whom Mr. WRIGHT derived his middle name. In early life, he removed to Vermont, where he received his education, and graduated with distinction at Middlebury College, A. D. 1835. Immediately after receiving his Collegiate degree, he removed to North Alabama, and from thence to Montgomery, in the same State. Here, he occupied himself very assiduously and laboriously, in teaching a male school, until the summer of 1838, when he was elected, by the Trustees of the Marion (Alabama) Female Seminary, President of that Institution; which appointment he accepted and immediately removed to Marion. Mr. Wright and his lady remained the Principals of the "Marion Female Seminary," for a number of years, and under their charge, that Institution enjoyed a very large amount of patronage and prosperity, and acquired the reputation of being one of the best and most successful institutions in the South. After resigning the Presidency of the above Seminary, Mr. Wright took charge of a large Academy in Selma, Alabama, which was established and sustained by the Masonic Fraternity of that State. After remaining several sessions in that Institution, he removed to the neighboring village of Union Town, where he conducted a flourishing, and now, prominent female school.

He was admitted to the Presbyterian ministry at Marion, Ala., in 1841. Although called specially to the work of Christian education, yet while he had charge of Institutions of learning, he seldom spent a Sunday without holding religious services, riding sometimes forty miles to preach to masters and servants, after teaching all the week, and returning so as to resume his labors on Monday morning.

Mr. Wright was married in Dec. 1837, to Miss Catharine H. Allen, daughter of the Rev. Jason Allen, who, for sixteen years, was pastor of a Congregational parish in Woodbridge, Conn. She received her education at New Haven, and often attended the Services of the Church at Trinity, then, as now, under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Croswell. We may add here, that she survives her lamented husband; and that she conducts, with ability and success, a flourishing Ladies' Seminary in Matagorda, Texas, where Mr. Wright died. A worthy help-meet to her husband while living, she still, as far as in

her lies, keeps the fire brightly burning on the altar which he erected. The Church needs more such Missionaries' wives; and ought to patronize the Schools where the daughters of the Church are trained up for Christ and His service; especially in this sensuous, superficial, extravagant, and worldly age. The prevalent tone of feeling, the aim and ambition of too many parents, and Church parents, too, in the education of their daughters, are death to everything that is high, and noble, and true, in the heart of the young female disciple of the Cross. And, as our pages will meet the eye of many a Church parent, we take this occasion to say, that there are Christian Schools, and of the highest intellectual and æsthetic order, where the truest Christian sensibility is cherished, where holy resolutions are encouraged, and where the Faith and Order of Christ's Church are distinctly recognized. Next to our Colleges, at least, do such nurseries of the Church deserve the fostering care and patronage of all who profess and call themselves Churchmen. Fearful is the hazard they run, who, for some fancied superiority, entrust the souls of their daughters to the cunning wiles even of the Jesuits. And, we may add, bitter are the tears which some of these have shed as a consequence of such folly. It was while Mr. Wright was at Uniontown, that the change in his ecclesiastical views took place; a change, so marked by intelligent conviction and heroic resolve, that it deserves to be treasured up by the Church as an evidence of the strength of her claims when fairly presented to an ingenuous and honest mind. It is best told in his own words, as follows:

Statement of the late Rev. S. R. Wright, read at the time of his Confirmation, in the Church of the Holy Cross, Uniontown, Ala., on the 13th Sunday after Trinity, 1853.

I feel it due to myself, and to my beloved brethren in Christ, with whom I have been hitherto associated in bonds of fraternal Christian fellowship, to make a simple statement of the circumstances which have led to my present change of views, devolving upon me the necessity and duty of dissolving my ecclesiastical connection with them; a connection especially endeared to me by long years of the pleasantest social Christian intercourse, and of corresponding interchanges of mutual Christian confidence and affection. This change is as surprising and unexpected to myself, as it can be to any of my Christian friends. By education and conviction, I have been loyally a Presbyterian, sincerely attached to the Presby-

terian Church—to her excellent ministry, polity, order and doctrines—to her admirable schemes of benevolence, and aggressive plans for the spread of the Gospel.

I have hitherto regarded the question of ministerial authority, in common with most of the dissenting clergy, as peculiar neither to PARITY NOR IMPARITY, but as equally belonging to both; I have, consequently, deemed the points of difference between them as of very minor importance. My own mind conversant *with* and fortified *by* the ordinary arguments in favor of the *parity* of the ministry, was, until of recent date, perfectly satisfied and at rest on the subject. With these views of the ministry, with an instinctive aversion to controversial divinity, and strong in my convictions on the subject, and regarding the *divine* claims of Episcopacy as an ecclesiastical fiction, unauthorized by Scripture and the Church's earliest history, I devoted myself to other departments of theology more congenial to my tastes and feelings, than what I conceived to be this dry and unprofitable controversy. About three years ago, prompted by literary curiosity and taste, I took up Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity to read, merely as a theological and literary classic,—having always understood it to be a splendid specimen of logical and consequential reasoning, conducted in the most skillful and scholarly manner, and in the most excellent and truth-loving spirit. I had read the life of Hooker by Isaac Walton. I was prepared to appreciate his resplendent genius and learning and deep piety, but not to be won by his eloquence and subdued by his arguments. In that incomparable and unanswerable work, I need not say that I found the question of Episcopacy stated to my mind in an entirely new, striking and original light, and overwhelmingly sustained in all the points at issue, by the splendors of unequalled demonstration and cumulative argument. I felt my long-cherished convictions giving way; but to surrender them, involved such unpleasant consequences as to bring me to a pause.

Pride of intellect, pride of consistency—my period of life and pleasant Christian relations—a sincere attachment to my Church, and to her devoted and intelligent ministry—the faith of my family and kindred—the faith of that maternal heart which embalmed my infancy in prayer and devoted me in Baptism to God, and had taught my earliest childhood to lisp "*Our Father*," and the other sweet lessons of maternal piety—these, and other considerations, induced me to hesitate, and to hope that I might be able, by a more general and thorough review and examination of the subject, to *resettle* my mind in

my previous views and convictions, and thus save myself the pain of sundering my ecclesiastical ties. That review and reëxamination have been thoughtfully and prayerfully made; and the result has been a complete change on the subject of Christian Polity. What I formerly regarded as purely an ecclesiastical assumption, I now regard as *divine truth*, bearing the broad seal of CHRIST's authority. With my changed views, the next step was plain and *imperative*. I could not consistently and conscientiously minister in a Church whose polity I could not approve or defend. This will sufficiently account for my course this day.

S. R. WRIGHT.

This is a remarkable statement. And yet not remarkable; for there are hundreds on hundreds of our Clergy, who can sympathize with every word of our deceased brother. If the whole story could be written, of the inward struggles, the forcings and demands of conscience, the expostulations and tears of friends, the threats, and reproaches, and accusations, of those whose hearts have been wounded, or whose sectarian pride has been crossed, if the record of all this could be spread before the Church, it would make a volume stranger than any fiction which has ever been written. But the secret of such history is locked up for the disclosures of the great, awful day, save as, now and then, a tale is told like that which Mr. Wright has here spread before us. But we cannot help saying, that the Church, which such men sacrifice so much to enter, is something more, at least in their apprehension, than a mongrel collection of mushroom, warring Sects, Creedless and Faithless, believing anything, or believing nothing.

Mr. Wright was confirmed in the Church of the Holy Cross, in Uniontown, Ala., on the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1853. He was ordained Deacon in the same place, May 9th, 1854; and Priest, in St. Paul's Church, Selma, Ala., October 10th, of the same year. All these official acts were administered by the venerable Rt. Rev. N. H. COBBS, D. D., Bishop of Alabama.

In the summer of 1854, the deceased accepted the appointment of Rector of Christ Church, Matagorda, Texas; and he was already making arrangements to leave Alabama, when he received letters from the Vestry, informing him that their Church edifice had been entirely destroyed by the disastrous storm which swept Matagorda, in September of that year, and proposing to release him from his engagement. The

course which he then determined to pursue was eminently characteristic of the man.

Although, in the general gloom, which hung like a pall over the community, in consequence of the almost entire destruction of the city, his congregation despaired of rebuilding their Church and released him from his obligations to take charge of them; and, although in leaving Alabama, where he had spent the best portion of his life, he was sacrificing his interest and severing ties which were hallowed by long-cherished friendships and time-honored associations, still duty, the polar star, that had guided his actions through life, determined his course then. He immediately informed his congregation, that since in their prosperity they had selected him, as their Minister, in the hour of their adversity, he would not desert them. Accordingly, the deceased removed, in a few months, to *Mata-gorda*; and until the day of his death his thoughts and energies were chiefly directed to the reestablishment and extension of his Church. Of his constant and untiring exertions to attain his object, of the hardships and privations he encountered, and the sufferings he endured, when the hand of disease fell upon him, in a far distant city, while pursuing his long and weary pilgrimage, to solicit aid in the accomplishment of his cherished design, it is unnecessary to speak. In Boston, where he was struck down with partial paralysis, in New Haven, in New York, and Philadelphia, he won the respect and sympathy of warm friends, and enlisted efficient aid in the work to which he had given himself, and in which, as it proved, he sacrificed his life. One who knew him well, on his visit to the North, says, "We saw a great deal of Mr. Wright during his stay here, and became much interested in him and his work. While among us he gained many friends, and left with all the impression of his most attractive Christian character. He was an eloquent preacher, because he was so simple, so earnest, so full of sanctified humanity. In his private intercourse here he will be long remembered. He was a man so Christ-like as not to be forgotten. His gentleness, his flowing and generous sympathies, won affection and confidence from all. We know that his loss must be deeply deplored and long felt by his parishioners and the Diocese. His account of his personal trials and sufferings, which never went beyond the private ear, could not fail to impress one with the sincerity and goodness of his life; all told, too, with the never failing smile of hope and faith. He was an example to many of us who, with our lesser causes of trouble, are prone to magnify them, and act as if we had lost

all faith and hope. He was really one of those 'servants who have departed this life in His faith and fear,' whose 'good example,' let us hope, we may have 'grace to follow.'"

As to the object of his visit to the North,—suffice it to say, that his labors were crowned with success and that, ere death had closed his earthly career, he enjoyed the consolation of knowing, that, through his instrumentality, the beautiful temple which had crumbled into fragments, in the ruthless tempest, would soon be restored. And when its ample material shall rise into form and proportion and shall be dedicated to that cause, which the deceased held so dear—it will, from the nature of its design, be a monument to his memory more honorable and glorious, than were the proudest mausoleums of old to the memories of the departed heroes of heathen times. The great cause of education, in which, by far the larger portion of the life of the deceased had been engaged, occupied, emphatically, the second place in his thoughts and affections. He regarded education as the handmaid of religion, believing that the proper intellectual and moral training of the young constituted the ground-work in the great scheme for the extermination of vice and the promotion of virtue. It was the lot of the deceased, in his long and arduous career as a teacher, to shape the minds and character of a very large number of individuals, and his success in, perhaps, the most responsible of human occupations, was such as but few have enjoyed. In the character of the deceased were beautifully blended the moral, intellectual and social qualities of our nature. Possessing a mind of rare natural endowments, which had been enlarged and cultivated by severe study and reflection, he was a stranger alike to arrogance and ostentation; but modest, quiet, and unassuming in his opinions and actions, he was evidently unconscious of the extent of his intellectual capacities.

The death of Mr. Wright was very sudden and unexpected. He had been summoned, on the morning of the 28th of January last, to perform the last offices of the Church for a deceased citizen; and, while actually on his way for that purpose, a renewal of the shock which had previously alarmed his friends, immediately prostrated him, and he instantaneously expired. And yet, thank God, such men do not, cannot die. In Paradise they commence a more glorious existence; waiting in peaceful hope the joyful resurrection of the just.

His departure, so striking in its suddenness and manner, shrouded the city in gloom. All were mourners. For all had lost a friend. So deep was the impression on the community, that the routine of business was suspended, and stores were

closed for the day. At his Funeral the Masonic Lodge of the county, comprising many of the most influential citizens, paid such a tribute to his rare worth as is deserved by few. They speak of him as one who was ever "found a warm friend and a faithful monitor; that his precepts and examples were sure guides in the paths of virtue. Erudite and profound in his mental acquirements, gentlemanly and urbane in his intercourse, unflinching in his admonition when required; he was a man to mould the mind and character for good, a man to purify the social and moral atmosphere of this community. One whom all could love and respect, and whose memory we shall consider it a privilege to cherish so long as our earthly lodge shall exist."

The Church needs more of such true and whole-hearted men, on our distant frontiers. The Church needs, alas! still more, such true and valiant men, to control and direct public sentiment at our strong posts of influence at home—men of great practical wisdom, and yet! who are men indeed, and not time-serving sycophants—men, not forever courting notoriety, but *daring* to be unknown and forgotten, if so be, they may follow Him Who was "despised and rejected," a Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief"—men valiant for the "Truth as it is in Jesus," rather than for the truth as it is in Science, and yet who have drank deeply of the mysteries of both—men, who see something in the Church to live for, "besides the loaves and fishes," and the Mitre which they forfeit and should always lose who seek it; for, in seeking after it, they show how unworthy they are to obtain it—men, more than ready, if need be, to suffer and to die, "for His Body's sake which is the Church"—men, who wear the Cross, not as a flaunting ornament of the outward apparel, but engraven deeply on the life, the affections, the will, on human pride, and worldly ambition; and where holy angels watch over, and guard it, as a sure pledge of the promised Crown.

ART. V.—THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

An Exegesis of 1 Peter iii, 18–20.

THE passage which we propose to examine is one which, probably, most persons read without any very definite idea of its meaning. And those who may be disposed to consult the Commentators, will find their own difficulties often increased by the variety of interpretations which they there meet. There are few, even of the unlearned readers of the Scriptures, who have not felt a desire to understand the passage, standing, as it does, in the midst of the short and earnest Epistles of St. Peter, which have always been a favorite portion of the Bible in the readings of the devout; while the fact, that the passage is selected as one of our Epistles—the Epistle for Easter Even—gives it an additional claim upon our attention. We will try to present a careful analysis of its sense.

“For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: By which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison; Which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water.”

There are two principal interpretations of the passage, to which Commentators on the one side or on the other incline, even with all their diversity of criticism as to minor points connected with its phraseology.

One of these two views is that St. Peter here reveals, that our Lord did, in the interval between His death and His resurrection, and while His body lay in the grave, go, in His human soul, to the penitent Antediluvians—here spoken of as the “spirits in prison”—in the place of departed spirits, and there proclaim to them the results of His work of Atonement for their comfort and joy. This view is ably sustained by Bishop Horsley, who is its chief defender, and, after him, (we think, mainly and too easily, from deference to his opinion,) is supported by Mr. Slade and Dr. Bloomfield, and by Bishop Hobart of our country; and under the authority of these great names, is received by many without further investigation.

The other view of the two referred to, is that which supposes St. Peter to affirm, that our Lord, as the Son, or Word,

the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity, did, with His Divine or superior nature or Spirit (that which was never affected by death, even when His human body and soul were subjected to the common course of mortality) preach, through and with Noah, during the hundred and twenty years while the ark was being builded, to the Antediluvian world, to call them to repentance; and that the Apostle simply refers to or describes those disobedient persons then rejecting the calls to repentance, as being now (i. e. when he wrote) "the spirits in prison." This view does not suppose the passage to have any reference to our Saviour's visit, in His human soul, to the state of the dead; while those holding this view may fully believe, as we do, from other Scriptures, in the Hades or Sheol, or place of departed spirits, intermediate between death and the Resurrection to the Judgment. This view does not regard this passage as a proof-text for the doctrine of the intermediate state, except so far as the single phrase "spirits in prison" separated from the rest of the passage may bear upon that doctrine. This view (to cite a few distinguished names) is maintained, so far as denying that this passage proves Christ's preaching to the Antediluvians in Hades, by Whitby, Burnet, Scott, Macknight and Townsend, who expound the Spirit by which Christ was quickened and preached as the Holy Spirit, the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity, giving what seems to be the sense of our received version, wherein the word "Spirit" is here printed with a capital to denote the Holy Ghost. This view is also maintained, in the very form in which we have stated it, by two greater names, Beza and Archbishop Pearson. The words of Beza are: "*ex diluvii historia liquet, Christus is est qui temporibus illis quum Dens patientissimus terminum ad resipiscendum mundo definisset, adfuit, non quidem corporali præsentia, sed divina illa sua virtute, prædicans resipiscentiam, per os videlicet ipsius Noe arcam apparantis, spiritibus illis immorigeris, qui nunc in carcere servantur, plenam suæ rebellionis mercedem expectantes,*" &c. The words of Archbishop Pearson are equally explicit: "The spirit by which he is said to preach, was not the soul of Christ, but that Spirit by which he was quickened; as appeareth by the coherence of the words. Now that Spirit by which Christ was quickened is that by which he was raised from the dead, that is, *the power of His Divinity*, as St. Paul expresseth it, 'Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God;' in respect of which he preached to those which were disobedient in the days of Noah." Our own convictions incline us to this latter view.

It may be proper to state, that the former of the two views here presented was held by some of the early Reformers of the Church of England in the sixteenth century,* and was incorporated at first in the Articles of Religion, in the Catechism of Edward the Sixth, and in the metrical version of the Creed; but their views seem to have soon changed, and this passage of St. Peter was withdrawn as a proof-text. Bishop Horsley very candidly states some of the particulars: "In the Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in the year 1552, the sixth, of Edward the Sixth, and published by the King's authority the year following, the third Article is in these words: 'As Christ died and was buried for us, so also it is to be believed that He went down into hell: For the body lay in the sepulchre until the resurrection; but His ghost (or soul) departing from Him was with the ghosts that were in prison, or in hell; as the place of St. Peter doth testify.' But in the short interval of ten years, between this Convocation in the reign of Edward and the setting forth of the Thirty-nine Articles in their present form, in the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, a change seems to have taken place in the opinions of the divines of our Church with respect to this text of St. Peter. For, in the Articles, as they were then drawn, and we now have them, Christ's descent into hell is still asserted; but the proof of it from the text of St. Peter is withdrawn, as if the literal sense of the text which affords the proof had fallen under suspicion, and some other exposition of it had been adopted." Archbishop Pearson even more fully states the facts in regard to this change of opinion among the English Reformers. The evidence from these facts of history is, that our Church, although fully believing in the doctrine, as proved by other Scriptures, that the human soul of Christ did go into Hades or the state of departed spirits, while His body lay in the grave, yet does not rely upon this passage of St. Peter as a proof-text

* We must admit, too, that many of the early fathers maintained this former interpretation, as Hermes, Irenæus, Clemens Alexander, Origen, Athanasius, Epiphanius. At the same time most of these held the fanciful idea that Hades was in the lowest parts of the material earth, and quoted to sustain this idea Ephesians iv, 9: "Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth!" The absurdity of this interpretation throws discredit upon their exposition of St. Peter. But St. Augustine, the giant of the earlier Church, rejects the prevailing view of his times, and declares the sense of St. Peter to be unsettled, and denies the application of this passage to Christ's Descent into Hell. His language is: "*Considera tamen, ne forte totum illud, quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus qui in diebus Noe non crediderant Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora quorum formam, (i. e. exemplum, analogiam,) ad hæc tempora transtulit.*" [See Pearson on the Creed.]

in favor of that doctrine. This decision of the Church we regard as based upon a sound exegesis, and we will endeavor to show that there are reasons to sustain it.

We will take up the passage clause by clause, as this is the most convenient method in which to examine it.

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God." St. Peter was exhorting the persecuted Christians to bear their trials with patience and submission; and in order to encourage them in this Christian fortitude, adduced, in the clause quoted, the example of our Redeemer. This clause we do not comment on, since it is here quoted simply to introduce us to the contested passage which follows in its direct grammatical connection with this.

"Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." The prepositions "in" and "by" in this sentence are not in the original—*θανάτωσις μὲν σαρκί, ζώωνταισις δὲ [τῷ] πνεύματι*. The passage, as all critics are agreed, is one of simple antithesis or contrast. Whatever preposition the translator puts before the one noun, he must put the same before the other noun; the perfection of the antithesis makes this absolutely indispensable. If we use the preposition "by," as denoting instrumental agency, before the word "the spirit," we must also use it in the same sense before the word "the flesh;" and this would give an absurd sense. We must find another preposition, that shall furnish a good sense, while common to both clauses. The sentence should read: "Being put to death, (or dead,) *in or as to* the flesh, but quickened (or alive) *in or as to* the spirit." The "flesh" and the "spirit" of Christ are here contrasted in respect of their condition.*

If we had this sentence alone, and no others with which to compare it, we might be in doubt as to the exact meaning of these two phrases. But, in God's good Providence, which has provided aids for us in the study of His word, there is a pas-

* The Syriac Version admirably preserves the antithesis: "He died in body but lived in spirit." (Murdock's Translation.) But we must confess, that the Syriac translates or paraphrases, according to Bishop Horsley's theory. Yet this was to be expected from the prevailing view at the time when this Version was prepared, as illustrated in a former note. The whole passage reads, in Dr. Murdock's translation, thus: "And he died in body, but lived in spirit. And he preached to those souls which were detained in Hades, which were formerly disobedient in the days of Noah, when the long suffering of God commanded an ark to be made in hope of their repentance; and eight souls only entered into it, and were kept alive in the waters. And ye also, by a like figure, are made alive by baptism, (not when ye wash your bodies from filth, but when ye confess God with a pure conscience,) and by the resurrection of Jesus the Messiah."

sage precisely analogous to this, in the Epistle to the Romans, which throws strong light upon the meaning of St. Peter. It is in the opening verses of the Epistle: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God, which he had promised afore by his prophets in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." (Rom. i, 1-4.) In this passage, as in that of St. Peter, the phrases "according to the flesh," and "according to the Spirit of holiness," are an antithesis. Both relate to Christ—one to His human nature, and the other to His contrasted and Higher nature. The passage in the Romans should be: "Who was made of the seed (i. e. the Son) of David according to the flesh, (i. e. as to His whole and perfect human nature, both of body and soul, for it means His entire Incarnation,) and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness, (i. e. as to His Holy and Divine Spiritual nature, that nature which is altogether contrasted with His human, the Eternal Sonship, the Almighty Word or Logos,) by the resurrection from the dead." Our translators, in both of these passages—this of the Romans and this of St. Peter—render the word "Spirit," as if it meant the Holy Spirit, the Third person in the glorious Trinity; thus, in each case, overlooking and destroying the perfect and powerful antithesis intended by the sacred writers. In each of these passages, as most Commentators are agreed, these opposite clauses refer to the two contrasted natures of Christ, in the one of which He is the Son of God, and in the other the Son of man—the one Divine, the other human. This passage from the Epistle to the Romans illustrates exactly the distinction in that from St. Peter. The two are precisely parallel. In each there is an antithesis between the human nature of Christ and His Divine nature—between Him, as the Son of man both in His human body and soul, and as the Son of God in His Divine, Filial Relation, the Only-Begotten before and above all angels, the Creator, the Word or Logos, which was in the beginning with God.

To confirm the interpretation which we have given, we will refer, in a rapid way, to several other passages which show, that, by the New Testament usage, the phrase "the flesh" is continually used to designate not the body alone, but the entire human nature both in body and soul. In the eighth Chapter to the Romans, and frequently elsewhere, the word "flesh" is

used to describe the evil nature in opposition to the spirit, and is spoken of as having "mind" and "wills," thus denoting man's moral and immaterial nature, as well as his physical. But the term is frequently applied to Christ in particular, as signifying His whole Humanity, not His body only, but His body and soul. Wherever it is applied to Him, it has this sense—we recall no exception. In the second Chapter of the Acts, at the thirtieth verse, Peter says of David, that God had sworn to him, "that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh (i. e. as in His Incarnation, as a living man with body and soul) he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne." In the ninth of Romans, St. Paul writes of the Jews thus: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh (i. e. in His entire human nature, His Incarnation) Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever," (ix, 5.) In his first Epistle to Timothy, (iii, 16,) St. Paul declares: "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness. God was manifest in the flesh," i. e. manifested in the whole human nature, referring to the Incarnation. And, to adduce one other passage, St. John, in the first Chapter of his Gospel, (verse 14,) writes: "The Word was made flesh (i. e. a man, Incarnate, having the *whole* human nature in body and soul) and dwelt among us." Passages like these might be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show that the phrase "put to death in the flesh" is equivalent to "put to death as to His human nature, as He was a perfect man"—that by this is meant not merely the death of the body of Christ, but that change, whatever it be, which passes upon the entire man, as to the conditions and relations both of body and soul, in the act of death.

The point, that by the phrase "the flesh" as here used in contradistinction from "the spirit," is meant the whole human nature of Christ, both body and soul, is very important, is *vital*, in this discussion, since Bishop Horsley and those with him suppose it to mean only *the body* of Christ, understanding the contrasted phrase "the spirit" to mean only His *human soul*, and not His Divine and Superior Nature. Our arguments prove both these suppositions to be untenable and merely fanciful; while a rigid induction of the sense of the words, and the necessary construction from the nature of the antithesis, and the usage ascertained from the analogous passage in the Epistle to the Romans proves the interpretation of Bishop Horsley to be incorrect and in violation of the laws of a sound exegesis.

The rest of the passage now follows:

"By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long

suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water."

"By which"—the relative in the first of these clauses (*ἐν ᾧ*, the neuter pronoun) refers to its (neuter) antecedent, "the spirit," in which Christ was quickened or alive, that is, His superior and Divine nature which was not affected by His death in the flesh or in His human nature; so that the clause means, "by which Divine nature He went and preached," &c.

We may remark, that our Translators, in their effort, generally so admirably executed, to make their version as literal as possible, have in some cases obscured the sense. In the original, the connection between the different clauses of a sentence, however widely separated these clauses may be, is always defined by the great variety of forms which distinguish cases, genders, moods, tenses, numbers, persons, &c. In our language of few oblique forms, such a separation may seem to connect clauses which are not connected in sense. Thus in this passage of St. Peter, where the clauses are arranged just as they stand in the original, the phrase "in the days of Noah" qualifies the expression which it immediately follows: "when once the long suffering of God waited;" whereas, in the construction of the original, it may follow the phrase "went and preached" quite as appropriately as it now follows the other phrase in our Translation. And, if it were read in this connection, the sense would be clearer: "by which spiritual Divine nature He went and preached, in the days of Noah, to the spirits (now) in prison, who were sometime (or formerly) disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited, while the ark was a preparing," &c.

The view, which we maintain, is that Christ preached to the disobedient Antediluvians, in the days of Noah, *with* and *through* the patriarch.

He preached *with* Noah. Turning to the sixth chapter of Genesis, which gives the history of the times of Noah, we read, in the third verse: "And the Lord (Jehovah) said, my spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." This last clause, as the annotators generally are agreed, means that one hundred and twenty years were still assigned for the opportunity of repentance and reformation before the time fixed for the threatened flood. Now remember, that wherever in the Old Testament the Lord (Jehovah) is represented as *speaking* to men, as *saying* or *doing* anything, audibly or visibly, by any external manifestation to the senses of men, in all such

cases, without exception, the JEHOVAH-ANGEL or Christ is always meant. Wherever God has been manifested, it has been through His Son, the Word, the "Angel of the Lord" (i. e. the Angel-Jehovah or the Jehovah-Angel) from the days of Adam to the close of the world. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only Begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him," (John i, 18.) Keeping in remembrance this great principle, which certainly all Church critics allow, compare this statement in Genesis: "The Lord said, my spirit shall not always strive with man"—i. e. His spirit, which had been striving, and would still persevere to strive, through the 120 years until the Deluge; compare this with the statement of St. Peter: "by which spirit he went and preached, in the days of Noah, to the spirits (now) in prison," i. e. to the Antediluvians, and we see at once the propriety of Christ's being spoken of as preaching in the days of Noah, even directly and personally, in His manifestations as the Jehovah-Angel. The same thought is suggested by the peculiar expression applied to Noah, in common with Enoch, that "he *walked* with God," that is, had intimate and constant communion with Him, in His visible manifestations. Thus Christ preached in His manifestations.

But he preached also *through* Noah. The brief account in Genesis shows that Noah and his family were the only righteous ones then on the earth. "And God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the Earth. And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth." (Gen. vi, 12, 13.) In connection with this picture of universal corruption, it is said: "But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord." (Verse 8.) And again: "The Lord said unto Noah, come thou, and all thy house, into the ark; for thee (i. e. thee only) have I seen righteous before me in this generation." (Gen. vii, 1.) St. Peter, in his 2nd Epistle, (ii, 5,) says: "God spared not the old world, but saved Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly." These several passages show us that Noah was the only one, with his house, of all that generation, who was righteous, and that he preached to the wicked world around him, but in vain. This accords with the statement of the writer to the Hebrews: "By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by

faith." (Heb. xi, 7.) Our Lord's description is to the same purport: "For, as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, *until* the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came and took them all away." (St. Matt. xxiv, 38, 39.) All these passages go to show—the whole of this history shows—that Noah and his house alone were righteous, and faithfully preached repentance; but that all the rest of the world were alike impenitent and hardened. Thus Christ preached, by His personal Teachings and by His Inspirations, through the patriarch, who officiated as His commissioned "preacher of righteousness."

"He went and preached." This peculiar phrase confirms the view that Christ is spoken of in the passage before us, as actually preaching in the days of Noah. Strictly, from the original, (*ἐν ᾧ . . . πνεύματι ἐκήρυξεν*.) this should be rendered: "by which spirit having gone—i. e. in time past—he preached." This may apply as well to the days of Noah as to the time of Christ's Burial. The Syriac version translates simply: "he preached." (Murdock's Translation.) And Macknight writes this able note: "Elsner, on this passage, hath produced examples from the Scriptures, and from Demosthenes, to show that the phrase 'he went and preached' is a pleonasm for 'he preached.'" Among the examples from Scripture, the clearest and most direct is Eph. ii, 15, &c. "Having abolished, &c., and came and preached peace to you who were afar off, and to them who were nigh." For it is certain that our Lord, after his resurrection, did not go personally to the Gentiles to preach peace to them; he preached to them by his Apostles only. But if Christ is said by Paul to go and do, what he did by his Apostles, he may with equal propriety be said by Peter to *go and do*, what he did by his prophet Noah." The foregoing note satisfactorily disposes of any objection to our view, founded upon the word "went," as implying the necessity of Christ's personal presence with those to whom He preached.

The word "preached," too, bears forcibly upon the argument. Bishop Horsley, and those with him, interpret this word as meaning simply to proclaim the glad tidings of redemption to those already penitent and saved. Now this, we believe, is entirely at variance with the constant usage of the word in the New Testament. There is *not*, that we can recollect, a *single passage* in which the word (especially without an object, as in St. Peter) has so limited a meaning. "They went forth and preached everywhere that men should repent," (St. Mark xvi, 20,) is the declaration concerning the *preaching*

of the Apostles. To *preach*, was to proclaim not only the Author of Salvation, but *the conditions of securing salvation* by repentance, &c. St. Mark, describing our Saviour's own preaching, says: "Jesus came into Galilee *preaching* the Gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." (i, 14, 15.) There is nothing in the passage of St. Peter which limits the usual sense of the word "preached" to only a part of its idea. Christ's preaching was to repentance, when He was incarnate. Christ's preaching, through His prophets of old, and His Apostles of later days, was to repentance. What single reason is there to suppose that His preaching ever was or can be of a different sort? The fixed sense of the word "preached," is fatal to Bishop Horsley's interpretation.

Besides, to deviate a moment from the line of strict exegesis, this fancy of preaching to the dead is something which certainly has no support in any other part of Scripture, and cannot, therefore, properly be hence educed. And, if our Saviour proclaimed his Gospel in Hades, why to the penitent Antediluvians, (and to only the last generation of these,) rather than to all the saints who had entered the state of the dead in the ages (as well after as before the deluge) prior to His Incarnation? And is there in Paradise—that part of the place of departed spirits, where the good anticipate their perfect consummation and bliss—a separate place for the Antediluvians, and another for the Postdiluvians? Is there not something like the old fancy of the Limbus Patrum—and this subdivided—involved in the theory we oppose? Not only is this theory utterly inconsistent with a careful Biblical *Criticism*, it, also, surrounds itself with insuperable difficulties of *Doctrine and Faith*.

"The spirits in prison."* About the word "spirits," there is no discussion. It means, as all agree, the souls or immortal part of those who had perished in the flood of Noah. But as to the other word "prison," there has been an interpretation given which is utterly contrary to the whole usage of the Scriptures. Bishop Horsley, to carry out his exposition, is obliged to give to this word a meaning the very opposite from that which it everywhere else bears. The meaning of the word is fixed to denote a prison or place of confinement for criminal or

* Some have explained this phrase as wholly metaphorical, denoting the Gentiles in the captivity of sin—prisoners to vice and lust, as in Isaiah xlii, 7; xlix, 9; lxi, 1. But such an interpretation of *this* passage is hardly worthy to be mentioned.

condemned or suspected persons. But if this be its sense here, as everywhere else, it sweeps away his theory, because the spirits in the prison of condemnation could not, as he admits, be interested in the tidings of salvation. Therefore he invents a meaning for the word (φυλακή) which we translate "prison," founded upon a primary sense of the verb from which it is derived, and calls it a "place of safe-keeping," thus making this "prison" to represent Paradise, or the State of the Holy dead, to which the human soul of Christ went after His crucifixion and prior to His Resurrection. In this way, when the word βαπτίζω had established, in the course of ages, its secondary sense to "wash," Mr. Carson, to sustain a theory, rejects this established sense and substitutes for it the primary meaning of the word and its ancient root. In this way, any theory may be sustained, and the Scripture may be made to teach anything. Even great minds are often tempted to strange absurdities, in their over-ardent zeal to establish some favorite opinion. In this manner the learned prelate has completely subverted the established meaning of the word φυλακή as a place for the wicked, and condemned to a precisely opposite sense as a place for the good and saved. Numerous examples might be adduced of the true sense of the word, to sustain our Received Version, did time permit, and to show that the "prison" of St. Peter here is the same place referred to by St. Jude, as that where the fallen angels are "reserved in chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day," (vs. 6.)

Calvin, who supposed this passage of St. Peter to refer to our Saviour's going into the state of the dead, while His body was buried, feeling the force, and acknowledging the true meaning, of this word "prison," is more consistent; and although the supposition was awful, yet he faced it honestly, and supposed that our Lord in His spirit and soul, spent the three days while His body lay in the grave, in the Gehenna or hell of torment, working out there the full condemnation and literal torments of the lost in the prison of despair. Yet this view of Calvin, founded upon an erroneous interpretation of this passage of St. Peter, has no support from any other portion of the Word of God.

"Which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited," &c. Bishop Horsley supposes the spirits in prison who are further described in this clause "which sometime," &c., to be those who having been disobedient for a time repented at the preaching of Noah, and were then drowned in the flood along with the wicked world; and that to these Christ

went for their comfort. He renders the phrase "sometime were" into "one while had been disobedient," implying "that they were recovered from that disobedience, and before their death had been brought to repentance and faith in the Redeemer to come." (Sermon.) But, apart from all our previous reasons, the adverb properly translated "sometime," (*ποτε*), in the clause "which were sometime disobedient," means simply "formerly, (which is a synonym of "sometime,") in the absolute and unlimited sense, and never, as Bishop Horsley translates it, "for a time" or "for one while," equivalent to temporarily." There is no other passage where it has such a sense, in the New Testament. The learned writer has strained a point of criticism altogether too far, in this case, as in the others, in order to sustain his favorite interpretation. The phrase "once waited" in this clause comes from the common reading *απαξ ἐξεδίχσθαι* which our translators had before them; and if this were the true reading, the phrase could have no effect upon the interpretation, since the "once" *απαξ* (meaning a single time, or once for all, or formerly) would be only pleonastic and unnecessary in the sense. But the Editors of the Greek New Testament almost universally decide, from the MSS and from the evidence both external and internal, that the true reading should be *απεξεδίχσθαι*, a compound from *απο* not *απαξ*, which signifies "long and anxiously waited." (See Bloomfield.) The true sense of this clause, then, is, "which were disobedient formerly, when (*ποτε*, *ὅτε*, correlatives, formerly, when, i. e., at a certain former time, during which said time) the long suffering of God long and anxiously waited," &c. The idea is, that these persons continued disobedient as long as the patience of God waited, and until His patience was exhausted.

The true sense, then, of the whole of this remarkable passage may perhaps be summed up as follows: "Christ was put to death or died, in the flesh, as to His whole human nature, His body going into the grave, and His human soul going to Paradise, where the souls of the good wait in joyful hope for the Resurrection to Life. But He remained alive or quick, and altogether unaffected by death, in His superior spirit, as to His Divine nature, by which, also, in the days of Noah, with and through that preacher of righteousness, He having then gone to them, preached to the spirits who are now in the prison of condemnation, but which were disobedient formerly, when and while the long suffering of God anxiously waited, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. The like figure or antitype to which water,

(the relative *ὃς* in the neuter referring to its neuter antecedent *ἵνατος*.) even Baptism, doth also now save us," &c.

One question remains to be answered: Why did St. Peter allude to the saving of Noah and his family particularly, and to Christ's preaching to that particular generation of the impenitent world in the days of Noah? We answer, because the allusion was naturally suggested by the association of ideas. He was thinking, and had been speaking, through the chapter, of the persecutions of the Christians, in the midst of the great world of their enemies, the wicked, and exhorting them to patience, (vs. 9-17.) Here he introduces the example of Christ, who suffered even to death, (vs. 18,) and who was raised again and crowned with triumph, and who reigns to support and to reward with glory His faithful confessors, (vss. 18, 21, 22, the same subject also immediately continued in the next chapter iv, 1, 2, 13, 14, further referred to, at v, 4, 9-10.) This one great prominent thought of their making, in the face of all oppositions, a conscientious and persevering confession of Christ, (animated by His past example, His present exalted protection, and His future rewards,) is represented and embodied, to the mind of the Apostle, in their Baptism, as he describes it, (vs. 21.) This true Baptism, witnessing and expressing this faithful confession, will save them in their day, ("doth also now save us,") just as the typical waters of the deluge saved the faithful Noah and his family out of the world of the wicked, which wicked world then in Noah's day, rejected Christ's preaching, just as the later wicked world, in which these Christians were suffering and testifying, rejected Him. Thus the association of ideas is perfectly natural and easy. He refers to Christ's suffering and death in the flesh. This suggests Christ's living in the Spirit. This, (as the confession, the Baptism, associating with it the typical waters of the deluge, were prominent in his mind,) suggested Christ's preaching to the disobedient in Noah's day, and connected with this, the saving of Noah and his family on the typical waters. From this, the association of the Christian Baptism and confession was directly reached; and from this, Christ's Resurrection and power and rewards readily followed. The great idea in the mind of St. Peter here, was the true and faithful confession, the subjective qualification for, and formally expressed on our part in, our Baptism; this Baptism also, suggesting and illustrated by the salvation of the few faithful confessors by the typical water of the Deluge. The reference to Christ's preaching to the spirits then disobedient and now in prison was made only incidentally, and as serving to introduce the more prominent thought which followed.

We trust that our argument will not be unwelcome to the sincere lover and student of the Word of God. We are reminded that there is in the other world a "prison;" where the spirits of the disobedient and impenitent of all ages, from the days before the flood to the end of time, are reserved for the judgment to come. May we beware of the neglect of duty, and be warned of the consequences of disobedience to the messengers of God! We are reminded, too, of the fact, that Christ, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, is always preaching to the living generations of men. He preached in the days of old. He preaches in our days. By His Ministers and by His Holy Spirit, His preaching is, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." May we hear and obey Him! We are reminded, too, of the glorious privileges of our Christian Baptism, and of the "answer of a good conscience," that saves us. May we be true and persevering, and obtain the great salvation!

Rev Prof. Harwood

ART. VI.—DISSENSIONS IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

No. II.—*Gnosticism.*

WE turn now from the Judaizing movement of the Apostolic Age to another, traces of which, indeed, are discernible in the lifetime of St. Paul, although it did not culminate until towards the middle of the second Century. This Movement, which has been the plague and confusion of students in Church History, (for who has not been put to his wits end in his first encounters with Gnosticism,) has within the last fifty years received masterly treatment and analysis; although all the difficulties of it have by no means been cleared. Many of them inhere in the nature of the subject itself; and must, therefore, continue in spite of all *critiques*. Still, difficulties or no difficulties, the study of Gnosticism will repay every one who undertakes it, inasmuch as a phase of the old civilization and a type of theorizing are brought to light which we do not encounter fairly in the ordinary Histories.

It is hard to produce much effect in a picture with a dark background, especially when the light in the foreground is far from brilliant, when no halo or splendor of any sort gathers around the prominent figures. Gnosticism lacks dramatic interest. Few, save men addicted to the study of Philosophy or Theology, will care to undertake an investigation into a subject or period where the play of human passion, of fears and hopes, of joys and sorrows, is not seen in any distinctness—where the men whose names are mentioned, are only names, by means of which we distinguish one form of the general movement from another. We encounter here, an extraordinary form of speculative thought, but not rich, diversified action—an attempt to solve the mystery of the world in a style which even now awakens our wonder, but not systematic effort directed towards concrete, tangible good; we come face to face with a theosophic speculation, which few now would like either to imitate or reproduce, though the informing spirit of it may live in our own time.

We do not, of course, propose to write the History of Gnosticism. It will be our endeavor to set forth its leading characteristic principles and the grounds of the varieties of its development, as well as to show its real relations to Christianity and the Church. In order to understand or enter into it at all, it

will, perhaps, be necessary for us to unlearn some things, and to give our attention to phases, and combinations of life which will tend to modify our general notion respecting the state of the religious belief and thought of the world at the beginning of the Christian Era. For has it not been our habit in the study of this period to view men, nations, movements, literatures, philosophies, faiths, in themselves simply, and without any thought of the possible influence which they might exert over each other, or of the existence of mutual relations among them? We speak of Greek thought and philosophy as lingering around Athens and finding culture in the colonies and cities of Greek origin; of Indian thought as having settled into the repose of death under the shadows of the Himalayas; of Judaism as stiff and inflexible in its adherence to its traditions, mistaking its own meaning; of Rome, as bent only and ever upon conquest and glory, and thus, we leave the matter, complacently thinking we have studied "the times" in question, when, in fact, we have only gathered together the isolated factors and ingredients of the time. We read Greek classics and find in them especially an expression of the Greek mind—we read the Scriptures of the Old Testament and find them not only intensely national, but opposed to the world around, lying in darkness; we discern a great gulf between the two, and we infer that each continued to stand apart, that between Jew and Greek there were no points of spiritual contact, much less sympathy. In this way, our notions become stiff, formal, unhistorical. They lack the flavor of life. We may know what Hydrogen is and what Oxygen is, but can we, therefore, be said to know the properties of water? The combination of factors produces new agents and powers; and it is our business to seek at least a knowledge of the relations, of the acting and counteracting influences of men and faiths and forms of thought upon one another, and in their commingled action to learn the real character of the Age.

The conquests of Alexander mark an Era in the History of the old World. That romantic and extraordinary character left Colonies behind him, in Asia Minor, in Syria,—on the confines of Asia and in Egypt. These Colonies growing in wealth and importance, became the means of spreading the Greek Language and Literature, just as the English Colonists of North America in peopling a new world, brought with them the Language and Literature of the Mother Country. The Greek Colonists, however, caught the rays of Eastern thought, and reflected them through the refined medium of their own understandings, as Venice has over it a blush of the Orient, although it belongs to Italy. Subsequently Rome laid her hands upon

these Greek Colonies, and pushing her conquests in all directions, became the one controlling power of the World. Great highways serving alike for the march of the Legions to and from Rome, and also for exports and imports, developed a taste for wandering and travel. The conveniences of locomotion in those days may be inferred from the fact that the bay of Naples was fringed with villas which were the country seats of rich Romans. The enormous wealth of Rome developed, of course, new events, and a taste for foreign luxuries. The East began to pour her manifold products—her ivories, spices and silks—into the Metropolis. Her populations, likewise, began to move. With the merchants, with the slaves, astrologers also, soothsayers and magicians found their way to the West. The West began to attract the East, just as the East led captive the imagination of the West. All tongues and lands, and faiths, therefore, had their representatives in all the great cities of the world. In this way the East opened the mysteries of her speculative beliefs. The world's thought, in fact, was on the world's dusty highways to find circulation, to gather fresh Life by and under new combinations. Greek Philosophy, Oriental Theosophy, scepticism, superstition, despair, were all mingling and blending imperceptibly to themselves and affecting the minds of the world, none the less really because indefinitely. National genius expired with national life, and Rome, in her universal dominion rendered men and thought alike Cosmopolitan. Still, Rome herself gave birth to no new developments of thought. This was not her affair; it was her business to conquer and to rule.

It is necessary, therefore, to consider that quite apart from culture or life of the "classic" type, or of any pure type of historic thought, the world contained within itself a vast deal of floating speculative impulse, which had no fixed starting point, which proposed to itself no definite results, but which reflected in confused way, the varied products and characteristics of the nations that contributed to it. Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Greek Philosophy, each and all were in strange juxtaposition which argued that each had lost its life, and was seeking in the other or others a remedy for the defects of which it might feel itself conscious. The period exhibits all the phenomena of Transition—hereditary faiths yielding to the pressure of time, confusion, incertitude, unbelief, abandonment to pleasure, and proneness in the meanwhile to rely upon Magic. This last, which is a special characteristic of Ages that have lost their virtue, seems grounded in a feeling of helplessness over against Fate or the order of the world. And that this

had gained a mastery over the mind of the time, can no more be doubted than that beneath the gayeties of Paris at this moment slumbers despairing unbelief. What, therefore, was left for it? In its thoughts and theorizing it could not rise above its own level. At best it could but group and combine the materials within its reach, and in this style fashion its ideas of God and the world. In Alexandria, indeed, we observe marked distinct combinations of the Hellenic Mind with the Old Testament Theology. The Jews of that city were rich, influential and well educated. Their Greek culture, accordingly, manifested itself most clearly in the style in which they treated their own faith. The formal principle of the Alexandrian-Jewish theology was Platonism, while its material principle was the Law of Moses. Objectively, perhaps, the Law was one and the same thing to the Jew, whether of Egypt or of Judaea, but the modes of thought of the two were entirely distinct. The writings of Philo represent Alexandrian Judaism, and yet, such is the affinity between some of his speculations and those of given Gnostic sects, that it can readily be understood why Neander is so full and elaborate in his account of them. They are anticipations* of Gnosticism, and Alexandria became one of the centres of Gnostic activity.

In Asia Minor, however, we behold combinations of materials different from that seen at Alexandria. The Philosophy of Greece—Platonism—associated itself not with Judaism, but with the Dualism of the East. Antioch, Ephesus, and other cities of less note, became more or less impregnated with Oriental Theosophizing. In so far as these places ceased to be Greek they were Oriental in their notions and ideas. But the tendency of the Orient was to express its ideas, in the form of symbols, of sensuous imagery. And these found their way into the Greek Worship. The Diana of Ephesus breathed an Oriental rather than a Greek spirit. She is not represented in the youthful form and the flowing drapery of the Hellenic Artemis. She is not the dashing attractive Huntress, but a sort of Panthea—is a multimamma, wrapped and swathed from her waist to her feet and covered over with symbolic representations. It being the tendency of the East to express its ideas by means of symbols and images, in so far as it would influence the Greek cities of Asia Minor and Syria, it would be in the sphere of worship and religious observances rather than of speculative thought. In this way the East struck its roots into Greek soil; on the

* Baur demurs at the ground taken by Neander in the matter. He thinks that the similarity is pushed too far, &c., and gives good reason for his view

one hand making itself known in its own doctrines, especially its doctrine of the Evil of Matter, and on the other hand influencing Greek Worship itself.

In Egypt, then, we behold the combination of Hellenic Philosophy with Jewish theology, in Syria and Asia Minor the combination of Greek worship with Oriental symbolism—the latter connected of course with the Dualism which it sought to express. And here we have the constituent factors, the characteristic groupings of the spirit of this time, in the sphere of faith and philosophy, of symbol and worship. Greek thought and Judaism, Greek worship and Zoroastrianism are found clinging to, mingling with each other, and yet over all, broods restless incertitude. At last Christianity touched this chaotic confluence of beliefs and worships, and introduced into the world at once, the element and power of a new Life, and the principle destined to put an end to the old religions. These were found powerless to stay its course. It gathered its trophies from all classes and races of men; it had no regard for any existing faiths; it cared neither for the mythology of Greece nor the religion of Zoroaster. It had one fact to preach: and soon its plastic power began to be felt. It attracted and gathered multitudes into and within itself. It guarded and nourished them by ministries sent of Heaven. Under its inspiration, thieves, drunkards, prostitutes changed their lives; men burned costly books and implements of Magic; others mistaking its character sought the powers it could bestow, through offers of money. Together with those whom the Gospel changed, came others whom it did not change. It is one proof of the enormous energies of the Church that men joined her communion who were not of her, whether in their practice or in their opinions. From the confused mass of those who finding much that was attractive in Christianity yet did not come fully and fairly under its transforming power sprung the Gnostics—men for the most part given to the study of “the system of the world,” known in their day, according to Gibbon, “as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name.” Their connection with Christianity was partial only; what it was that attracted them towards it, will appear below.

Now Gnosticism is a complex phenomenon, as every man has to learn who undertakes the study of it. It was divided and subdivided into *sects* or schools. These schools differed in some instances very extensively from each other, yet underneath all their diversities lay a certain principle of unity and agreement. The principles of Gnosticism therefore are those which we find in all the forms of its development. If we ascertain these we

shall have some tolerably clear notion of what Gnosticism really was.

Tertullian says, in his Prescriptions :—" Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia subornantur. Inde Aeones et formæ nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum; Platonius fuerat. Inde Marcionis deus melior de tranquillitate; a stoicis venerat. Et uti anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur; et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium philosophorum schola sumitur; et ubi materia cum deo æquatur, Zenonis disciplina est; et ubi aliquid de igneo deo allegatur, Heraclitus intervenit. Eædem materiæ apud hæreticos et philosophos volutantur; iidem retractatus implicantur; unde malum et quare? et unde homo et quomodo? et quod proxime Valentinus proposuit; unde deus? scilicet de enthymesi et ectromate. (De præscrip. Hæret., p. 5.) It is well understood that these and kindred other questionings which aimed at the construction of the system of the Universe, were the themes upon which Gnosticism in a special way, employed itself. This fact, however, is in itself no explanation of Gnosticism. To question is not heresy; to attempt a system of the world in the way of thought, to endeavor to set forth the relation of God to the world, is not heretical, nor anti-Catholic, for the Church boasts of and glories in her Athanasines and Augustines. But it is one thing to ask questions and another thing to answer them. The philosophers of antiquity, the Heresiarchs, and the Catholic Doctors alike might and did ask, whence is the world? Whence is evil? Yet, how unlike the answers which each returned. The differences among them are to be found in these rather than in the questions. There are many questions which belong alike to the sphere of philosophy and of Christian theology, but they are discussed and solved from different standpoints and in different relations. The peculiarity of Gnosticism therefore lay, not in the questions it started, but in the point of view it occupied, and in the answers it returned to them. The Church, as Neander remarks, proposed a practical solution of the questions which had agitated the mind of the world—but this, Gnosticism rejected, and claimed to know the mystery of the Universe. While faith therefore was the Christian standpoint, knowledge was that of Gnosticism. It aspired to a system of truth, each particular link of which from first to last, was within the province and reach of the human faculties. From the standpoint of knowledge it surveyed the world and God, time and eternity. Hence its name *Gnosis*—a high pitch and form of knowledge to which alone the Pneumatic men, i. e., the men of the Spirit, were admitted. Yet this throws no light upon Gnosticism itself. What Gnosticism is we learn by gathering

together the factors and ingredients which are to be found in all the Gnostic systems. We must state these first, and then the spirit or temper—the formal principle which led to the varieties of its development and manifestation. Now in all the Gnostic sects we find a recognition, (1) of a Supreme, absolute God; (2) of the Eternity of Matter; (3) of a Demiurgus; (4) of Christ. These factors appear amid all diversities, and notwithstanding profound contrarieties. Still this brings us but to the Portals of the movement. It is the spirit which sought from the factors just named to construct the system of the world, to explain and set forth the universe in the law and life of its action from the highest God to the lowest creature which challenges our interest. It aimed to express the relations of things in their organic connections. This imparts to it a philosophic character which in the estimation of Baur brings it into affinity and presents decided analogies with modern German philosophy! Gnosticism would indeed be a barren phenomenon were our knowledge of it limited simply to the material factors of which it consisted. The spirit of it, however, shaped and breathed into it its breath of life,—colored it with brilliant drapery,—and made it memorable for ages, securing for it even at this late day patient study. The factors are simple enough—God, Matter, Demiurgus, Christ,—not one of them, it will be noticed, peculiar to itself,—but these coming into minds which already bore the impress both of Greece and of the Orient, were wrought out by them into strange, cunning systems, presenting all sorts of combinations, promising men brilliant rewards, and yet proving but wind. Gnosticism indeed wove its own web: in its dusky lines are read the convolutions of an extraordinary phase of humanity—an activity which lacked solid strength, speculation which spent itself upon a dream.

Now the spirit which shaped Gnosticism was Oriental Dualism: a dualism grounded in the idea of the irreconcilable hostility between spirit and matter; the former being identical with goodness, and the latter with evil. And this Dualism found its power in the profound consciousness, in the keen pressure of evil in the world and in man. The consciousness of sin had always been feeble in the Greek mind, but it had been proportionately strong in Asia. In Greece the doctrine of the Eternity of Matter was discussed as a problem for philosophical schools: in Asia it was incorporated with the religious ideas and worship of the people. Hence when the question came, Whence is evil?—they who felt its force inclined by a sort of instinctive proclivity to Eastern solutions. For the theosophy of the East was dualistic upon this very account. It

could explain the origin and existence of evil only by believing it as self-existent. But the doctrine of the self-existence of Evil is symbolized in the war of Ormuzd and Ahriman; it had entered thoroughly and deeply into the heart of Syria and Asia Minor, though not of course in its original form. Yet this idea did present itself to the mind of the age we are now considering as a solution of the problem of Evil; and this is now and here the particular for us to comprehend. We may find fault with it as a solution, nevertheless it satisfied the men who accepted it eighteen hundred as well as three thousand years ago. Now let this be clearly understood, and we shall see how the Gnostic movement sprung up and developed itself. We plant ourselves here because we believe this to be the key to the whole thing: that it imparted to it all its peculiarities, in a word, that it made Gnosticism. Not only is it the key to the whole movement, it likewise explains the differences and contrarieties among the various Gnostic sects. For by the *character* of the Dualistic principle alone, can we understand the differing relations in which the Demiurgus stood to the Supreme God and to Christ. Hence it will be necessary to show here, how the Dualistic principle wrought in Gnosticism, especially how it can serve to unfold the varieties of the general movement itself.

As we have already noticed, Dualism in general means *that evil is self-existent*, that the supreme God is not responsible for it in any way, but that it originated without His agency and in a sphere really beyond His control. Now the notion entertained of evil itself, must affect the estimate of the strictness and of the extent of the principle of Dualism. Suppose, for example, that evil be regarded only as the absence of goodness, as the antithesis of life and light, it is very obvious that this conception will modify and soften the principle in question; while, on the other hand, if it be thought of as endued with positive life of its own, capable in its own might of waging war upon and interfering with the kingdom of life and goodness, this will have a corresponding effect in giving strength and distinctness to the Dualistic principle. And if this principle appear in all Gnosticism, if the measure and extent of it affect its various systems, it is obvious still farther that the *view entertained of the character of evil* must modify and form the whole. Herein lies the root of the differences among the Gnostics. For us, then, this is the principle of classification. We believe truly that this fact has been, we will not say overlooked, but under-estimated by the scholars who have handled this subject. With Baur, Gnosticism is a

phase of Religion-Philosophy, with Neander of Oriental Theosophy, with Möhler it is an ethical movement chiefly; and while these distinguished men, together with Gieseler and Hase have labored at the classification of Gnostic systems, they have missed, we submit with respect, the fact which explains the whole. It was found, for instance, that certain distinctions could be drawn between the Alexandrian and the Syrian Gnosis, and this served as one mode of classification; again Hase speaks of Gnosticism as Hellenic, and Oriental, and Jewish, and Christian; Neander and Baur (with some differences) classify the sects according to their relation to existing religions,—and this is very satisfactory, so far as their material principle and contents are concerned, but highly unsatisfactory when we ask, What made the relation to the existing religions? No choice, therefore, is left us but the ground just taken, that the idea which affects all, is the idea of the character and properties of evil. This explains the difference between the Alexandrian and Syrian Gnosis—the Alexandrian being more ideal, more Grecian, because the idea of evil is more negative, while the Syrian partakes more of the Persian dualism, is drawn in stronger lines, because the idea of evil assumes with it a more positive character. The differences between the two therefore are grounded in an idea and are not matters of climate or country merely. Whether now our principle of classification will hold, we shall leave the reader to determine; it will be seen, however, we think, the further we push our inquiries into the matter.

Notwithstanding the Greek culture manifest in the greater Gnostic systems, Gnosticism as such bears upon its face marks of its Oriental origin. Now, Baur has skillfully noticed the difference between the Greek and the Oriental mind in one particular which is essential to our entire subject. “God and the World,” he remarks, (*Christliche Gnosis*, p. 29,) “are considered as brought into contact through the movements of a process, which bears more or less the character of a nature-process conditioned through physical laws. The chief difference between them consists in this,—that the process in question moves either from above below, or from below upwards; either from the perfect to the less perfect, or from the imperfect to the perfect. The one tendency may be named in general, Emanation, the other Evolution. The latter presupposes as first and original, Imperfection, which still however contains within itself all the elements of a higher development, but is only the undermost foundation for the higher spiritual life, which can be developed through a series of formations in which the material principle

is engaged in continuous conflict with the spiritual. This is the standpoint of Greek Religion. . . . The view proceeding from the conception of Emanation is peculiar to the Oriental systems of Religion, which assert as their first principle the pure self-existent spirit, and which account for the material world in this way,—by the action of the spirit through a series of Potences (Potenzen) and Beings which proceed from Him as rays of Light, &c., until they come into contact with Matter.” Now Gnosticism proceeds just in this way, from the Absolute, the Uncreated God, through successive gradations down to things tangible and material. The Emanation theory is an attempt to account for the creation of the world and the phenomena of History upon a given hypothesis—of the eternity of Matter. Between the dead chaotic mass of the realm of darkness and the Highest God was a great void. There could be no point of contact between them. In themselves considered and by themselves each must remain apart from the other: both must abide within their respective limits. Chaos must continue chaotic, “without form and void.” God must dwell in the silence of His own abysmal Being. Now in order that the realm of Matter might be reached, the Gnostics supposed a sort of self-limitation upon the part of God by which certain beings were generated, called by some Aeons, by others Dunameis, (powers.) These Aeons filled the intervening space between the fountain of Light and the kingdom of darkness. The process by which they were generated, the names bestowed upon them, their relation to each other varied, in the various Gnostic systems. Nevertheless, here is a class or family peculiarity somewhat which was at once characteristic of the Gnostic theosophy, and indicative of its Oriental origin. The fundamental idea was that the Absolute God, or the Fountain of Light, produced living powers who were participants of His Own Essence. The first order of generated Beings or Aeons in their turn generated others, and so we have a succession, or graduated Hierarchy of celestial Beings, all owing their existence by ultimate derivation to the Highest God. This gradation extended on and on, farther and farther from God, each rank being less resplendent, more restricted in its capacities than those above them, until finally the outermost rank within this Pleroma—this space filled by Beings reflecting the uncreated glory, came in contact with the dead mass of matter. It is not worth while to go into the details of the variations of the fancies of particular teachers; it is sufficient to refer the student more particularly to the theory of Valentinus, at once the most complete, the most poetic of all. It will be seen now,

that this is an illustration of the Emanation theory. The starting point is perfection. Each order of Aeons, while sharing in this perfection, contains a diminished measure of it, until finally seeds of the divine life, drops of the divine Essence, fall over into and upon the material chaos. These of course receive a new nature into themselves: they are affected by the qualities of Matter. Their divine life is under eclipse, or else, according to the view taken of the nature of evil, they become opposed to the Highest God and do battle with Him, by seeking conquest over His realm. From this admixture of the Divine and the Material springs the world in the ordinary acceptation of the term: but it is not left to itself, is under a ruler or Demiurgus, and the relation of this Demiurgus to the Highest depends upon the conception of the evil which inheres in matter. Strange fantasies shoot forth here. This was the arena where the Gnostic temper found its fullest exercise. Upward and downward—towards Light and towards the Dark, with its male and female Aeons, with its personified attributes of Wisdom, and love and goodness, the commingling of the Divine and material was felt.

II. But what of the Demiurgus? What was his rank? What was his relation to the Highest God? Now it is noticeable enough that the Gnostics differed very materially in their answers to these questions. But the differences, instead of being accidental and arbitrary, were grounded in the idea of evil as inherent in matter. For the Demiurgus was supposed in some way to reflect the characteristics of the realm, over which he presided; he partook in a measure of its properties and attributes. Its shadows fell upon Him. The Demiurgus consequently, though found in all the Gnostic systems, is a variable quantity. He is not the same in all, whether we consider his powers and attributes, or his relations both to the Highest God and to Christ. While in some of them he occupies a position, we had almost said, of moral indifference, being regarded as the unwitting, unreflective agent of the Highest, carrying on and conducting the world to its consummation without any apprehension of the end (*τελος*) of his own Agency; in others, even as the willing instrument of his divine original; in others, finally, as the Deus Sævus—the raging, fierce being who seeks to establish a kingdom for himself, is at war with God and goodness, and strives in fact to defeat the plans of God; is hateful towards Christ, and even brings about His crucifixion. These differences are noticeable enough. We maintain that they are grounded in the logical necessities of the various Gnostic theories. The Demiurgus of Basilides

corresponds with his view of the material world; the Demiurgus of Marcion with his; the Demiurgus of Saturninus with his. There is profound difference between the Archon of Cerinthus and the Jaldabaoth of the Ophites—the one reminding us of the words of the Psalmist, “he maketh his Angels Sprits;” and the other suggesting images of Satan, of Ahriman, of a mighty power defying the Most High and at war with Him. Notwithstanding the diverse conceptions of the Demiurgus, among the Gnostics, they agree that he was not only, as his name generally imports, the God of this world, but especially the God of the Jews. And hence as they regarded Him, so also they regard Judaism. This explains the reason why some of the Gnostics treated with a degree of respect the Jewish economy, viewing it as a true anticipation of the Gospel—as the sphere of the Psychical man, while others utterly repudiated and scorned it. The Alexandrian Gnosis stood much more nearly to the Jewish Alexandrian Theology than the Syrian, and Judaism in its view was well enough in its day, and better than heathenism. They, however, who hated the Demiurgus, hated it, because it was the sphere of his revelation. This latter phase of Gnosticism culminated perhaps in the Cainites, who rendered peculiar honor to the criminals and rascals of Holy Writ, because they were the enemies of the God of the Jews. Thus potent was the effect of the notion of the Demiurgus in the sphere of criticism: in the light of it they interpreted the history of the past: inclining to or rejecting all Judaistic ideas just in proportion as they considered the Demiurgus an object of indifference, on the one hand, or of hate on the other.

We find, likewise, the same principle as applied to Heathenism. Heathenism was the religion of Matter, the deification of the properties and attributes of matter. It was not, therefore, strictly the dispensation and economy of the Demiurgus. Nevertheless, it had its place in History, and the more ideal of the Gnostics would treat it, not unlike the way in which it was treated by the Alexandrian Church Fathers, while the more material, dualistic Gnostics, rejected and disowned it entirely, as being evil and hateful.

The relation, then, of Gnostics to existing religions, depended entirely upon the notion formed of the Demiurgus, and this latter notion was throughout colored and shaped according to the conception of evil, as the negative (ideal) or the positive (material dualistic) element prevailed. This alone, we repeat, throws light upon and solves the varieties and the contrarieties brought out in the view of the Demiurgus.

III. Certainly thus far, we see nothing in Gnosticism, whether in its formal or its material character, which authorizes us to regard it in any sense as a phase or expression of Christianity. No connection with it, no dependence upon it, no obligation to it in the way of thought, are discernible in its Emanation theory, in its view of matter, in the idea of a Demiurgus. In fact, it is at war with Christianity in its standpoint and in its contents. If the Phenomenon we name Gnosticism had appeared with just these characteristics and no more, it is plain enough that it would have been considered as one of the expiring struggles of the Old World, as an effort by the fusion of Greek Philosophy and Oriental Theosophy, to revive the declining faith of men in God—would have been in fact placed in the categories of Neo-Platonism. But the Gnostics were impressed with the idea of Redemption, if not in the Church's sense, nevertheless in a sense all-important to themselves. They believed that they could rise victorious over the powers of death and darkness; that they could soar beyond the realm of the Demiurgus; that they could become dwellers in the sphere of Eternal Light. Now this idea of Redemption from the thralldom of matter and sin, brought them into connection with Christ. They regarded Him as the power or instrument whereby this blessed result was to be consummated. And that men, with the peculiar taste for speculation, with such a bias for phantasies should have turned to the Christian Church so early in her career, when the profession of the Christian name, to say the least, involved reproach, that they should have looked to Christ as to a power that could place them beyond the province of the Demiurgus, is a striking proof of the enormous energy, and of the profound impression produced upon men by the preaching of the Apostles and of their immediate successors. The Gnostics in their thinking, whether we consider its form or its matter, exhibit no affinity with the Gospel, and yet they believed after their own fashion in Christ, and in so far as they were Christians we must find their Christianity in their doctrine of Christ. The Christology of Gnosticism made it at once Christian and heretical, brought it into association with the Christian Church and repelled it from her. It is curious, and not without its lesson for us, to notice how early in the life of Christianity, men took its central fact, wrenched it from its own soil, and transformed a living person, our Lord Jesus Christ, into a phantasy. As the Demiurgus under various guises is characteristic of Gnosticism as such, so Christ is found in all its systems; but not the Christ of the New Testament, not the Christ of the Church's Faith. One may say that the

only thing it has in common with the Church, is the name of Christ. At one with the Church in the confession of His Name, it is at war with her in the conception of His Person. It could not, without parting with its foundation and superstructure, alike receive Christ as God-Man. It must accept Him, if at all, under the conditions which its general standpoint and the logical necessities of its own ideas, required. It was a cardinal axiom with the Gnostics that there could be no direct contact or communication between the Highest God and matter. Hence, whatsoever they might think of Christ, howsoever varied might be their conception of Him, they could not regard Him as God-Incarnate. How, then, may the Gnostic idea of Christ be stated? Yet here we find a most conspicuous exhibition of the radical and fatal defects of Gnosticism as such. For not acknowledging any real union of the human and the divine in the Person of our Lord, the Gnostic Leaders had recourse to their own fancies and fashioned Him in accordance with their prevailing intellectual habit. They distinguished between the man Jesus—"the Psychical Messiah" and the Redeemer or Saviour. They held, in fact, to two Christs, Jesus and the Aeon, or higher power expressed by various names, whom they supposed to have descended upon the earthly Jesus at His Baptism. This was not incompatible at all with the recognition of the reality of our Lord's human nature. His body and being according to this view might have been as real as that of any man. The redeeming Aeon spoke through Him, used Him as his organ or vehicle of communication, but left Him before the hour of His Death. There were others, however, who denied the reality of our Lord's Body and manhood at all, considering Him as an apparition only, as an unreal phantom, employed by the redeeming Spirit to publish the Gospel of Redemption. While, then, some recognized the humanity of Christ, others rejected it—all in the meanwhile repudiating the Church's doctrine, and none submitting to the real teaching of the Gospel respecting Christ—Whence the difference? Obviously the answer is the same by which we have explained the differences among them in other particulars. We find that they who were more influenced by Greek Philosophy, by the idea of the negative characteristics of evil, favored one mode of representation, and they who were under the dominion of a harder, more material view of the power of evil, the other mode. The Idealizing Gnostics recognized the Earthly life of Christ; they who hated all contact with matter, denied that Earthly Life and Being. The Lord Jesus occupied the place then, in the

Gnostic Systems, which their prevailing antecedent bias required. They made up for their denials of History by expending the utmost powers of their fancy, in their statement of His position and work. In particular, we call the attention of the student to the Christology of Valentinus, as being the most perfect exhibition of the Gnostic genius and Spirit.

We have abstained from any statement of the details of these systems; these can be found in all the Church Histories. It has been our object to set forth the formal principle, and the material contents of Gnosticism, in the hope that they who are interested in such matters may be assisted in their studies of this enigmatic movement, and that instead of being bewildered by uncouth names, they will trace ideas at work in it, which were widely spread throughout the civilized world at the beginning of the Christian Era. We hope to conclude our notice of the subject by showing its ethical principle and its real relation to the Christian Church.

ART. VII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF RELIGION.

1. *Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages.* By L. MARIA CHILD. New York : C. S. FRANCIS & Co. 1856. 3 vols. 12mo.
2. *The Heathen Religion in its Popular and Symbolical Development.* By Rev. JOSEPH B. GROES. Boston. 1856. 12mo.
3. *The Religions of the World, in their Relation to Christianity.* By F. D. MAURICE. Boston : Gould and Lincoln. 1854. 16mo.
4. *Christ and other Masters : an Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World, with Special Reference to Prevailing Difficulties and Objections.* By CHARLES HARDWICK, M. A., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Part II : *Religions of India.* Cambridge : Macmillan. 1857. 8vo. pp. 219.
5. *Hulsean Lectures for 1846.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A. Philadelphia : H. Hooker. 1850.

FEW writers of the present day have done more for the elucidation of Christian truth, than the author of the Hulsean Lectures. His Notes on the Parables, and on the Miracles, are a noble gift to the Church, and entitle him to the gratitude of every student of God's Word. The Hulsean Lectures, too, for 1845, are full of deep searchings into the meaning of Holy Scripture, and of beautiful illustrations of some of the rich treasures there contained. The Lectures for 1846, although not equal, as we think, to the former series, are yet a valuable addition to Christian literature, and abound with fine conceptions and pleasing imagery. The very title of these Lectures—"Christ the Desire of all nations, or The Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom," is itself beautifully suggestive, and is of more value than some whole volumes which we have seen. Mr. Trench has been very successful in turning their own weapons upon one class of the ancient and the modern assailants of Christianity by the development of this idea, and to the elucidation of this argument our present discussion is mainly directed.

The old form of the Anti-Christian argument which Mr.

Trench encounters was this. There have been a great many religions, analogous in some of their leading features to Christianity, which have been as firmly believed as Christianity ever was, but which are now acknowledged to be false—therefore Christianity is as false as they, and will share the fate of every preceding delusion.

A sufficient answer to this most shallow sophism, is found in the simple fact, that there is and can be no such thing as a falsehood, except as the denial, departure from, or corruption of some Truth. The acceptance and prevalence of false religions therefore proves, not that all religions are false, *but that there must be a true religion*. The existence and circulation of numerous counterfeit bank-notes may render it difficult to ascertain which is genuine; but they all prove and presuppose the existence of one which is genuine, and from its acknowledged existence they derive their fictitious value. This argument is well drawn out by Mr. Trench, in presenting the various striking features of the religions of heathendom.

But Mr. Trench, by following the common opinion as to the origin of the heathen religions, has departed from the facts, and has thereby weakened the conclusive force of his argument, and given countenance to the latest form of infidel assault upon Christianity. The admission is made throughout the work, and in this he has followed Milman, that all the great features of the heathen religion were “the world’s divination at the least;” were the result of the needs and aspirations of humanity; the attempted realization of the unassisted longings and deep yearnings of the soul.

On this popular view of the origin of heathen religion, the modern Pantheistic representation of Christianity is founded. That representation does not by any means deny the truth of the Christian religion. On the contrary, it affirms that this religion is essential to humanity, as its elevator and purifier. But it declares that its truths are only the development of human want and urgency—the spontaneous product of the soul’s desires, affections, and intellectual throes and efforts. And in support of this hypothesis, it adduces the striking analogies to the Christian religion which all other religions present; their sacrifices of deprecation and atonement, their hero-worship, their hopes and anticipations of a Deliverer, and of a better condition of the world. It offers these, as the germinant state of the Divine idea which was struggling to the birth—the early efforts of the immature intellect to realize its conceptions, and to give body and form to the needs and aspirations of the soul. It sets forth Christ as the highest realiza-

tion of this glorious ideal of humanity, the most perfect embodiment of the struggling thoughts and desires of men that the world has yet seen. To reach up to the ideal excellency portrayed in this representation of humanity, is salvation. Until human progress shall attain to a loftier symbol of perfection, to a Diviner Christ, the present Christ must be confessed and aspired to as a model of a true man to which all other men should be conformed. This latest refinement of philosophic infidelity acknowledges a God—a present Deity. But this God is not a personal Deity. He, or rather it, is the mere *abstract idea* of truth, love, goodness, &c., developed and personated in the glorious aspects of nature; and chiefly in man, the head and summit of nature. Christ, therefore, is most truly God; because man is God, and Christ is the perfect ideal of humanity.

Now the known historic origin of Christianity is the sufficient answer to all this speculation, refinement, and nonsense. But the assumption on which it is founded, and which has been too readily admitted by Christian writers generally, as well as by our author, is disproved by two very different modes of argument. In the first place, it is altogether gratuitous, and unwarranted by any *a priori* reason, to suppose that any religion, true or false, would ever have originated from human nature. It is most true that there is in the soul of man, an adaptation to religious truth; and this fact proves that religion is a truth, a reality, a production of the same Almighty power and goodness which formed the soul. It is the same kind of proof which the eye affords of the correlative existence of light; or the ear, of the corresponding existence of an arrangement for the production of sound. For they are necessary to each other; and either independent of the other would be worthless and without a purpose. In the same way, the adaptation of man's nature to religion, proves that religion is a truth, just as certainly as we can know that man himself is a true and real being. But, all this is very different from the proposition that man has ever originated religious truth for himself, out of the depths of his own nature, or by the unassisted operations of his own powers. Such a conclusion is as remote from the premises, as that the eye produces light, because it is capable of perceiving the light when externally presented.

We do not deny the abstract possibility that the mind of man might discover a truth of religion; but we deny the fact that any such discovery ever has been made, and we question the *a priori* probability that it ever would be made. It is a

very pretty sentiment, indeed, to talk about the deep thoughts, and the intense yearnings of the innermost soul of a savage. But yet we know that his thoughts and his yearnings are in fact prompted by his appetites and his passions. And the reasonable conclusion is, that religious truth, in order to be perceived and recognized by the soul of man, must first be embodied into some external and sensible form, either of language or symbol. That is to say—the Creator, when He gave to man the capacity to apprehend and employ religious truth, must have provided that capacity with some external expression and embodiment of the truth, so to be recognized and employed; else that portion of man's nature would have remained a mere waste, without exercise and without a purpose.

This supposition corresponds precisely with the facts of the case. All the known facts lead irresistibly to the same result. The Pantheistic theory, taking as its postulate the gratuitous admission of Christian writers, assumes that the various religions of the world have originated from the affections and the intellectual capacities of men—that the earlier efforts of the race in this department were rudimental and imperfect, in accordance with the character and attainments of barbarous men in the lowest stages of social existence—but that these, by the advancing mind of the race, have been gradually improved into Christianity; and which, so far from being complete, will be developed hereafter into something else. Hence the contortions without the inspiration of our modern Sibyls. The facts of the case are, that the purest religion, the best theology—these very persons being judges—is found in the earliest age of human existence, in the very infancy of society. The well authenticated records of an inconsiderable people, inhabiting a small territory on the Western border of Asia, present us five hundred years before the commencement of the historic period in Europe, with a purer religion, with a nobler theology, than the world has ever yet seen, except that which it promised and prefigured, and of which it was the announced preparation. *The farther we depart from this central point of light and knowledge, the more degraded and trifling and corrupt does the religion of men become.* The true and legitimate deduction from the facts is, that the only operation of unassisted man upon or with religion, has been to vitiate and corrupt it. Instead of originating a religion of any sort, true or false, men, left to themselves, have invariably failed to retain the religious knowledge which they once possessed, and have as invariably proceeded to change that truth of God into a lie, into some fantastic form of falsehood and delusion. This is

certainly St. Paul's account of the way in which the heathen religions began and were developed.

We are presented in the Old Testament with the purest Theism, the most elevating religion, originating in the very infancy of the human race, and representing itself to be but an anticipation and a promise of a yet higher and nobler belief. In the New Testament, we have the fulfillment of this promise by the development of Judaism into the full and glorious proportions of Christianity, consummated and perfected in a single age. This religion professes to be, in its origin and in every step of its progress, a Revelation, and not the product of human feelings and faculties. And furthermore, all the religious knowledge now existing among enlightened nations, all the grand conceptions and beautiful thoughts of the very deniers of revelation, come from this professed revelation. Wherever the light of this revelation shines not, there is darkness and ignorance; there grand conceptions and beautiful thoughts about man and religion are utterly unknown. Such are the facts upon one side.

Not a single instance can be named in which a religion, of human or Divine origin, has been developed by the progressive energies of the human mind to a higher and better state. No such instance has ever been alleged. The religion of the Bible is the only one that has ever made a single step in advance. The history of every other, is a history of deterioration and corruption. The earlier faith of every nation is better than that which succeeded it, unless the change or reformation has been in some way the product of that one religion which originated in Palestine. The hypothesis of Pantheism, then, is based upon palpable and notorious falsehood. The facts not only fail to give any support to the theory, but they are strong enough to prove a negative. This theory, and all the infidel schemes which have preceded it, are a continuation of the same perverse effort of the human mind to deal dishonestly with the truth which God has graciously revealed for the salvation of men.

We propose to give a rapid sketch of the facts in the history of Revealed Religion, showing that the Providence of God has always taken care that the Truth should be externally witnessed to men, and that from this testimony, all the truth in the religious systems of heathendom is derived. The whole religious history of man will be found to be both a proof and a continuous illustration of this fact, viz, that there are two sets of antagonistic forces continually operating upon human nature. The one is extrinsic, being religious truth, revealed by the

Almighty, to elevate, purify, perfect and carry out, the original design and purpose of human nature. The other is the innate corruption of the human heart, assisted by external forces, seeking to carry on the process of corruption, to despoil yet more entirely the work of God, to deface yet more utterly the image of Himself which He planted in human nature, and thus weakening by every possible expedient, the remedial and purifying force and power of that religion which God gave to be the restorer and the perfecter of humanity. The religious history of man is, therefore, the history of this one true Religion which came from God, and of a vast multitude of corruptions of that truth which have been substituted for it by the subtle devices of the human heart.

Revealed religion, from the first, consisted of a few simple Articles of Faith and Institutions of Worship. These two were inseparably bound together,—the latter containing and setting forth the former. Together, they consisted of: 1st, The knowledge of One Only God; 2nd, The confession of man's guilt and helplessness, his consequent desert of punishment, and dependence upon Divine grace for the ability to do good; 3rd, The belief that God had provided an atonement or satisfaction for sin, by virtue of which He was enabled to be merciful to our unrighteousness; 4th, The expression of this Faith in varied rites of sacrifice.

The Faith and the Institutions of the true religion have always been inseparably united. For if the truth of our relations to God had merely been revealed in words, as an abstract conception of the mind, there is no reason to believe that the knowledge thus conveyed would have outlasted a single generation. All the natural tendencies and the actual working of the human mind, are to a fatal obliviousness or perversion of pure religious truth. That truth is only maintained in its purity and power by the constant operation of an external system, embodying and holding forth the truth, for the governance and guidance of human life and action. And therefore, the Church, an organized, visible and perpetual society, to which is committed the care and direction of the institutions which contain, preserve, and set forth this revealed truth, is just as essential to the right working of human nature, considered in its relations to God, as the Family and the State are to the right working of the same nature, considered in its social relations to this world. The Church in its first dispensation included the whole of mankind, the Priesthood being especially committed to the first born of each family.

By this Divine combination of spiritual truth with sensible

institutions, religion was so incorporated into the very being and life of men that it could by no possibility be utterly lost, or altogether forgotten. The only way in which it could be successfully assailed, was by the insidious process of gradual corruption. And there were materials enough in human nature to render such a process eminently successful. Religion, pure and holy, appealed, indeed, with power and effect to all that was noble and generous in our fallen nature; but the same religion was, of necessity, most offensive to the corruptions which it sought to extirpate from that nature. How natural and easy was it then for a deceived heart to yield to the seductions of an ingenious sophistry which undertook to reconcile the hopes and the sanctities of religion with those very corruptions which were now a part of the cherished nature of every man! So natural and easy was this mode of dealing with religion, that it began in the beginning. In the bosom of the infant Church arose that first corruption, the suggestion of a proud and infidel spirit, which has been the type of one of the forms of error in every succeeding age.

The shedding of blood in sacrifice was an institution purely arbitrary, and was the most humiliating confession of human guilt, and a most emphatic declaration of the reliance of the offerer upon the atonement for sin which God would provide. The proud heart of Cain revolted from this feature of the religion that God had revealed. Any other sacrifice than this—the thank offering of the fruits of the earth in testimony of his gratitude to God—accorded very well with his notions of fitness and propriety. This Eucharistic sacrifice he was willing enough to make. But his refusal to offer the bloody sacrifices of atonement which had been commanded, was either an insolent assumption of a perfect righteousness which needed no expiation, or an impeachment of the Divine character as utterly deficient in the essential attribute of justice—supposing that He could look upon sin with favor or allowance. Either of these suppositions was a fatal and destructive error, and the worship founded upon them would be an offense to the Divine Majesty. Only in our true character as sinners can we come before God; and we can come in that character only through that way of access which He has appointed, and in which He has promised to pardon and to take away our sin. The offering of the proud rationalist, Cain, was therefore indignantly rejected by the Holy Being whom he had insulted by such an oblation; while the faith of Abel, in humbly bringing the instituted token at once of his sin, of the desert of that sin, and

of the provision for its pardon, was graciously accepted and blessed.

From the fact that no reference is made in the history of the Antediluvian Church to the prevalence of superstition or idolatry, it is probable that the descendants of Cain followed that corruption of religion which their father had originated. The rapidity with which impiety and wickedness rose to such a height as to require the destruction of the whole race, is another reason for coming to the same conclusion. For, fatal as are the errors of superstition and idolatry, they do not run their course so rapidly, and terminate so soon in atheism and irreligion, as the opposite error of self-righteous infidelity.

The descendants of Seth were distinguished for a time by their faith and piety from these wicked followers of the first murderer. But when these two families began to contract marriages with each other, the contagion of wickedness was found to be much more powerful than the allurements of virtue, and the whole race became alike degenerate and unworthy. For the period of 120 years, Noah and his family, with a few of the older Patriarchs who survived during a part of this time, were the only faithful professors of the true religion in the midst of a world given up to impiety and wickedness. At last that wonderful vindication of the moral government of God, the Deluge, came, and once more the earth was to be peopled by that remnant of the race of man which was miraculously preserved in the Ark. To call into question either of these miracles, the Deluge, or the preservation in the Ark, upon the ground of difficulties growing out of the ordinary laws of nature, is very absurd. *Both were miracles*—that is, exertions of Divine power above and beyond those ordinary operations of the same power which belong to the usual condition of the world—or, the phenomena did not occur. Admit a God, who is also a moral Ruler of men, and these miracles with all their circumstances become just as probable exercises of Almighty power as any of the common phenomena of nature.

The traditional records of every people upon the earth, go back to this event in some form of myth or fable, as the origin of their state—thus presenting an unanswerable argument to the truth of the narrative contained in the book of Genesis. This testimony is independent of the Divine attestation to the facts given in that book. The authentic history of all nations, and the known gradual progress of emigration from the valley of the Euphrates to the confines of the earth in every direction, prove, beyond contradiction, that the beginning of the present

race of mankind cannot be traced to an earlier period than the division of the earth among the sons of Noah. Every nation, but the Hebrew, in seeking for its origin, loses itself in some faint traces of the preservation of its progenitor from this terrible catastrophe. In the Bible alone, have we a distinct and plain narrative, which accounts for, while it reconciles the traditions of other people. Those famous astronomical tables of Chaldea, upon which the enemies of religion counted so largely a hundred years ago, have long since turned out to have been mere calculations backwards from a comparatively recent period.

For a long time after this signal manifestation of God's anger against impiety, there seems to have been no tendency upon the part of men to naked irreligion, or to that infidel form of error which had characterized the Cainites of the Antediluvian period. The opposite corruptions, superstition and idolatry, now began to prevail. The departures from the truth were gradual. At first, the glorious luminaries of day and night were adored as the Shekinahs—the visible manifestations of the Divine Presence—the beneficent protectors and guardians of the world. It was easier for the fancy to endow these beauteous objects with personality and intelligence, and for men to put their trust in them, than to ascend above all created things and recognize the superintending providence of the One, Unseen and Infinite Being, of whose goodness these glorious creations are but the insensible instruments.

In the age of these first beginnings of idolatrous departure from the truth, lived the holy Patriarch, Job. For we find him referring to Sabianism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, as a crime which deserved to be punished; and this is the only kind of idolatry alluded to in that most ancient book. Endeavoring to avert the reproach of his friends, he says:

“If I beheld the sun when it shined,
Or the moon walking in brightness;
And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
Or my mouth hath kissed my hand;
This also were an iniquity to be punished by the Judge;
For I should have denied the God that is above.”

This remarkable book presents a beautiful picture of Patriarchism, or the religion of the first dispensation in its purity and simplicity. Job was a Prince, “the greatest of all the men of the East.” He was likewise, according to the Patriarchal rule, the Priest of his family. And when his sons and daughters were engaged in the festivities appropriate to their age and station, he, with paternal solicitude and with pious

care, "rose up early in the morning and offered burnt offerings, according to the number of them all, for Job said, 'it may be that my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts.' Thus did Job continually." As God has never left Himself without a faithful witness upon earth, it is reasonable to conclude that this Patriarch was the illustrious preacher of righteousness and witness to the truth in the age immediately preceding the general prevalence of idolatry, and the consequent call of Abraham.

Men did not long rest in Sabianism, the most natural form of idolatry. The beginnings of error once allowed, the descent is rapidly accomplished. Humanity sinks by the downward tendency of its own corruptions. And as all error is a corruption of, and presupposes some truth, so the next form of idolatry which presents itself, is a travesty of that profound mystery of Godliness which had been obscurely revealed, the Incarnation of Deity. The idea thus presented of God appearing in human form, as the Saviour of men, was soon perverted by the plastic power of a corrupt imagination into the Deification of those illustrious progenitors of the race who had been most revered, or loved, or feared. And this remarkable fact attests, at once, the common origin of all nations, and the truth of this account of one of the forms of pagan idolatry. As every nation traced its own beginning to a general deluge, so it is obvious, that when the Deification of men began, none would be so likely to be placed first in the rank of the Gods as this mysterious progenitor and his immediate descendants—the second planters and renewers of the race of man. Accordingly, the mythological fables of every nation go up to the Patriarch Noah, and to his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, whom, under various titles, they represent as the Fathers of Gods and men. In the Greek mythology, Noah was represented by Saturn, and his three sons by Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune. The earliest fables concerning them among every people, are legendary perversions of the true history of the Deluge, of their miraculous escape, and of the new peopling of the earth. Each nation, indeed, claimed these mystic personages as its own immediate founders, and laid the scene of their adventures in its own country. But this was a plain consequence of the same combination of ignorance and pride which induced all people to claim to be the aborigines of their respective countries. Such a mistake cannot affect the conclusion, that this universal, although variously modified tradition, must have been the product of a common truth.

The period at which we have now arrived, presents another

remarkable event which has exercised the most important influence upon the destiny of men. That cherished dream of unchastened ambition, the establishment of a universal empire, was first sought to be realized in the plain of Shinar, and was there signally rebuked, and rendered forever impracticable by the confusion of tongues which occurred at the building of the tower of Babel. It is impossible to enter upon the question of the origin and distinction of language. We must be content with the statement of a single, but pregnant fact. The languages of all the principal nations of the earth, have been clearly traced, by the investigations and labors of successive philologists, to three distinct and independent fountains or roots. These three underived and unconnected languages, are the Sanscrit, the Arabic, and the Sclavonic. These languages are not separated from each other by large geographical spaces, but they are all found together in the neighborhood of that region where all history places the beginning of empire, and the earliest center of population. And from this center, the various dialects proceeding from each of these languages, have spread themselves in different directions over the earth. Thus have the results of modern research, upon a new and untrodden path of enquiry, added an unexpected confirmation to the simple statement of the inspired historian, by tracing all the principal dialects of the earth to three primitive languages, which are found together in the very region where the distinction of language was first effected by a Divine interposition.

After the confusion of language, and the dispersion of the nations, the progress of corruption seems to have been fearfully rapid. The worship of good and great men as the incarnations of Deity, was soon succeeded by the worship of Evil Spirits—Demonolatry. The principle which produced the second class of Divinities, gave birth to a third and a fourth class. For each one of these Superior Deities, as they now began to be regarded, must have likewise a symbol, or earthly representative. Some animate or inanimate thing, a fountain, a river, a bird, or beast, or image, was esteemed sacred to some particular Deity—the earthly emblem and representative of the God. To this symbol of a symbol, a *relative* worship might lawfully be paid, says the Catechism of the Council of Trent in defense of a later idolatry, the adoration offered to the type being referred to the prototype! It was convenient thus to present to the ever present symbol, the worship that was required by the absent God; just, it is said again, *as in his Ministers we honor the King*. Alas! these early corruptors of the true religion

had forgotten, in their blindness, that the only Being to whom man should offer religious worship, is never absent. And thus, by a wretched sophistry, the suggestion of the malignant fiend who wages an interminable war against the holiness and happiness of man, the whole race was brought to bow down in abject and stupid adoration of stocks and stones, of lizards and oxen! By such degeneration, religion, instead of being the savor and purifier of humanity, was wrested into an instrument of its deeper degradation. For, in process of time, the moral and religious feelings of man were so perverted, that even his vices and impurities were consecrated by the holy name of religion, and by obscene and horrid rites.

It is not probable that the lowest point of this descent had been reached at the time of the call of Abraham. Such a supposition is inconsistent with the general course of Divine Providence, and is contradicted by the express notices which we have of a purer theology down to the time of the Exodus from Egypt. Only in some particular regions, where wealth and luxury aided the work of ruin, was the lowest depth of moral debasement reached in an early day. Sodom and Gomorrah soon filled up the measure of their iniquities; the kingdoms of Canaan had done so before the invasion of that country by the Israelites under Joshua. But in most countries the restraining influence of God's Spirit, with God's appointed witnesses, retarded in some degree the progress of error, maintained among the nations some sense of the primitive meaning of their religious rites, and preserved humanity from utter and irretrievable corruption, until the age appointed for the coming of Messiah.

Among the earliest of these divine testimonies, was the institution of Sacrifice. This Sacrifice was a material offering made to God, expressive of the worshiper's faith and feelings. It is of two sorts—propitiatory and eucharistic; or, sacrifices of deprecation and of thanksgiving. Sacrifice, by the immolation of living victims, was that Divinely instituted sacrament which set forth the cardinal truths of religion,—that man is a sinner—that he is therefore subject to the curse of the violated law—and that God has provided a ransom, an all-sufficient satisfaction for his sin. In this instituted rite, these revealed truths were fully, though mystically contained; and by it the whole race of mankind were continually engaged in the expression of this primitive faith. Thereby was prefigured and shadowed forth the Lord's death until He came. Thereby the purity, holiness, and justice of God were vindicated in connection with the manifestation of love and mercy. But it

was only as a Sacrament—the instituted symbol of the truth of God and of the faith of men—that this Divine right was thus holy and significant. Thus alone was it the token and the seal of the covenant between God and men, where the two met together. On the part of Almighty God requiring and accepting this sacrifice, it was the token and pledge of His merciful purpose to provide a sufficient satisfaction for sin; and, on account of that intended satisfaction, to receive His repentant creatures into favor. On the part of man it was the token and pledge of his faith in the promised atonement, and of his engagement obediently to follow the commands of God. To change this rite from a Sacrament, thus high and holy in its design and uses, into an offering, meritorious and satisfactory in itself, was to degrade it into an impertinence and an absurdity. But such a degradation of this institution naturally followed the corresponding degradation of the objects of human worship. Such gods as men now worshiped, might well be appeased by such offerings as they made; the sacrifices being considered as complete in themselves, and satisfactory by their own intrinsic value. It was a natural consequence, therefore, that when the Gods seemed to be unusually vengeful, their deluded votaries should increase the value of their offerings, until they gave the fairest and most beautiful of their offspring. Thus were *human* sacrifices established among every people.

But yet God never left Himself without witness among men to the whole truth which He revealed. In the early periods of this apostasy, therefore, and before it was universal, He sent His servant Abraham to go forth and testify the truth by his life—by his words. With him God—the Angel-Jehovah—talked familiarly. With him the ancient covenant of life was renewed, and its terms made more specific; and to him were the mysteries of redemption more fully revealed. The various journeyings of this illustrious father of the faithful, from Assyria to Egypt, back and forth, in fulfillment of his Divine mission, brought him into personal intercourse with the principal nations of the earth. Doubtless the example and the admonitions of this great man gave a powerful impulse to the declining spirit of Patriarchism, revived the knowledge and profession of the truth, and restrained the growing tendency to superstition and idolatry. This testimony was continued by his sons Isaac and Jacob, and these three Patriarchs have left an impress upon the people of those countries which even yet is not effaced.

The Patriarch Joseph was, however, a still more emphatic witness to the truth. It is evident from various sources of information, that the arts and sciences attained to a degree of

perfection in Egypt hitherto unparalleled. The peculiar position and the wonderful fertility of that country, tended to foster intellectual culture. Egypt became the school whence all the nations of the West derived the rudiments of learning and knowledge. And into that country, the very center of the world's civilization, God conducted the chosen depositories of His truth. There they remained for four hundred years, the living, and, for a time, the persecuted witnesses to the truth, and the only protestants of that age against the absurd and infamous mummeries which were gradually usurping the place of true religion. And their emphatic testimony to the supremacy and the holiness of the One only and True God, the wonderful history of their Exodus, their sojourn in the wilderness, and their conquest of Canaan, must have attracted the attention of all the inhabited portions of the three continents, and have caused the name and the power of the God of Israel to be known and understood in all the world.

Just about the time of these remarkable transactions, viz, between fifteen hundred and fourteen hundred years before Christ, Cecrops and Danaus from Egypt, and Cadmus from Phenicia, successively conducted colonies into Greece; and introduced the first elements of civilization into a country which, until then, had only been inhabited by a few wandering savages subsisting upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth. The close connection in time and place of these early colonists of Europe, with the chosen depositories of the true religion, cannot fail to be observed.

We reach now a remarkable epoch in the history of the true religion. Down to the legation of Moses, no change had been made, by Divine authority, in the original Patriarchal dispensation. The progress of human wickedness, however, had become fearful. The seed of Abraham, therefore, carefully preserved, and raised up to be a great nation, was now solemnly set apart and consecrated by the Almighty, to be a kingdom of Priests unto Him—the keepers of the oracles of God, and the guardians of the worship and institutions which He had ordained. From among this kingdom of Priests, again, their Divine Lawgiver selected a distinct class of men, carefully arranged in three ranks or orders, to whom were assigned, in a more special and eminent manner, the duties of the Priesthood. The scrupulous maintenance of the distribution of offices thus made was secured by sanctions, the rigor and inviolability of which were attested once for all by the summary punishment inflicted upon Nadab and Abihu, and upon Korah and his company.

The leading principle of the entire Mosaic institution seems

to have been to embody the truth into so many forms, into such a burdensome ritual, that the greater part of the time and thoughts of the people would be engrossed by the ever-recurring actions in which the truth was thus embodied; so that no nation could be retained in the obedient profession and practice of such a religion, except by a perpetual miracle—the manifest and visible care of Jehovah rewarding their scrupulous obedience with unbounded national and domestic prosperity. That is to say, they were literally constituted a nation of Priests, whose vocation and duty it was to give themselves up to the purposes of their election—to do with faithful diligence all those things appointed unto them, and in which was contained the sublime testimony which they were to bear to the whole world. The care of their temporal interests was to be intrusted wholly and entirely to the Lord Jehovah, who had taken upon Himself the maintenance and protection of His people. The preservation and prosperity of this people were thus to be an illustrious miracle, perpetually attesting the truth of the testimony which they gave. The whole subsequent history of the nation shows, that God was eminently faithful to His part of this engagement.

Another important feature was now for the first time introduced under the Mosaic dispensation. In the Patriarchal dispensation, the Truth had been authoritatively embodied only in the Sacraments, and in the living testimony of the Church. Moses, however, was commanded to put that truth in writing, and to preserve the record thereof in the ark of the testimony. Here there was a threefold and concurring testimony, each distinct and independent of the other, to the same truth of Heaven. This completed the securities for its full, intelligible, and uncorrupt transmission from generation to generation. Human ingenuity can suggest no better warrant than this threefold, concurrent testimony of independent witnesses.

The chosen people were now to be stationed as God's witnesses in the land long before promised to their Fathers. And how admirably does that land seem to have been selected! Lying just at the base of that great Sea, which laves the shores, and indents with its gulfs and bays, and estuaries, the richest and most important portions of the three ancient continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa! Immediately adjoining, on the East, is that extensive and fertile region of Asia, which all history and the acknowledged progress of emigration attest to have been the cradle of the human race—the earliest seat of the Arts and of Empire. A little to the Southwest lies the rich valley of the Nile. In the West, the peninsula of Greece, as we have stated, a regular settlement had been commenced by colonists

from Egypt and Phenicia. *The five hundred years succeeding this emigration is the fabulous period of Grecian history.* But for one thousand years after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, down to the time of the Persian invasion of Greece, nearly the whole burden of history is composed of the wars, revolutions, and alternate successes of the two great empires, East and South of the Holy Land—the Assyrian and the Egyptian. Each successive conqueror enlarged the bounds of empire by bringing under his dominion more distant tribes and nations, which before had been too inconsiderable to attract attention or regard. So that it was no Eastern hyperbole when Nebuchadnezzar, and Darius, and Cyrus, call upon all nations, and people, and tongues, to listen to their decrees.

The land of Canaan was placed just between these two great empires—the alternate claimants of universal dominion. No intercourse could take place between them, either friendly, or hostile, except through this territory. This was the important and interesting country selected by the Almighty for His chosen witnesses. Here and in all the neighboring countries did the Father of the faithful wander, a preacher of righteousness; and here were his descendants planted to hold up the light of truth conspicuously to mankind.

That great city Tyre, the imperial queen of the seas, which so early became the commercial emporium of the world, was the seaport of this same country Canaan. Although this city maintained its independence, yet we know that the most friendly and intimate intercourse, founded upon the mutual necessities of their situation, subsisted between its inhabitants and the people of Israel. Here, then, we see the chosen depositories of eternal truth in habits of daily and familiar association with the inhabitants of that remarkable city whose merchants, and traders, and seamen carried on the commerce of the world; and who continually dispatched colonies of her people to erect cities upon coasts hitherto unexplored. The merchant-princes of Tyre must have carried to remotest regions the fame of that one almighty Being Whom David praised, and to Whom, Solomon, assisted by Hiram, King of Tyre, erected that glorious House of Prayer, the first temple.

The punishment and subsequent dispersion of Israel for their unfaithfulness tended no less to the production of the same great results. By that dispersion, witnesses of God were sent everywhere, scattered among the principal nations of the earth. They carried their Holy Scriptures, the forms of their religious worship, and their strong testimony against idolatry and corruption, into Egypt and into all the cities

of the Babylonian, and subsequently of the larger Persian empire. From this first dispersion many of them never returned; but remained for four hundred years throughout all the revolutions of worldly empire, under the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman dominion, settled in every city of these vast empires, retaining their own laws, manners, and religion. Their learned men became the friends, counselors, and companions of Princes. Thus did they become more emphatically and universally than when in their own land, the witnesses of Jehovah to all the world. Thus were all the sublime doctrines of the Old Testament brought within the reach and knowledge of all who chose to enquire concerning them.

Of course it is impossible to determine the precise effect which the Jewish religion and people exerted upon the opinions, speculations, and popular feeling of those ages. Certain it is that this testimony of God's chosen witnesses existed, teaching to the reflecting few a sublimer and purer faith. And this is the point which Mr. Hardwick, in the volume which we have placed at the head of our pages, has with much learning discussed. His testimony to the influence of civilization upon the Religions of Asia is especially valuable. There are some well attested facts showing the influence of the Old Testament upon the religious sentiments of mankind. The religious system which the celebrated and learned Zoroaster (the second of that name) engrafted upon the ancient Magian superstition derives all its peculiarities and its excellencies directly from the Mosaic code. The system of this distinguished reformer teaches the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, the existence of good and evil angels—and in its external forms it is almost a literal copy of the Mosaic Institution. But in accommodation to the ancient superstition of the Magian sect, it teaches that light or fire is the Shekinah of the Divine Presence; and it inculcates the worship of that element. Though many of its precepts are severely moral, yet, like every other idolatrous system, it not only permits but encourages the most unnatural incest and other crimes of sensuality.

That all that is true and valuable in the institution of this eminent impostor is copied from that of Moses, is evident from the internal resemblance between the two, and from the fact that the Persian reformer lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, immediately after the return of the Jews from their captivity; and when the religion they professed had attracted universal attention throughout the East, on account of a concurrence of remarkable circumstances. The unlimited sovereignty and the almighty power of the God of Daniel had been successively acknowledged and solemnly proclaimed to

all the world by the three most potent and distinguished claimants of universal empire, Nebuchadnezzar, Darius, and Cyrus. At this juncture arose the sage, the reformer, and the pretended prophet, Zoroaster. This man is supposed to have been a Jew, a servant of the Prophet Daniel, who, seeing the glory which his master had acquired as the prophet of the true God, determined to establish for himself an equal reputation, by assuming that character. The principle upon which he proceeded of engrafting the religion taught by Moses upon the most ancient superstition of the East, has been already described. Many of the principles of the motley system thus formed are sublime and imposing, and the whole scheme is the best conceived system of imposture ever given to the world, and the best adapted to promote the interests and the cause of humanity. This great advance and improvement in the principles of the prevailing religion of the East is one direct and manifest result of the testimony borne by the Jewish nation to the truth committed to their keeping.

The influence of the same testimony was not less certainly exerted on the theology and philosophy of the West. As we have said, the earliest civilization of Greece proceeded from Egypt and Phenicia. In after times, it is well known, that the sages and philosophers of that country uniformly visited Egypt and the East in search of Divine wisdom. Can it be supposed that Thales learned from the stupid worshipers of dogs and cats his remarkable saying, "that water was the origin of all things, but God the mind which formed all things from it?" By common consent Pythagoras is regarded as the true founder of Grecian philosophy. The lofty spiritualism, and the pure morality of his system, long influenced the world. He it was who gave to his countrymen those beautiful conceptions of the Divine nature, and of the immortality of the human soul, which by the rich and speculative genius of Plato were subsequently wrought into so many enchanting forms. Whence did Pythagoras obtain these sublime conceptions? He resided in Egypt, and traversed the East in search of wisdom, at the very time when the Jewish nation had been rendered most illustrious by those signal interventions of the Almighty which occasioned the decree of Cyrus for their restoration to their own land. It is said, also, that Pythagoras was the friend and the pupil of Zoroaster. Do we not perceive now the undoubted source of all those grand and beautiful speculations which illustrated the schools of Ionia and of Greece, and which again were reproduced by the poets and the philosophers of Rome? It was the same Divine truth which had been at first revealed to the Patriarchs, which was proclaimed anew from amidst the thunders of Mt. Sinai, which

the Prophets of God had for ages been commissioned to unfold to His people, and which that people had been appointed to testify to the whole world. In the unsearchable counsels of the Divine wisdom, the time had not yet come for the calling of the Gentiles to be a constituent part of the Church of God. But the gracious truth so revealed, and thus diffused, became a great light to irradiate the darkness of the heathen world; and the salt of the earth to preserve poor humanity from utter and irremediable corruption.

From this general survey of the true Religion, and of its principal corruptions from the Fall to the Coming of Christ, we learn, that, however at any time men may have been wanting to themselves, God has never been wanting to them. He has never utterly abandoned humanity to the effects of its own devices. The boasted Light of Nature has never been alone in its teachings; but has always received the coöperation of a Supernatural and Divine assistance.

The institution of Sacrifice, however perverted, has always borne witness to the great truth which it was appointed to express. In the popular religion of every nation there have been some traces of primitive teaching. And God has ever provided that an *external testimony to the whole uncorrupt truth should be presented, directly or indirectly, to all men.* To every man, also, He has given a portion of His Holy Spirit, by whose Divine influences applying the truth thus communicated, a right conscience may have been formed in every man, which was to him as the voice of God, directing him in the way wherein he should go.

Who shall deny, that by this Divine intervention between man and his corruptions, many noble and ingenuous souls in the worst days of heathenism have been sanctified, and prepared for the vision of God, and for the bliss of heaven? We know, alas! that with the mass of men, testimonies of God, and the strivings of the spirit, retarded, but did not stop, the progress of corruption. We know, too, that the increasing light of science only exposed the grossness of the superstitions by which religion had been overlaid. The golden age of Grecian and Roman learning was an age of the most stupendous wickedness which had been exhibited on the earth since the flood. This was the appointed time for the coming of the Messiah, when human nature having attained the summit of its natural capacity, had descended to the lowest point of degradation and vileness. Then CHRIST came; that it might be most truly fulfilled, "The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."

BOOK NOTICES.

PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES WITH ENGLISH ILLUSTRATIONS. By JOSIAH W. GIBBS, Prof. Sac. Liter., Yale College. 12mo. pp. 244. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

One object of the author of this little volume is to exhibit the syntactical peculiarities of Kühner's Latin and Greek grammars, as opposed to the common classic grammars of an earlier origin. Kühner presupposes Becker's system to be known. He introduces Becker's principles, but in so detached a form as often to pass unnoticed by the student of the English translation, having been hardly appreciated by the English translator himself. These principles are here brought together in their connection. Those who would thoroughly understand Kühner are referred to this book.

A higher object of the writer is to lead the English mind into the philosophy of language without going through Latin and Grecian porticos. It is now generally admitted that the philosophy of language can be understood, felt, appreciated, only in one's vernacular tongue. Many are panting for this knowledge, who cannot afford to become catechumens, to the three orders of catechists, especially as the subject lies before them at their own domicils. To such we commend the diligent study of this work.

Another object of the writer is to bring grammar into harmony with logic. These sciences have long been divorced from each other by a difference of phraseology. The writer mediates between them by constantly keeping in view the parallelism of thought and expression, and by adopting a common technology for both these branches of knowledge.

The author aims under each head to begin right or to lay a proper foundation, and thus promote the object of general education. Each topic grows and expands, and might be extended perhaps indefinitely. If the foundation is rightly laid, it is much more easy to build thereon.

So much for the general relations of the philology contained in this volume. It is unnecessary for us to describe its special characteristics, as the author himself has exhibited them in Articles II and III.

We shall now let the work speak for itself.

Our first extract respects the government of verbs.

"1. Subjective verbs, as their meaning is complete in themselves, require no complementary object: as '*John sleeps*;' '*Henry stands*.' They admit freely, however, like other verbs, supplementary or incidental objects.

2. Objective verbs, in order to develop their full meaning, require a complementary object after them. Thus

(1.) Some objective verbs, in order to develop their full meaning, require an *accusative* object, i. e. an object merely passive; as, '*they eat bread*;' '*God created the world*.' This is expressed in English by the objective case.

(2.) Some objective verbs, for the same reason, require a *dative* object, i. e. a personal object, also reciprocating the action of the subject, and interested therein; as, '*they yielded to the enemy*;' '*he gave the book to John*.' This is usually expressed in English by means of the preposition *to* or *for*.

(3.) Some objective verbs, for the same reason, require a *genitive* object, i. e. a real object, also acting on the subject, and calling out his activity; as, '*he repents of his folly*;' '*he is ashamed of his conduct*.' This is usually expressed in English by means of the preposition *of* or *from*.

(4.) Some objective verbs, for the same reason, require a *factive* object, i. e. an object produced by the action of the verb on the accusative or merely pas-

sive object; as, 'they chose him *king*;' 'he was thought a *tyrant*.' This is usually expressed in English by a noun in apposition.

Some verbs have two of these objects at the same time; as, 'he gave *the book to him*;' 'they appointed *him chairman*.'

These are supposed to be all the complementary or necessary objects.

3. Verbs, whether subjective or objective, admit without discrimination all the supplementary or incidental objects. Thus

(1.) Any verb admits an object of locality; as, 'the ball rolls *on the ground*;' 'they wounded him *in the street*.'

(2.) Any verb admits the object of time; as, 'he died *in the winter*;' 'they summoned him *yesterday*.'

(3.) Any verb admits the object of manner; as, 'he lived *happily*;' 'he wrote the letter *quickly*.'

(4.) Any verb admits the causal object; as, 'he died *from poison*;' 'he shunned him *from fear*.'

The same verb may admit several or even all of these supplementary objects; as, 'in the morning the enemy was *quickly* driven from the field by our guns.'

The varieties of these supplementary objects are almost endless.

The same external form is often used to express very different objects; as, 'he fought *for his king*,' with a dative object; 'he contended *for the prize*,' with a genitive object; 'he was taken *for a rogue*,' with a factitive object; 'I contended *for an hour*,' with a supplementary object of time." pp. 107, 108.

This happy and lucid statement, although adapted to the English language, has a much more important bearing on the Latin and Greek, as explaining the internal nature of the dative, genitive, and factitive relations.

Our second extract respects the relation of the conjunctions *for* and *because*.

"The same thought or sentiment, standing in a given logical relation to another thought or sentiment, may oftentimes be expressed either coördinately or subordinately, at the will of the speaker; as, *Marcus laudatur, nam hostes vicit*, 'Marcus is praised, for he conquered the enemies;' and *Marcus laudatur, quia hostes vicit*, 'Marcus is praised, because he conquered the enemies.' In the former case the additional clause acquires importance, in the latter the causality is made emphatic.

The distinction between Eng. *for* and *because* is essentially the same as that between Gr. *γάρ* and *ὅτι*, or that between Lat. *nam* and *quia*, or that between Germ. *denn* and *weil*." p. 116.

This short paragraph states an important fact for four languages at once.

After explaining in a philosophical manner the different kinds of causes on pages 126-130, our author appends the following note:

"Cause is one of the simplest and most familiar conceptions of the human mind. It has its origin in internal experience, that is, in the consciousness of volition and action; and is afterwards applied to external things.

The numerous and complicated forms which the cause assumes, may be illustrated thus.

A clerk is dependent on his salary for his support. We may say of him,

'He lays up money, *because he is prudent in his expenditures*.' Proper cause, or actual real ground.

'He is prudent in his expenditures, *because he lays up money*.' Reason, or actual-moral ground.

'He should lay up money, *because he has a good salary*.' Motive, or actual moral ground.

'He will lay up money, *if he is prudent in his expenditures*.' Condition, or possible ground.

'He lays up money, *although he has not a good salary*.' Concession, or adversative ground.

'He is prudent in his expenditures, *in order that he may lay up money*.' Purpose, or ultimate ground." pp. 130, 131.

We probably knew all this before, but the author has brought it to consciousness. We do not remember having seen any such summary.

Our last extract will respect the collocation of the substantive and attribute in English.

"The attribute precedes the substantive; as, 'good men.' This is contrary to the logical order. So whenever the attribute is a single word, and readily receives the stress of voice. But whenever the attribute is extended so as not to receive the stress of voice, the logical order is restored; as, 'a mind *conscious of right*;' 'a wall *three feet thick*;' 'a woman, *modest, sensible, and virtuous*;' 'a being *infinitely wise*.' So in poetry; 'to the isles *Atlantic*;' and in many technical terms; as, 'their *presumptive*;' 'notary *public*.' p. 113.

Here not only the facts are given, but the reasons of the facts also; so that the whole is remembered at once.

This form of philology is not exactly new, even on English soil. Dr. J. D. Morell, well known for his philosophical writings, and one of Queen Victoria's Inspectors of Schools, has recommended the principles of Becker to the pupils of British schools. Prof. Fowler of Amherst, in his English Grammar, has several chapters based on Becker. In New Haven, classes of young ladies have been taught in this way. In Yale College, several of the Academical Professors have written and lectured on these new views. The Germans of Cincinnati have republished in that city, for the benefit of their youth, a German grammar on the Beckerian plan. And many individuals in all parts of our country, are desirous to understand the subject more perfectly. This work, we think, cannot fail to be appreciated.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, from the Discovery of the Continent by the Northmen, A. D. 986, to the period when the Colonies declared their Independence, A. D. 1776. By CHARLES W. ELLIOTT. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner. 1857. 8vo. pp. 479, 492.

Of these two large, well-printed volumes of Mr. C. W. Elliott, we regret to speak without more room to justify our judgment. They are, apparently, written from the stand-point of a modern progressionist, who, with no faith in the past, dazzles and deludes the masses with his airy castles. These men are great eulogizers of the Puritans, from whom most of them descended; yet their Puritanism, like the Play of Macbeth with Macbeth left out, is a somewhat different thing from the genuine article. We quote, almost at random, a few passages, which show how far we may rely on the accuracy, and which also exhibit the temper and spirit of the author:

"Whether Bluff Harry or Pious Paul should be Pope in England! * * * In the struggle, the weaker went down, and England, cut loose from Rome, set up for herself, with Henry as her *spiritual* head." Vol. I, p. 39.

"Archbishop Tindal had appealed, not to the Pope, or to Councils, or to the King, but to the Bible. So did Latimer; so did the Ridley's; so did Cranmer; so did Bradford." *Ib.* p. 189.

"Down they went before the tempest they had raised—first went Wentworth, then Laud, and then Charles himself, victims of their own folly, *infidelity*, and love of despotism. Liberty raised its head, and for a time Puritanism triumphed. Kings, *Bishops*, and Courtiers, discovered that they, too, had a joint in their necks, and the lesson then taught, the world has never forgot." *Ib.* p. 195.

"The truth seems to be, that the Puritans represented the movement party in England, and the bitter persecutions they met with, were owing, not to their objections to surplices and ceremonials, but to their persistent protest and resistance to abuses in the Church; which men in place knew well would in the end destroy their places and limit or destroy their privileges. They were feared and hated as the Re-Formers of that day." *Ib.* p. 44.

Neither has Mr. Elliott done full justice to the stern doctrines, or stiff and

sturdy virtues of the old Puritans themselves. None but a Churchman, of the same stock from which they sprung, can measure and mark their life and power.

In the author's description of Puritan Doctrines, habits of thinking, of the "Revival" in the 18th century, &c., we find him grappling with great truths, social questions and historical verities, on which we differ from him at almost every step in his discussion. There are few topics connected with the history of the New England Colonies, down to the time of the Declaration of Independence, external or internal, their government, wars, manners, literature, industry and progress, which he does not touch. He has evidently been industrious as a reader, and his style, as a narrator, is always lively; yet the anecdotes, the odds and ends of stupid poetry and dull stories, seem hardly suited to the dignity of history, though they illustrate the manners and habits of the people.

The writer, in his Conclusion, in summing up the results to which he has come, says, that "he has little reverence for the past there [in New England] or elsewhere," and this is really the key-note to his whole work. Christianity, in any form, as the great, living, supernatural, social power, which is to regenerate the world, he has, apparently, little conception of, or reverence for, at least in this aspect of it. His philosophy culminates in a mere faith in Man—not Faith in Christ. He does say that "the town-house and school-house should stand side by side;" but the Church of Christ would, evidently, be, to him at best, a superfluity. If, in his conception of what constitutes a State, he rises above the level of the grossest Materialism; or has more substance than the sublimated moonshine of modern Transcendentalism, he yet has no eye for those great Verities which underlie all the well-being, and true progress of Society; which Washington enunciated, again and again, in his official papers; and which Mr. Bancroft, in his later volumes, has so forcibly presented. We do not, as our readers know, profess to be special admirers of New England Puritanism. At any rate, our admiration was never charged with idolatry. But we dislike to see imperfect conceptions and descriptions labeled as genuine history, be the subject what it may; and as an American, we must protest against all unchristian theories of national life and progress, for the end of such theories it needs no Seer's eye to discern.

BACON'S ESSAYS: With Annotations. By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. From the second London edition, revised. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 536.

The principal value of this edition of Bacon's Essays lies in the fact, that it will direct attention to the immortal work of LORD BACON, rather than in the intrinsic merit of Archbishop Whately's Annotations. For the contrast between Bacon and Whately, is as great as it well can be. One is laconic, the other is diffuse. One is suggestive, the other is rambling and often superfluous. One is stately, the other is slipshod. These "Essays" are now almost the only one of LORD BACON's works which continues to be popular. The great work of his life, which revolutionized the Philosophy of Physical Science, his "*Instauratio Magna*," and especially its Second Part, the "*Novum Organum*," has grown obsolete with the disappearance of the evils which it sought to remedy, or did remedy; or with the substitution of the *inductive*, for the *deductive* method of reasoning. In the domain of Physics, all inquiry is now conducted on the rules laid down in the code enunciated by Bacon; though modified, somewhat, by subsequent experience and observation. How far the inductive method pertains to *morals*, political, ethical and moral, is now the great question of the day; and on which there is, we suppose, more looseness, or diversity of opinion, and among sound Churchmen, too, than is generally supposed. But the "Essays" in this volume are of a different character. They are not so much *Essays*, in the modern sense of the word, as the aphorisms and reflections of a profound genius, which pertain to actual life in all its forms, at home and abroad, among the noble and the ignoble, at the bar, the court, and in parliament; in short, as Bacon says, they treat of subjects which "come home to men's business and bosoms." The explanations, in foot-notes, of obsolete words and phrases, by an unknown

hand, is a valuable feature of the edition. But Whately's Annotations are prolix and often commonplace; frequently being nothing more than references to, and quotations from, his own works. Thus Bacon's Essay XXIV, consists of two pages; Whately's Annotations cover nineteen pages; or we have one part of Bacon, to about ten parts of Whately. But the Archbishop has one decided hit; and we agree with him, that the study of Bacon would be a good antidote to one of the worst faults of our popular and Church literature. The bantling was cradled in Germany, and has been nurtured by a few transcendental dreamers in our own country, and in England. It is misty, foggy, muddy and shallow, but amazingly pretentious, and wears very mysterious airs. The Archbishop thus tells the story. "Many a work of this description may remind one of the supposed ancient shield which had been found by the antiquary Martinus Scriblerus, and which he highly prized, incrustated as it was with venerable rust. He mused on the splendid appearance it must have had in its bright newness; till, one day, an over-sedulous house-maid having scoured off the rust, it turned out to be merely an old pot-lid." It may induce some one to study Bacon, if we add, that the profoundest American Statesman now living,—we so regard him,—has long made Bacon's Essays his daily companion, instead of gorging himself with the miserable wishy-washy stuff poured forth from our popular press.

LIFE OF PRINCE TALLEYRAND; with Extracts from his Speeches and Writings.
By CHARLES K. MCHARG. New York: C. Scribner. 1857. 12mo. pp. 382.

We do not expect to see a better "Life" than this of Talleyrand, until A. D. 1868, when the "thirty years" from his death shall have expired; and his Autobiography will then be published. Nor will the verdict, already rendered upon him, then be set aside. With here and there a solitary worshiper and an imitator, there is no public altar to such men as Talleyrand. His life and character are embalmed in loathing and infamy, and are studied only to be execrated. Of noble birth; wearing an impenetrable countenance and gifted with the most polished manners; trained to sophistry and hypocrisy in the best Romish schools; hating a Christianity which he saw, only as a corrupt imposition, and an outrageous tyranny; kneeling at the shrine of that cold-blooded blasphemer, Voltaire, even while priestly vows were on him, and the reversion of a Bishopric had been secured for him; renouncing his Episcopal office at the last, not because he found in it the least restraint upon his gross animal passions, but because it exposed him to personal dangers, and fettered his boundless ambition; utterly unprincipled, debauched, and depraved, in mind and heart; exasperated by early family injustice into a feeling of bitter and lifelong resentment; possessing, by nature, every art of dissimulation; venal, crafty, unscrupulous; endowed with a most subtle and powerful intellect; knowing the secret springs to move men's wills in subservience to his own; with a career which reached from the French Revolution to the enthronement of Louis Philippe, and which embraced the horrors of the "Reign of Terror" and the splendid drama of Napoleon's entire life; by his adroit management, playing into the hands, alike, of the Revolutionists, of The Directory, of Napoleon, Louis XVIII, and of Louis Philippe; filling, and without being once eclipsed or overshadowed, the very highest Offices under these successive Governments; brought into immediate conflict with the first statesmen of Europe, Pitt, and Fox, and Sheridan, and awing them with his power; driven by the Alien Law from England, as a disturber of the public peace, to the United States, where, by his intrigues, he sought to embarrass Washington's Administration—throughout his whole public career, of more than sixty years, he fairly earned the reputation of the "Prince of Diplomats." He was at once, one of the greatest and the meanest, of all mankind. His own favorite maxim depicts the man: "Nothing succeeds so well as success." He died in 1838.

Mr. McHarg, the author of his Life, has done his work exceedingly well. He has, apparently, exhausted all accessible materials; and, at present, nothing better on the subject can be looked for.

DESIGNS FOR PARISH CHURCHES IN THE THREE STYLES OF ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE; With an Analysis of each Style, a Review of the Nomenclature of the Periods of English Gothic Architecture, and some remarks introductory to Church building. Exemplified in a series of over one hundred Illustrations. By J. COLEMAN HART, Architect. New York: Dana & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 108.

In the Oct. No. of our Third Volume, in reviewing Will's "Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture," we laid down three principles, which embrace the fundamentals of Christian Architecture, and noticed briefly the history of Church Architecture in England; first, Saxon; then, Norman; then, Pointed; and examined the three different Styles of what is usually regarded as true Church Architecture. The absolute impossibility of marking, with perfect accuracy, the historical transitions from one Style to another; the blending of Early Decorated, and Perpendicular, and even of Norman, Italian, Greek, and Egyptian, in one hideous composition which we occasionally witness, and we need not go far for an illustration; the utter confusion in which our modern Ecclesiologists have thrown the whole subject of architectural classification and nomenclature; the miserable, ugly, graceless, barns and factories, which are called "Churches" on the one hand, and the elaborated symbolism of full-blown Popery on the other, which we see in some new Churches in our own Communion; the mingled ignorance, and conceit, and ultimate mortification, with which large sums have been and still are squandered on Christian edifices,—all these, attest the theoretical and practical difficulties which Church Architecture has to contend with in our country; where, indeed, both as a Science and an Art, it is yet in its infancy.

Mr. Hart's work is sensible and valuable. His introduction presents a cursory glance at details common to Churches of all styles and orders; and he then takes up the Early English, the Decorated English, and the Perpendicular English, Gothic Architecture, in which nomenclature he follows Rickman, and gives elaborated views and plans, perspective and geometric, of each of the three styles, with a minute, descriptive analysis of each, in letter-press. We commend the book to a wide circulation, for it will do much to educate the mind of the Church up to a truer conception of certain great principles not arbitrary but eternal; and not less real, because not recognized and appreciated, by a gross materialism, or a false philosophy. We may sneer at Ecclesiology as much as we please; the rapid advance of aesthetic culture in this country forces the subject upon us. Only let us be careful, that the established rules of Art are made to harmonize with the true, Primitive, Catholicity of the Church's Faith and Worship. The Church wants neither Romish pagodas, nor Puritan conventicles; but she does want, and she yet will have, high Art, embodying and teaching the deep mysteries of the Christian System as she receives them.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL TEXT BOOK: A Practical and Familiar Exposition of the Constitution of the United States, and of portions of the Public and Administrative Law of the Federal Government. Designed chiefly for the use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges. By FURMAN SHEPPARD. Philadelphia. 1857. 12mo. pp. 324. New Haven: F. T. Jarman.

A more complete handbook on our Federal Government has never appeared. Besides containing several important documents, as the Declaration of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, Washington's Farewell Address, the Constitution of the United States, and the Articles in addition to the Constitution, the author has prefixed to the work a brief history of the Colonial Governments, and of the various steps to the adoption of the Constitution. He then takes up, section by section, and clause by clause, the Constitution itself; and subjects each to a close examination. The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Powers are clearly defined, as to their nature, extent, and modes of action.

We wish an examination upon this book was required in all our Colleges, and all our High Schools. What we need, now, emphatically, is a National Education; and with that, a love of country; and then, Loyalty and Obedience,

enforced as a religious obligation. There would be fewer traitors in the pulpit and out of it, and fewer pretexts for them to make mischief with.

PAST MERIDIAN. By Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY. Third Edition. Hartford, Conn. : F. A. BROWN. 1857. 12mo. pp. 844.

We are glad to greet with a warm welcome the third edition of this beautiful work of our world-wide known, and universally loved, poetess. For it is, indeed, "a thing of beauty," and so it will be "a joy forever." It is beautiful, in its conception; beautiful, in its expression; beautiful, in its pure and noble sentiment; beautiful, in its practical, yet sublime Christian philosophy. Guided by her own wide observation, and extended reading, and may we not say, her own rich experience, her pen delights to throw the rich, warm, mellow glow of hope, and joy, and peace, upon the shadows which gather around the evening twilight of human life. It is so womanly and truthful, so elevating and instructive, so genial and Christian in its tone, that we pronounce it the very best of all the numerous works with which Mrs. Sigourney has enriched our American literature.

EXAMPLES FROM THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. By Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY. First Series. New York: C. Scribner. 1857. 12mo. pp. 349.

These literary portraits are worthy of the graceful pen of the authoress. In another Number we hope to pay a more worthy tribute to her rare worth.

ARCTIC ADVENTURE BY SEA AND LAND, from the Earliest Date to the Last Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. Edited by EPES SARGENT. With Maps and Illustrations. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 480.

A compendious and reliable history of "Arctic Adventure" from the first will prove a valuable direction to the spirit of enquiry now aroused by the mystery which hangs around the fate of Sir John Franklin, and by the chivalric labors and lamented end of Dr. Kane. Such a work, is this of Mr. Sargent. The exploits of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries; the settlements in Nova Scotia and Greenland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the explorations in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, by Portuguese, Spaniards, French, Danes, Dutch, English, and Russians; all these are almost forgotten; as are the daring, and the suffering, of such men as Gaspar Cortereal, and Miguel, and Sir Hugh Willoughby, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Davis, and Barentz, and Henry Hudson, and Behring, and Ross, and Parry. The volume contains a fine map; and the tracing of the course of these and subsequent voyagers by this map will give all the geographical knowledge of the Arctic regions now attainable. Not a particle of sympathy has been excited for our own noble Kane, which was not justly due; but let us not forget the debt which we owe to those whom we are pleased to call the "rude" adventurers of an earlier day.

EXPLORATIONS AND ADVENTURES IN HONDURAS, comprising Sketches and Travel in the Gold Region of Olancho; and a Review of the history and General Resources of Central America, with original maps. By W. V. WELLS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 588. New Haven: E. Downes.

We have another illustration, in this volume by Mr. Wells, of the influence of commerce and the industrial arts of modern times, in promoting geographical science and the spread of civilization. The author visited Honduras in 1854, to obtain certain mining and commercial privileges from the government of the country. The unsettled state of affairs has, we suppose, thwarted, at least for the present, the special objects of his journey. But during the year of his residence, he consulted old Spanish and other authors on the early history of the Spanish Central American colonies, and shows that much of the mystery, which even Prescott and Irving have not yet solved, may yet be cleared up. He also visited the most important parts of Honduras, and his map of Yoro and

Olancho is, we believe, the only reliable one of the Eastern part of the country. His description of the natural resources of the country, his sketch of the history of the five Central American States, and his views of the life, manners, habits, morals, and religion of the people, will be read with avidity. It is a wonderful country, and is, within the next fifty years, to be the theatre of stirring events. Its geographical position, offering the most desirable route for inter-oceanic communication; its brilliant landscapes; its broad plateaus, with their bracing air and sky of more than Italian beauty; its exhaustless mineral wealth; and its soil, which might make it the garden of the world—all these mark Central America as designed for the home of a great and noble people. The signal failures of all attempts at self-government since the Spanish yoke was thrown off in 1821, open up social problems, and demonstrate certain religious and political truths which can hardly fail to be appreciated.

THE LENTEN SEASON: Discourses on Retirement and Self-Denial; selected from the works of the most eminent English Divines of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. From the last London Edition. New York: T. H. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 356. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This volume came to hand too late for the last Lenten Season; but the solid learning, the deep-toned orthodoxy, the fervent spirituality, the manly vigor, of these Sermons, adapt them to all times and seasons. Secker, Hall, Leighton, Atterbury, South, Farindon, Taylor, Tillotson, Barrow, Beveridge, Horsley, Donne, Clarke, Wesley, and Watts—each contribute a discourse to this well selected volume. The Introductory Essay is a well-reasoned argument for that self-discipline which underlies and conditions all spiritual strength and progress.

A THREE-FOLD TEST OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM. By WILLIAM R. GORDON, D. D. New York: C. Scribner. 1856. 12mo. pp. 408.

Whether a Rev. Doctor of Divinity has done a wise thing in devoting so much attention to "Modern Spiritualism," we do not pretend to decide. He intimates, that its reception by men of acknowledged ability, and the inroads of this scheme or system on Methodism, first called his attention seriously to it; many of the members, and several ministers of that denomination, having embraced it. His "three-fold test" is Experience, Internal Evidence, and the Bible; and the results of that test, he gives at great length, and his Scriptural argument is very strong and very well put. His conclusion is, that this whole thing is the work of a *spiritual agency*, in other words, the work of Satan; who, "in the latter days," was to come "with all deceivableness." Such a perfect fardel of nonsense, contradictions, heathenism, blasphemy, concentrated and bitter hatred of CHRIST and His Church, as we find here attributed to these "mediums," is certainly worthy only of Satan; and St. Paul's description of those who give "heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," is a sufficient guide for all Churchmen, as to their own duty in the matter. And yet, when we see how many of the professed teachers of Christianity, in our times, are giving up the Gospel and the Church of CHRIST, and are turning their "Churches" into political club-rooms, or play-houses, and then boast, *Barnum-like*, how well it "pays," (an unanswerable argument now a days,) we need hardly be surprised at Modern Spiritualism, or any other similar development.

PAUL FANE: or Parts of a Life else untold. A Novel. By N. P. WILLIS. New York: C. Scribner. 1857. 12mo. pp. 402.

We have not read enough of the late works of N. P. Willis, to know whether this Novel is an original, or a copy. But his talent is of a higher order; he writes better, has more feeling, more true sentiment, more æsthetic culture, more genuine power of appreciating the deeper undercurrents of the soul, whose "life" is, indeed, "untold," than we supposed. There is in him, however, as

there is in the author of "Lady Alice," an apparently irresistible tendency towards not only the sensuous, but the sensual. These offensive delineations of female beauty, the "nudities" and "little inequalities," &c., &c., where the writer's pen perpetually revels, might pass well enough in a Turkish seraglio, or a Socialist phalanstery, or at a "free-love" carnival; but all the sneers at prudery in the world, cannot save them from revealing the taste of the writer, or shield them from the condemnation of an indignant, high-toned morality.

LETTER à Monseigneur Parisi, Eveque d' Arras, sur les Erreurs Historiques qui existent dans la Communion Romaine à l' égard de l' Eglise Anglicane; par le Rév. A. C. COXE, M. A., Rector de Gracechurch, à Baltimore. 1856.

We are happy to call attention to this contribution from Mr. Coxe, in behalf of the "Association for making known upon the Continent the Principles of the Anglican Church." It is a translation of the "Letters of the Bishop of Arras," and is well adapted to promote the objects of the Association. We are more and more convinced that this Association is one of the most important Church instrumentalities of the day. It has authority and character. Among the fourteen Bishops who are its patrons, are the Bishops of Exeter, Oxford, and Salisbury, as representing the Church of England at home; the Bishops of Capetown and Natal, as standing for the Colonial Church; the Bishops of Glasgow, and Moray and Ross, for the Church of Scotland; and the Bishop of Maryland, for the American Church. The Committee is composed of Clergymen and Laymen of high standing. Among the former are the Venerable Archdeacon Churton, the late lamented Professor Hussey, and the Rev. Canon Wordsworth; among the latter, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Markland, and Mr. Roundell Palmer. The field is evidently ripening for such labors. The facts revealed in Mr. Coxe's "Sympathies of the Continent," and the confessions of the Romish dignitary, Prof Hirscher; the wide-spread, and deep uneasiness in France and Italy, and indeed in all Europe, under the new Dogma, which every week more and more reveals; the awful criminalities, and utter rottenness, in the high places of the Romish Church, which the assassin Verger asked, and threatened to disclose, and which are now known to be realities; these, and similar facts, are full of meaning. Nor is this all. The Association, above alluded to, is already beginning to reap the fruits of its labors. The London *Colonial Church Chronicle*, for April, contains two Letters from a French Abbé, who is a convert to true Catholicity, by the reading of the Society's publications. He says, "Among all the Reformed Churches, the Anglican Church is, without doubt, that which approaches nearest to the Primitive Churches of Christianity, in all that concerns the hierarchy, discipline, form of Public Worship, &c. * * * * * Until it is judged proper to entrust me with the work of the Ministry, I have determined to enter the Anglican Church as a simple layman."

Infidelity in Italy among the higher classes, is believed to be nearly universal. A Protestant Pastor in Turin, Rev. Mr. Meille, lately said: "Rome has done great evil to Italy, by making the nation believe that there is no other Christianity in the world than Roman Catholicism, nor any other revealed doctrine than that of which the Pope is the dispenser. . . . The Bible is also almost as unknown in Italy as the books of Confucius and Buddha. . . . From this it results that many persons, chiefly among men of intelligence, disgusted by a religion like that of Rome, and knowing no other, plunge into skepticism."

THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL AND PERSIUS, with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, from the best Commentators. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL D., Professor, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 306. New Haven: E. Downes.

A good edition of Juvenal, so purged of gross indelicacies as to be fit for perusal and recitation, and well furnished with explanatory notes and comments has long been a desideratum. The present edition meets that want. It bears the marks everywhere, of Prof. Anthon's scholarship, acumen, and industry;

and will be welcomed by those who see in the study of the ancient Classics, one of the best antidotes to the noisy, impudent sciolism of the day.

The Satires of Persius are given without note or comment.

THE DOCTRINE OF BAPTISM. Scriptural Examination of the questions respecting I, The Translation of Baptizo. II, The Mode of Baptism. III, The Subjects of Baptism. By GEO. D. ARMSTRONG, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va. New York: C. Scribner. 1857. 12mo. pp. 322. New Haven: F. T. Jarman.

We have rarely seen a work on Baptism, at once so thorough and satisfactory, and yet, so well designed for popular use. As a refutation of the Baptist notions, both as to the meaning of the word *baptizo*, and the proper *mode*, and *subjects*, of Baptism, the argument is unanswerable. We are surprised, too, and delighted at the orthodoxy of the writer, as to the *nature* of Baptism. The membership of baptized children in the Church, and the ends and purposes of that membership, are stated with a Scriptural fidelity which we should like to see imitated in some other quarters in Virginia. If it must be left to Presbyterians to adhere to, and defend, such vital principles as this, to them we must yield the strength and the victory which such principles will certainly win; for they take hold of human nature in its true character, and grasp the very elements which form the constitution of the social state. We have some rich things in store on the Baptist controversy, which we only want a good opportunity to bring out.

RANDOM SKETCHES AND NOTES OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL IN 1856. By REV. JOHN E. EDWARDS, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 456. New Haven: E. Downes.

Mr. Edwards, a Presbyterian Minister, at Richmond, Va., has, doubtless, gratified his friends in publishing these "Random Sketches and surface views," taken in a hurried visit to places and scenes, with which the most ordinary reader is tolerably familiar. His attempted criticisms upon the noblest works of Art show an unpracticed eye; and the choral Service of the English Cathedrals, by which many an American Congregationalist and Presbyterian has confessed himself sweetly subdued and melted into tenderness—even this, Mr. Edwards pronounces "a most ridiculous and farcical affair." Such travelers are to be pitied, rather than blamed.

CHARACTERS AND CRITICISMS. By W. ALFRED JONES, A. M. Two volumes. New York: J. Y. Westervelt. 1857. 12mo. pp. 289, 268.

These literary papers, in all more than eighty in number, were contributed to several Periodicals, between the years 1838 and 1845. They cover a wide range of literature; the criticisms, on books and authors, are always generous in tone; often, more than usually discriminating; and are always written in a quiet elevation and smoothness of style, which indicates the man of culture and refinement. The work is dedicated to that ripe scholar and rare man, C. C. MOORE, LL. D.

A CATALOGUE OF THEOLOGICAL BOOKS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES; including the Sacred Writings, Fathers, Doctors of the Church, Schoolmen and Ecclesiastical Historians, to the death of Boniface VIII, A. D. 1303; Jewish and Rabbinical Commentators; Works of the Reformers; and of the more recent Divines, Ascetical, Dogmatical, Polemical and Exegetical; Liturgies, Rituals, and Liturgical Literature; Councils, Synods, and Confessions of Faith; Monastic History and Rule; Canon and Ecclesiastical Law; Church Polity and Discipline; Hebrew and Syriac Literature, etc., etc. London: David Nutt, 270 Strand; and Trubner & Co., 60 Paternoster Row. 1857. 8vo. pp. 600.

This full title page gives a fair index of the contents of the volume. It is rich in information for scholars, and has evidently been prepared by Mr. Nutt with

great labor and care. The list of the works of the Fathers, Doctors, and Schoolmen, &c., fills *eighty-five* pages; Liturgies and Liturgical Literature, cover more than *forty-one* pages; Councils, Synods, Canons, &c., occupy *nineteen* pages. Descriptive notes also are interspersed, containing valuable information. There is not a department of Theological Literature, on which this catalogue does not point to the most reliable works, with full title page, size, date, price, &c., of each. Many of our readers will know how to appreciate such a guide-book. Its price is two dollars.

THE FLOCK-FED: or Catechetical Instruction preparatory to Confirmation. By the Rev. C. M. BUTLER, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1857. 16mo. pp. 116.

We never see a work like this without a feeling of regret, that they who seem so earnest in teaching one part of the Christian system, should try to separate what God has so unquestionably joined together. What we mean will appear in the following parallel passages:

DR. C. M. BUTLER.

"The view of our Church is, that the Holy Ghost is given to the heart through the hearing of the Word of God, and in answer to prayer; and that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are signs and seals of grace received; and means or instruments of renewing and confirming grace."—pp. 42-3.

PRAYER BOOK.

SACRAMENTS.—"I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."—*Catechism*.

"Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him."—*Art. xxv*.

THE CHILD'S BOOK OF NATURE. Three Parts in One. Part I, Plants; Part II, Animals; Part III, Air, Water, Heat, Light, &c. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M. D. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. Square 12mo. pp. 120, 170, 179. New Haven: E. Downes.

Dr. Hooker, a Professor in Yale College, is an accomplished Naturalist, and a pleasing writer, and he has given a general survey of the kingdom of Nature, in a manner at once to attract and instruct. Those of our older readers who remember "Joyce's Dialogues" will imagine what an agreeable and really useful volume Dr. Hooker has prepared for children. To each chapter, Questions are appended for the use of Schools.

ISABEL, the Young Wife and the Old Love. By JOHN CORDY JEAFFERSON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 454. New Haven: E. Downes.

READING WITHOUT TEARS; Or a Pleasant Mode of learning to read. By the Author of "Peep of Day." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 16mo. pp. 136. New Haven: E. Downes.

This little book is rightly called "reading without tears," for we venture to say, that no bright little fellow will get a look at it without being strongly provoked to tears, if he is not permitted to read it.

FIRST SCRIPTURE LESSONS FOR INFANT MINDS. By Mrs. D. P. SANFORD.

QUESTIONS UPON PORTIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By the Rev. ALEX. GLENNIE, Rector of All Saints Parish, Waccamaw, S. C.

QUESTIONS ON THE SUNDAY EVENING LESSONS IN THE CHURCH SERVICE. By a Layman of the Diocese of Connecticut. Series II. From Whitsunday to Advent.

NEW YORK. CHURCH BOOK SOCIETY. 1857. F. D. Harriman, Agent.

There are two cardinal principles which the Church recognizes in all her teaching; and in which she differs from the two opposite habits and modes of thought on the right hand and on the left. One is, that the Gospel is to be received and obeyed, as primarily addressed to our Faith, rather than to our Reason. The other is, the duty of unfolding the truths and duties of the Gospel, and exhibiting their adaptedness to, and claims upon, our intellectual and moral nature. Both these principles are recognized in these three volumes just issued by the Church Book Society. Mrs. Sanford's Questions are prepared with excellent judgment and admirable tact. Mr. Glennie's Questions on the Prayer Book are designed for primary classes, are simple and practical. Mr. Hollister continues the work so well begun, and of which we have already expressed our high appreciation. Himself a thorough scholar, an earnest Biblical Student, and for many years the Superintendent of one of the largest and best conducted Sunday Schools in the Church, these Questions will be found peculiarly adapted to ordinary use in our Sunday Schools.

We are glad to see our Church Book Society at last getting into working order. It can, if it will, win the confidence of the Church, and lift itself above the position of a beggarly charity. But it must redeem its promises, and respond with "deeds," not "words," to the noble generosity with which the Church has been "bled" by its past blunders.

CRIME INCREASING AND OUR SCHOOL TAX WASTED. Newark, N. J. 1857. 8vo. pp. 30.

Who the author of this pamphlet is, we do not know; but we bid him God-speed in his efforts to expose the downright infidelity which in theory underlies our whole Common School System. *Mere intellectual and aesthetic culture, has no power, and no tendency, to prevent or diminish crime.* The author of this pamphlet proves this position, by statistics, and yet it needs no proof to the mind of a sound Churchman. Yet we see no method to do away with our Common School System so munificently endowed, in many of the States; we must make it as Christian as we can, in its practical operation; and above all, we must insist on the most thorough and systematic Christian Nurture of the young by other means and instrumentalities. We confess to feelings of surprise at the ground lately taken on this subject in certain of our Church Periodicals, where we looked for sounder and more Christian philosophy. The insane ravings and rantings of the Greeley School, of which the Tribune, rather than the Bible, is the text-book, are to be expected as a matter of course.

THE POCKET BOOK OF DAILY PRIVATE PRAYERS. By Rev. D. P. SANFORD, M. A., Rector of the "Church of the Redeemer." New York: T. N. Stanford. 1857. 18mo. pp. 32.

It is no objection to this convenient little Manual that there is in it no meretricious affectation of a quaint and obsolete style; the author taking it for granted, that a man can say his prayers acceptably even in good English; and without the whining cant either of Puritanism or Mediævalism.

HARPER'S STORY BOOKS. No. 30, Orkney. No. 31, Judge Justin. By JACOB ABBOTT. New York: Harper & Brothers. May and June. 1857

MEMOIR OF BENJAMIN HANOVER PUNCHARD, the Founder of the Punchard Free School, Andover, Mass. By Rev. SAMUEL FULLER, D. D. Andover. 1857. 8vo. pp. 43.

A well prepared and well deserved tribute.

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORTS, &c., of the Missionary and Benevolent Society of St. Paul's Church, New Haven, Ct.

These Reports give cheering proofs of what a well ordered and vigorous parish can do under the ministrations of an able and effective Rector.

PARISH STATISTICS of Christ Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey; and Fourth Annual Address of the Rector.

The Free Church System has certainly been no failure in this Parish; nor, would almost any other, with such a right-earnest and whole-hearted man at its head.

WHAT "FREE CHURCH" MEANS, AND WHY CHURCHES SHOULD BE FREE. By Rev. J. H. HOBART BROWN, Rector of the Free Church of the Good Angels, Brooklyn, L. I. 1857.

Rev. N. H. SCHENCK'S Anniversary Discourse: Christ our Helper. In Roscoe Chapel, Gambier, Ohio, Easter, April 12, 1857.

We find in this Discourse a particular account of a great religious interest in Kenyon College, and of its permanent effects on a large number of students. In the utter neglect of Christian Culture which prevails, and the multitudes of young and old, in all our parishes, living in sin, without God and without hope, the fact of such numbers of sudden and true conversions, under the ordinary Means of Grace faithfully used, ought to be anticipated. The whole subject involves principles of the deepest moment, some of which have been discussed in our pages. Mr. Schenck is an able man; whose spirit of life and energy deserves the sympathy of all true men among us.

THE MISSIONARY OFFERINGS AT THE ANNIVERSARY of the Sunday School of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Conn. With the Rector's Address. Whitsunday, 1857.

We are glad to see this proof that the new parish of St. Thomas' have inaugurated the only policy which can ensure a healthy increase.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF SCOTLAND and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain. By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vol. VI. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 365. New Haven: E. Downes.

The reader will find in this continuation of the history of Mary Stuart, the same excellencies, and the same faults, that appeared in the earlier volumes,—the same animation, warmth and vigor of style, the same minuteness of detail; and also, the same intense sympathy with the unfortunate Queen, and the same persistent attempts to defend her character, private and public, and to the injury of, the Queen of England. It is the most natural thing in the world that Miss Strickland should take the part of a broken-hearted and erring woman against the severity of a stern, State policy, and she imparts to her story all the charm of a romance.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE COLONIES AND FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By the Rev. JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, M. A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Preacher of Lincoln's-inn, Rector of Tormarton, and Honorary Canon of Bristol. In three volumes: London: Rivingtons. 1856. 12mo. pp. 572, 582, 654.

We receive this work as we go to press; and have only room to announce it as a most important contribution to our Church literature, and especially to the history of our own branch of the Church. We shall return to it hereafter.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Abel, Alfred M.	Potter, A.	June 7,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Appleton, Edward W.	Potter, A.	May 27,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Appleton, Samuel E.	Potter, A.	May 27,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bonnell, Charles R.	Potter, A.	May 31,	Christ, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bush, Augustus,	Clark,	April 15,	Christ, Lonsdale, R. I.
Bylesby, Faber,	Potter, A.	May 27,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Conrad, Thomas K.	Potter, A.	May 24,	St. Philip's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Campbell, Wm. Thomas,	Lee, H. W.	May 24,	Trinity, Muscatine, Iowa.
Dean, George W.	Potter, H.	March 8,	Trinity, New York City.
Derby, Charles A.	Cobbe,	April 23,	Holy Cross, Uniontown, Ala.
Girault, John Francis,	Polk,	May 10,	St. Paul's, New Orleans, La.
Hitchcock, William A.	Williams,	June 7,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
Hitchings, Horace B.	Williams,	June 7,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
Mason, Arthur,	Williams,	June 7,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
Mines, John F.	Williams,	June 7,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
Matlack, Robert S.	Potter, A.	May 24,	St. Philip's, Philadelphia, Pa.
McGuffee, Calvin,	Green,	April 26,	Grace, Canton, Miss.
Newbold, Wm. Allibone,	Lee, A.	April 12,	St. Andrew's, Wilmington, Del.
Noakes, Benjamin T.	Mollvaine,	April 23,	St. Timothy, Massillon, Ohio.
Perry, Wm. Stevens,	Eastburn,	March 29,	Grace, Newton, Mass.
Potter, Henry C.	Potter, A.	May 27,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sama, Barnwell B.	Davis,	Feb. 12,	St. Helena Church, Beaufort, S.C.
Spalter, A. D.	Hopkins,	June 3,	St. Paul's, Burlington, Vt.
Stuart, Henry M.	Potter, A.	May 27,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Williams, John R.	Williams,	June 7,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
Vallas, Anthony,	Polk,	May 31,	Trinity, New Orleans, La.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Bancroft, Lucius W.	Clark,	June 9,	Grace, Providence, R. I.
" Birdsall, Elias,	Upfold,	June 8,	Trinity, Fort Wayne, Ind.
" Bronson, B. S.	Atkinson.	May 31,	St. Luke's, Salisbury, N. C.
" Curran, T. P.	Mollvaine,	June 4,	St. James', Piqua, Ohio.
" Dalton, A.	Burgess,	June 11,	St. John's, Bangor, Maine.
" Davies, Thomas F.	Williams,	May 27,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
" Dewey, John S.	Williams,	April 12,	St. Thomas', New Haven, Ct.
" Eppes, William E.	Rutledge,	April 24,	Trinity, St. Augustine, Fla.
" Grover, James L.	Mollvaine,	March 16,	Urbana, Ohio.
" Hamilton, M.	Mollvaine,	June 4,	St. James', Piqua, Ohio.
" Hilliard, Francis W.	Atkinson,	March 25,	Pettigrew's Chapel, N. C.
" Howard, Roger S.	Burgess,	June 11,	St. John's, Bangor, Maine.
" Hutchinson, Daniel F.	Lee, H. W.	March 29,	Christ, Burlington, Iowa.
" Jeffries, P. N.	Mollvaine,	June 4,	St. James', Piqua, Ohio.
" Jope, Robert,	Johns,	March 13,	Grace, Portsmouth, Va.
" Kellogg, Charles T.	Williams,	May 27,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
" Leffingwell, C. S.	Williams,	May 27,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
" Maxcy, E. W.	Clark,	June 4,	St. Mark's, Warren, R. I.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Morrelle, Daniel,	Atkinson,	May 31,	St. Luke's, Salisbury, N. C.
" Murphy, William,	Atkinson,	May 31,	St. Luke's, Salisbury, N. C.
" Peck, John M.	Williams,	May 27,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
" Roberts, W. H.	Mellvaine,	June 4,	St. James', Piquette, Ohio.
" Townsend, John	Williams,	May 27,	Christ, Middletown, Conn.
" Wetmore, G. B.	Atkinson,	May 31,	St. Luke's, Salisbury, N. C.
" Wood, H. G.	DeLancey,	June 7,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Ascension Chapel,	Potter, H.	May 19,	Greenpoint, N. Y.
Calvary,	Whitehouse,	May 6,	Batavia, Ill.
Church of the Holy Apostles,	Davis,	March 11,	Barnwell, S. C.
Church of the Redeemer,	Davis,	March 14,	Orangeburg, S. C.
Grace,	Whittingham,	April 23,	Elk Ridge Landing, Md.
Grace,	Doane,	May 18,	Madison, New Jersey.
Grace,	Lee, H. W.	May 21,	Lyons, Iowa.
Pettigrew's Chapel,	Atkinson,	March 25,	Washington County, N. C.
St. Andrew's,	Smith,	April 15,	Louisville, Ky.
St. Andrew's,	Johns,	April 29,	Surry, Va.
St. John's,	Potter, A.	April 25,	Lawrenceville, Pa.
St. John's,	Green,	April 5,	Lake Washington, Miss.
St. Mark's,	Rutledge,	April 26,	Palatka, Florida.
St. Paul's,	Meade,	May 19,	Petersburg, Va.
St. Paul's,	Cobbs,	May 13,	Lowndesboro', Ala.
Trinity,	Johns,	April 8,	Staunton, Va.
Trinity Chapel,	Whittingham,	March 26,	Queen Caroline County, Md.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in Salem, Massachusetts, April 4, JOHN WHITE TREADWELL, Esq., aged 72.

The death of Mr. Treadwell will be felt as a great personal loss, not only by a large circle of relatives and friends in the community in which he dwelt, but also by many others, especially among the Clergy of the Church, both in Massachusetts and in other parts of the country. For more than forty years he has been known as an active and devoted member of the Protestant Episcopal Church—firm, consistent and intelligent in his adherence to her doctrines and order. In his youth—like most of the members of our Church in New England—he was brought up as a Congregationalist, but having removed in early manhood to Salem, he soon connected himself with St. Peter's in that ancient town, took an active part in her affairs, and not long afterwards in those of the Diocese at large. As early as 1818, thirty-nine years ago, he was a member of its Standing Committee, and subsequently also in other years. The Church in Salem was one of the few churches established in New England before the Revolution. It was organized in 1733. Early in the present century it rapidly declined in numbers, and reached its lowest point of depression at about the period at which Mr. Treadwell removed to Salem. Its firm friends were then very few, and upon them the burden of its support was extremely heavy. But its greatest danger arose from the rapid progress and influence of Unitarianism at that date, to which three of the oldest Congregational parishes in the town, including the first ever formed on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, had yielded, and which thus gained a degree of strength in Salem, greater, relatively to population, than in any other place in the State. The influence of that system was felt in St. Peter's, and there were some in her congregation—prominent men in the community and indeed in the country—who were disposed to repeat the process once witnessed in King's Chapel, Boston, and substitute for her ancient standards of Faith and Worship, a Service Book of their own. Though sustaining intimate relations of social intercourse with some who sought this change, Mr. Treadwell remained steadfast in his maintenance of the Faith of the Church, and lived to see St. Peter's steadily advancing, until her communi-

canta, numbering only twenty-five when he joined the thinned rank of her members, had increased to more than two hundred and fifty, and her congregation had enlarged in like proportion. While the venerated Bishop Griswold was Rector of St. Peter's, the Rev. James C. Richmond being the assistant minister, it was determined that the old wooden church, which had stood a century, should be replaced by a substantial stone edifice, a work which was completed under the rectorship of the Rev. John A. Vaughan, D. D, through great sacrifice on his part, in addition to that of members of the parish. The effort at the time was a great one, and required large offerings from a few persons, among whom Mr. Treadwell was foremost. For this object, for the enlargement of the Church a few years later, and its improvement on various occasions, his contributions amounted to several thousand dollars, while at the same time his heart and hand were always ready for every work of charity. He was deeply interested in Church extension in the diocese and country, and in Christian Missions in foreign lands. He was "a cheerful giver," and a "good steward" of the bounties of God intrusted to him. He was eminently the friend of the clergy, and sought their society. They were his frequent guests. Several of our Bishops—some gone to their rest, others still laboring for Christ and His Church—and many of our Clergy have sojourned under his hospitable roof, and found there a Christian home. He was "given to hospitality," a true "lover of hospitality—a lover of good men." "not forgetful to entertain strangers." With an appreciation not usual among laymen, he entered into the duties and trials of the Sacred Ministry, and endeavored faithfully to hold up their hands by his cordial sympathy, counsel and aid. Until prevented by increasing infirmities he was an invariable attendant upon the usual services of the Church, and engaged in them in an earnest and devout manner. He was not accustomed to respond in whispers, but "out of the abundance of the heart" his mouth spoke. He had the fixed habit of worshiping in his own parish church, and was for many years a constant communicant. Familiar with the history, doctrines and distinctive principles of our Church, his attachment to her system strengthened with years.

In this brief sketch we designed to speak of Mr. Treadwell especially in his connection with the Church and Clergy; and, in closing it, shall merely refer to his life in other relations. He fulfilled important trusts in the community, and was held in high respect and honor. In early life he engaged with ardor in commercial enterprises, for which Salem was preëminently distinguished. But, at length, relinquishing these pursuits, he was connected, until near the close of his life, with one of the largest banking institutions in Salem, at first as its Cashier, afterwards for many years its President, the successor of the late Judge Story in that office. Associated also in its management with some of the ablest and most sagacious merchants of the country, he acquired extensive knowledge and great practical experience upon all points connected with the intricate subject of finance. He was among the first who advocated the importance of Savings Banks, and early took the lead in establishing one in Salem, which has been one of the largest in the country in the amount of its deposits, and his experience and gratuitous services as a director—extended through more than a quarter of a century—greatly promoted its signal success. Thus occupied by useful, honorable and beneficent duties, his years passed with few marked changes till he arrived at threescore. He could then look back over a life which had been crowned with a singular degree of prosperity. His home had been for several years unbroken by any afflictive change, and his days and years flowed on in the same uniform current of happiness. But soon there began a series of changes, such as have seldom fallen upon any household in so short a period. The messengers of death followed each other in rapid succession, and before he arrived at threescore and ten, a beloved wife, two daughters, his only surviving son, and two grandchildren, were all taken from this life. These afflictions were also followed by still other changes, involving extreme solicitude and great labor. Under this pressure of complicated trials, coming upon him when old age had begun, his vigorous constitution yielded,

and that disease ensued under which he labored until his release. But amidst all his troubles and afflictions, his hope was directed to his Saviour, and the "exceeding great and precious promises" made through Him, and this hope did not fail when the time of his departure drew near.

The solemn Service of the Church was said over his remains by two of the former pastors of St. Peter's—its present Rector being united to him by the close and tender ties of a near domestic relationship—in the Church where he delighted to worship, and at the grave, where, with those of other departed members of his family, they now repose. There they await the summons of Him who is "the Resurrection and the Life," through whose "mighty working," those corruptible bodies shall be changed and made like unto his glorious body, when, we humbly trust, this family, now so divided by death, shall be again forever united in that "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

DIED, at Urbana, Md., April 15th, the Rev. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Rector of Zion Parish, Frederick County.

Mr. Armstrong was in his 59th year, and had labored in the Ministry 38 years, having been ordained by Bishop Kemp, in 1819. His first parish was St. Matthew's, Wheeling, Va., succeeding his father, Rev. John Armstrong, who was the first Rector of the parish. After a faithful service of twenty-two years in Wheeling, he resigned his charge, on account of infirm health, and has since officiated in Frederick County, Md., where his character and labors gained him many friends. He died beloved and regretted by all who knew him.

The Vestry of his former parish at Wheeling, as also that of Zion Church, passed suitable resolutions of respect to his memory.

DIED, at Savannah, Georgia, on the 13th of March, the Rev. CALVIN COLTON, Professor of Public Economy in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., aged 67 years.

Dr. Colton was born at Long Meadow, Mass., and graduated at Yale College in 1812. Reared and educated a thorough Congregationalist, he studied divinity at Andover, and was licensed to preach in 1815. He settled at Batavia, New York, where he remained till 1826, when his health became impaired and he went abroad. While in Europe he was for a time the correspondent of the N. Y. Observer. In these letters, afterwards published under the title of "Four Years in Great Britain," and which attracted great popular attention,—he treated with some severity the English Church and her dignitaries. Upon his return, however, to America, the changed condition of things in his own denomination, attracted his attention and it soon became known that he was entertaining doubts on the subject of non-episcopal ordination. These doubts were speedily solved by him, and he embraced Episcopacy, setting forth the reasons for the change in a work entitled, "The Religious Condition of the Country." Ordained by Bishop Onderdonk in 1835, he remained for a time in New York, engaged in pastoral duty, but his infirm health unfitted him for pulpit labors, and the residue of his life was mainly given to literary labors which he deemed of great importance, and for which he was conscious of being peculiarly competent. Among the works of a religious character written by him are, "Protestant Jesuitism" and "the Genius of the American Church." Besides editing for a time the *North American* of Philadelphia, he wrote several tracts upon political topics of the day, among which his "Junius" letters, written during the Harrison campaign, will long be remembered, for their force and point. These led to the production of a larger work upon *Political Economy*, which received high praise from those holding similar sentiments, upon important principles of national polity. The endowment of his Chair in Trinity College was designed as a token of respect to him as the author of this production. His pamphlet, "Abolition a Sedition," first attracted the attention of Henry Clay, and led to the intimacy which resulted in Dr. C's becoming the Biographer of that great Orator and Statesman. "*The Life and Correspondence of HENRY CLAY*," has engaged his attention for several years, and the sixth

and last volume was completed but a few days before his decease. Ten years after his marriage he lost his wife, and remained a widower until the close of his life.

Dr. Colton had sought in the mild climate of the South, and a suspension from literary labors, relief for his long impaired health. But neither change of climate, suspension of study, or the best medical skill, were of any avail, and six weeks after leaving his residence in New York, with the hope of benefit from the change, he was called hence. He was a man of no mediocre abilities, of studious habits and of very considerable attainments; and was remarkable for the kindness of his feelings and for the courtesy of his manners. In accordance with his request, made a few days before his death, his remains were brought to Long Meadow, the place of his nativity,—where they were interred, with appropriate funeral services, the Rev. Prof. Jackson, of Trinity College, officiating.

DIED, at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, April 6th, the Rev. JAMES CHAPMAN, Senior Presbyterian of the Diocese of New Jersey, in the 72d year of his age.

Mr. Chapman was born at Elizabethtown, N. J., May 15, 1785. His early education was acquired at the academy of the late Dr. Barry, who was in his time so distinguished as a teacher, and to whom so many of the Bishops and elder clergy of the Church owe their early classical training. He subsequently entered and graduated with honor at Princeton College. His family were Presbyterians, but in early life he conformed to the Episcopal Church. He became a candidate for Holy Orders soon after leaving College. From his earliest youth he was distinguished for his correct morals and deportment, and became early impressed with the importance of a religious life. He enjoyed the privilege of pursuing his theological course under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Hobart, afterwards the distinguished Bishop of New York. A friendship thus commenced, terminated only with the life of that able and fearless champion of Primitive Truth and Apostolic Order. He was ordained Deacon in St. Paul's chapel, New York, on the 31st of May, 1807, by Bishop Benj. Moore; and was immediately after engaged as an assistant to the rector of Trinity Church, N. Y., and continued to be thus employed till the separation of Grace Church in 1809, forming many valuable and lasting friendships among the clergy and laity of the city. During this period he was invited, successively, to Trinity Church, New Haven, to Richmond, Va., and to St. Peter's, Perth Amboy. His fondness for rural life, and a strong local attachment to his native State and home, outweighing all other considerations, he accepted the latter, and entered upon the duties of this parish on September 9, 1809; was ordained Priest by Bishop Moore in Trinity Church, N. Y., on September 7, 1810; and instituted rector of St. Peter's Parish on August 8, 1811.

At this time the Diocese of New Jersey had no Bishop, and scarcely an existence. The deceased entered at once with zeal, on his chosen work; he found his own immediate parish in a very low state, small in numbers, and involved in debt. This debt was paid off, the number of pew-holders and communicants in a short time increased two-fold, the church edifice was repaired and beautified, a new parsonage house built, and the grounds laid out and ornamented, and the affairs of the parish brought into a prosperous condition.

In diocesan affairs he held a prominent place, and for a long series of years was one of the leaders in the diocese, was for twenty years a member of the Standing Committee, frequently a delegate to the General Convention, and was for more than twenty years the faithful Treasurer of "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," a Society which had its origin in his own parish.

After laboring faithfully in his Master's service for more than thirty-five years, he resigned the rectorship of St. Peter's into younger hands, in 1842.

During the latter years of his life he officiated gratuitously as a missionary in Trinity Church, Woodbridge, an ancient but decayed parish, situated about five miles from his residence, oftentimes going and returning on foot. He thus continued working in God's service, until arrested by increasing years and infirmities. In the early part of 1856, he was attacked by a disease which resisted the

efforts of medicine, and gradually conducted him onward to the end of his pilgrimage. He bore all his afflictions—his nights and days of pain and anguish—with meek and humble submission to the Divine will.

The life of this venerable minister of Christ is full of instruction, as it was full of faithfulness and truth; marked by a beautiful simplicity of character; a straightforward, earnest, and entire devotion to duty; a faithful discharge of all the important trusts committed to his keeping. They who knew him best loved him most, and can best testify to his true performance of all the duties of pastoral and social life. His calm and serene death was a fitting close to such a life. Steadfast to the end, a bright example of Christian faith and humility, he has gone to his reward. "Well done, good and faithful servant," is the welcome of his Lord; and our response may well be, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

DIED at Painted Post, on the 11th of March, the Rev. JOHN D. GILBERT, aged 75 years.

The deceased was born in Connecticut, A. D. 1782. About thirty years ago, without ostentation, and upon conviction of duty, the result of long and prayerful study, he left the ministry of the Methodist denomination, in which he had long faithfully labored, and received at the hands of the Rt. Rev. John H. Hobart, Bishop of New York, authority to exercise the authority of Deacon in the Church of Christ, according to the rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was in due course called to the Priesthood.

For twelve years he labored faithfully at Big Flats, Steuben County. Thence he was transferred to Palmyra, when, after two years of faithful ministry, he was in the inscrutable providence of Him who ordereth all things well, deprived of physical ability to continue his labors. Upon partial recovery, he essayed to renew his work in the Master's vineyard, but experiment convinced him of the vanity of the attempt. He soon retired to the village of Painted Post, where he continued to reside until his death.

DIED, at Sherwood, Lunenburg Co., Va., May 6th, the Rev. DAVID R. HENDERSON, a native of Glasgow, Scotland.

Mr. Henderson emigrated to this country about eight years since, and located in Pennsylvania. Soon after he began the study of divinity and entered the Presbyterian ministry, in which denomination he officiated for four years. An accidental association with members of the Episcopal Church, induced him to examine their mode of worship and the claims of the Church, when his views became altered, and he was soon after ordained by Bishop Potter.

For the past few months Mr. H. has had charge, temporarily, of Cumberland Parish, Va., where he labored with untiring zeal and devotion in his Master's service. The Scottish exile, far from kindred and home, now sleeps, we hope and believe, in peace, "no longer a stranger and foreigner, but a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God."

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY MOVEMENT.—OLD SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

It is too early yet to write the history of the American Bible Society in its late tampering with that Version of the Bible which it is its sole legitimate business to print and circulate. Strong efforts have been made, and are making, to silence the remonstrances of an outraged Christian sentiment, on the ground that the first blow was struck by a "High Churchman," as a "High Churchman," and for the purpose of detaching conservative men from the support of the Bible Society. Strange to say, two of our own Church papers have taken this ground. And yet, from all parts of the country, East and West, North and South, from the ablest scholars, and from nearly all Christian denominations, a voice has been heard, to which the American Bible Society will not turn a deaf ear, unless under the influence of a fatuity which amounts to madness. It must go back to the Old Version, and stick to it. For ourselves, we

shall feel repaid for many years of drudgery and toil, if, in sounding the first note of alarm on such a theme, we shall, in the end, fasten the mind and heart of a great nation to the sheet Anchor of our common hope. The Rev. A. C. COXS, our Contributor, deserves all honor for the masterly skill and ability with which he has treated this delicate and grave subject.

We intend, by and by, to chronicle all the parties who shall have appeared, on the one side or the other, of this discussion. At present, and to show the current and strength of public opinion, we give the following:

In the Old School Presbyterian Assembly, at Lexington, Ky., on Wednesday, May 27, on motion of Rev. Dr. THORNWELL, the overture respecting the action of the American Bible Society with regard to the text of the Sacred Scriptures, was taken from the docket.

This overture set forth that the Society is the *printer*, not the *Editor*, of the Bible; its sole business is to circulate the common version of the English Scriptures, and that the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church be directed to prepare and publish an edition *for pulpit use* of the Holy Scriptures, conformed to the standard of the English text, to perpetuate the received version.

Rev. Dr. BRACKINRIDGE supported this overture in a very elaborate and eloquent speech, bearing with tremendous force upon the course of the Bible Society.

The matter was finally laid over to the next General Assembly.

NEW SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SLAVERY.

At its late sessions at Cleveland, Ohio, this portion of the Presbyterians was convulsed by the introduction of Slavery memorials and speeches, until at length the Southern members seceded in a body. Thus the Presbyterian "Church" is again divided. The North and the South draw a strongly marked line of boundary, and henceforth there are three General Assemblies—three separate branches of the Presbyterian Church—three sets of doctrine—a trinity of discord.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AT JAMESTOWN.

We are glad to see that the descendants of the Jamestown Colony are at last waking up to a consciousness of what is due to themselves and their ancestors. Plymouth Rock has so long been sung as the cradle of the American nation, that a great many people have come to believe it. Yet thirteen years before the landing of the Puritans from the "May Flower," a colony had been planted at Jamestown; and six years before, a vigorous settlement had been made by the Dutch at Manhattan. The Virginia element was a controlling one in the destinies of the country, and her sons do well to guard the honor of their native State. The late celebration was the *second* only that has ever been held. It was appointed for the 13th of May; and it was estimated that 7,000 persons, including sixteen military companies, participated. Ex-President Tyler occupied two and a half hours in his oration, and Gov. Wise spoke in response to the multitude. Fireworks and a grand ball terminated the ceremonies.

NORTH CAROLINA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY—DR. HAWKS' ADDRESS.

The people of Mecklenburg celebrated, on the 20th of May, the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The exercises commenced with a prayer by the Rev. D. Lacey, D. D. Gen. Young then introduced Hon. Mr. Osborne Reader, who read the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of the 20th of May, 1775." The President of the Day, Frederick Nash, Chief Justice of North Carolina, then introduced the Orator, Rev. F. L. Hawks, D. D., of New York. This distinguished divine, in an eloquent address of three hours and a half's duration, sustained the reputation he has won for talent and oratorical powers. The "Mecklenburg Declaration" was put forth more than a year before Congress declared for freedom; and the paper here promulgated, was undoubtedly the model on which Jefferson framed the Declaration of July 4, 1776.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

At a late meeting of the Trustees of this College, the following Professors were chosen, to enter upon their duties at the commencement of the next Academic year:—Professor Joy, Professor of Chemistry in Union College, to the Chair of Chemistry; Professor Davies, formerly of the U. S. Military Academy, West Point, to the Chair of Mathematics; and Professor Lieber, recently of Columbia College, South Carolina, to the Chair of History and Political Economy. There remains yet to be filled the Chair of Philosophy and Literature. These four are new Chairs—the two last separated from the Chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Religion, Political Economy, Belles Lettres, &c. Of the other two, one from the Chair of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, the other from that of Astronomy and Mathematics. Other plans for enlarging the scope and perfecting the means of instruction in the College, are under consideration, and the whole will, it is believed, be matured to take effect with the beginning of the next Academic year, in the third week of September next. It is proposed to extend the collegiate course from four to six years; so that the graduates can reach a higher standard of scholarship than obtains at present among them. This movement, which cannot fail to be felt on the other Colleges of the country, is worthy of old Columbia. The addition to the corps of Professors of men known to be fitted for their posts, the extension of the Collegiate course from four to six years, are all in the right direction.

OPENING OF DE VEAUX COLLEGE, AT NIAGARA FALLS.

The ceremony of opening De Veaux College, an institution founded and munificently endowed by the late Judge De Veaux, of Niagara Falls, took place on Wednesday, May 20th, in the new college edifice, just below Suspension Bridge. The morning service of the Church was said in the chapel, by the Rev. Mr. Fuller, of Canada West, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Stevens, of St. James' Church, Buffalo. An address was then delivered by Bishop De Lancey. The Rev. Dr. Gregory, President of the institution, followed in an inaugural address; after which, ex-Governor Hunt gave a sketch of the character of the founder of the College. The institution starts at once with thirty pupils, all orphans, who are to be educated, fed and clothed, free of charge. After the necessary improvements in and about the college shall have been completed, its privileges will be extended to sixty orphan children. The Trustees are Bishop De Lancey, Rev. Dr. Shelton, Rev. Mr. Clark, of Niagara Falls, ex-Governor Seymour, ex-Governor Hunt, Judge Ransom, of Lockport, Peter A. Porter, Esq., of Niagara Falls, Jacob A. Barker and Elijah Ford.

SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

At the Diocesan Convention of Louisiana, which met May 7th, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Polk, in his Address, argued with great force in behalf of this proposed new University in Tennessee. Ten Southern Dioceses have responded in its favor. The address was received with profound attention. That part which referred to the University, was placed in the hands of a special committee, composed of the Rev. W. T. Lenoce, D. D., the Rev. Charles Goodrich, D. D., the Rev. John Woart, Hon. Judge Guion, Dr. Wm. Newton Mercer, ex-Governor Henry Johnson, and John L. Lobdell, Esq., who made an elaborate and able Report, which concludes as follows:

In view of the foregoing considerations, the committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, First, That this Convention express its cordial approbation of the proposed movement for the establishment of a Southern University.

Second, That in compliance with the suggestion in the address of the Bishops of the Southern and Southwestern Dioceses, we do now elect one clergyman and

two laymen to represent this diocese in the Board of Trustees, to meet for organization at Chattanooga, on the 4th of July next.

WM. T. LEACOCK, *Chairman.*

Upon the reading of this report, several enthusiastic speeches were made by gentlemen from different portions of the State, and the resolutions were unanimously adopted. A ballot was then taken for the three Trustees, and the following gentlemen were elected: Rev. Dr. Leacock, Dr. Wm. Newton Mercer, and the Hon. Geo. S. Guion.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF BISHOP SKINNER, OF SCOTLAND.

The Rt. Rev. WILLIAM SKINNER, D. D., Primus, and Bishop of Aberdeen, died in that city, on Wednesday, April 15th, after only twenty-four hours' illness. The deceased prelate, who was born at Aberdeen in 1778, was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. He received deacon's orders from the hands of Bishop Horsley of St. Asaph's, by whom, in 1802, he was ordained a priest. In the same year he began to officiate as curate to his father in St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1816, took his degree of doctor of divinity at Oxford, in 1812, and in 1841 was elected Primus of the Church in Scotland. By American Churchmen, especially, the name of Bishop Skinner deserves to be held in grateful remembrance. For it was Bishop John Skinner, the father of the prelate just deceased, who, with two other Scottish Bishops, in an upper chamber of a mean dwelling-house, in a dirty lane of Aberdeen, consecrated the first Bishop for the United States, in 1784. The name of Bishop Skinner, indeed, may be said to form a bond of reunion between the English, Scottish, and American Churches; for the consecration of the first American Bishop by the Scottish Bishops is said to have been the means of attracting the serious attention of the English Church to the intolerant laws under which the Scottish Episcopate was languishing, and thus preparing the way for their repeal in 1792. The name, however, dates another generation back in the annals of the Scottish Church. The father of the first Bishop Skinner was the Rev. John Skinner, minister of the Episcopal Chapel at Langside, near Peterhead, author of an "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," &c. The good old priest of Langside, who had seen the disabilities imposed on the "Episcopalians" in 1746, and had so grievously suffered under them, lived to see them abolished, and died in 1807, at the great age of 86. His son, Bishop John Skinner, survived to the year 1816, when he died in his 73d year, after an illness equally brief, and of the same disease which has now cut off his son and successor in the episcopal office, at the age of 79.

RESIGNATION OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

The Rt. Rev. SAMUEL HINDS, D. D., Bishop of Norwich, A. D. 1849, has resigned the jurisdiction of his Diocese. Though there is no legal recognition of the vacancy of the Diocese, the Primate has certified to a vacancy *de facto*, and Parliamentary action is uncalled for, unless a retiring allowance is asked, which is not likely, as there is no available surplus from the revenues of the See. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners will probably grant a pension from the

common Fund. His administration, it is said, has proved a failure. He belongs to the Arnold and Whately theological school.

NEW BISHOP OF NORWICH.

The Hon and Rev. J. T. PELHAM, M. A., a younger brother of the Earl of Chichester, has received from Lord Palmerston the appointment to the Bishopric of Norwich, which recently became vacant by the resignation of the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Hinds. The Rev. Gentleman, having served several minor offices in the Church, was presented by the Earl of Abergavenny, in 1837, to the rectory of Burgh Apton, in the diocese over which he is now about to preside, and this benefice he held until 1852, when he resigned it on accepting the incumbency of Christ Church, Hampstead. On the death of the Rev. Dr. Spry, in 1854, Mr. Pelham was presented to the valuable metropolitan rectory of St. Marylebone, which he held up to the present time. The Rev. Prelate, like all the Bishops who have been appointed by the present Government, is a strong adherent of the Evangelical party.

The diocese of Norwich includes the county of Norfolk, with part of Suffolk, and comprises more clergymen and cures of souls than any other in England.

CONVOCATION.—PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

The Convocation of this Province assembled at St. Paul's Cathedral, May 1, at 11 o'clock. The number of members summoned to the Lower House are—25 Deans, 1 Provost, (Eton College) 56 Archdeacons, 26 Capitular Proctors, and 42 Diocesan Proctors. The Bishop of St. David's was summoned as Dean of Brecon College. The Prelates, Deans, Archdeacons, and other dignitaries, appeared in the robes of their respective orders, and the Clergy in their gowns. The usual religious services were held at the opening, when the Litany was intoned in Latin by the Bishop of Lincoln; and the Latin sermon was preached by the Rev. Hayward Cox, Prebendary of Hereford and examining chaplain to the Bishop of that Diocese. The subject of his discourse was controversy and the principles that should govern it on religious questions, with a special application to Convocation. At the close of his discourse, the preacher noticed some of the grave questions affecting the Established Church. Such are the religious and secular education of the people, the revision of the present version of the Bible and of Church services, measures of Christian and of civil liberty, the relations of Church and State, (expressing an opinion that the carrying out the idea of separation in its completeness would impair the rights of Dissenters no less than of Churchmen,) and the constitution of Convocation itself. As regards the latter question, he urged instant attention; dwelling forcibly on the position in which Convocation is at present placed. He reminded his hearers that at present they could do no more than deliberate—that they are without the power of enacting canons. He desired a nearer approximation to the representative character of our civil legislature in the constitution of their synod—impressing on them that unless the laity have a voice in the selection of those clergymen who might be sent as members to Convocation, they could not expect sympathy or deference on the part of the Christian public. But with this modification he could anticipate a bright future for the Church, in contrast to its history, when at the Revolution—the period of civil liberty bursting forth on the people—it was thought necessary to silence the ambitious tone and factiousness of Convocation itself. After the sermon, the prelates and clergy went in procession to the Chapter House, when the writ summoning Convocation was read. The Archbishop then directed the Lower House to choose a Prolocutor, and meet him in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, on Friday the 8th.

On the 8th of May, Convocation again assembled, and continued in session two days; when it was again prorogued until Wednesday, May 20th. In the Upper House there were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of St. David's, the Bishop

of St. Asaph, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Bangor. In the Lower House there were in attendance between *seventy* and *eighty* members.

In the Upper House, the most important business was the adoption of an Address to the Queen, which was also adopted in the other House, and which we give in full; the reappointment of the Committee on Home and Foreign Missions; and the reception of some petitions on the use of the Burial Service in certain cases; and on the right of Curates to vote for Proctors for Convocation.

The Address to the Queen is as follows:

"We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, approach your Majesty with the assurance of our loyal and affectionate attachment to your Majesty's Throne and person.

"We feel it to be a ground of much thankfulness to Almighty God, that in offering this, our accustomed address, we are able to join with it our humble congratulations on the prosperity which it has pleased Him to continue to your Majesty and to your illustrious Consort—a prosperity which is happily shared by the country at large, as well in regard to its internal tranquillity and welfare, as to the restoration of peace among the European powers.

"Since the last occasion when we were permitted to address your Majesty, several subjects of much interest to the national Church have been brought under our consideration. Among these we humbly conceive that nothing calls more urgently for our attention than the best modes of extending the blessings of the Church to the increasing population, which has far outgrown the actual provision both of the numbers of the clergy, and of the funds available for their support.

"Whilst we deeply regret this Episcopal destitution, we thankfully acknowledge the measure of private liberality which has been directed towards the purposes of conveying the means of grace towards our population at home, and to those colonial possessions of your Majesty which are so widely extended, with the laws, the language, the liberties, and, as we trust, the religion of our native land.

"It is a gratifying reflection that through private munificence, with little assistance from public sources, your Majesty's reign has been signalized by the erection of new Sees in every quarter of the globe, from Africa to Zealand, from Victoria to Rupert's Land.

"In the promotion of public education, a question which intimately concerns us as ministers of religion, we thankfully acknowledge the liberal aid afforded us by public grants. The attention directed towards the instruction of the young is a marked feature of the present age; but there is constant reason to regret that the early removal of children from schools too often engages them prematurely in the active business of life, before they have received the full advantages of a sound education, and before they have been properly instructed in their duty towards God and man. It is difficult to suggest the remedy, but if it should please your Majesty, in addition to that general summons in your Majesty's writ, to treat of certain difficult and urgent affairs concerning your Majesty, the security and defense of the Church of England, and the peace and tranquillity and public good of your kingdom and your subjects of the same, to commit to our special deliberation this, or any other question affecting the interests of our holy religion, or the usefulness of the Church, we trust that we shall not be found unmindful of the solemn character of the functions we are called to discharge, and shall conduct our proceedings under the Divine blessing, and with the diligence which would become us in obeying your Majesty's command.

"Hitherto the shortness of time given to our consultation has in a great measure frustrated the advantages, which we humbly trust would result if further

opportunity were afforded for ascertaining the opinions of the clergy by discussion in Convocation.

"Meanwhile, we assure your Majesty that any difficulties which may impede our endeavors to convey the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as the ruling principle of life, to every parish and to every individual in the land, will rather serve to stimulate than to restrain our exertions. We have the encouragement of knowing that while we attempt to carry into effect this important purpose, we are promoting the earnest wish and prayer of your Majesty, whom God has appointed to be our Supreme governor on earth, and whom, we trust, He may long preserve to see the increase of temporal prosperity, and the growth of true religion throughout your Majesty's dominions."

In the Lower House, the Deans of Worcester, Norwich, and Canterbury; Archdeacon Grant, Harrison, Randall, Sinclair, Sanford; Dr. M'Caul, Lord Compton, the Rev. Canon Wordsworth, Rev. J. Randolph, Rev. — Freer, Hon. and Rev. S. Best, Rev. F. Massingberd, Rev. A. Oxenden, Rev. F. Vincent, Rev. G. E. Gillett, and Chancellor Martin, were appointed as the committee of *gravamina* and *reformanda*; to whom numerous petitions were presented; and, among others, the following:

By the Dean of Norwich, for the next or some early session—

"That this house do take the earliest opportunity of considering the suggestions contained in the report of a joint committee of Convocation, presented in the session of the 20th July, 1854, with a view of inquiring whether, by some modification of her rules and services, the Church may not be enabled more adequately to administer to the spiritual necessities of the land."

By the Rev. F. Massingberd—

"That it appears to this house that the intention lately announced on the part of their lordships the Bishops, to allow the use of the Litany, in certain cases, as a separate service, is deserving of the gratitude of the Church; and that it is worthy of inquiry whether there are any other ways, within the existing law, by which a considerable part of the recommendations contained in the reports of the joint committee on Church services and the committee of this house on *gravamina et reformanda* might be carried out."

Also, a motion for an address—

"Humbly to represent to his Grace and their lordships, that it appears to this house to be a subject which might fitly occupy the attention of this Convocation, whether any and what steps might be taken towards the reunion of the divided members of Christ's body in our country, and whether it might not tend, under the Divine blessing, towards the accomplishment of an object so earnestly to be desired and so anxiously to be sought, if their lordships should be pleased to commend the subject, in some definite and formal way, to the prayers of the faithful members of the Church."

By the Rev. James Fendall—

"That this Lower House of Convocation present a petition to the Upper House, requesting his Grace the President and their lordships the Bishops to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an address to the Crown, praying that her Most Gracious Majesty may be pleased to grant her royal license and authority to the Convocations of the provinces of Canterbury and York, to enact and put in use a canon, prescribing what ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall henceforth be retained and be in use in this Church of England."

By the Archdeacon of Coventry—Renewal of a motion of the former Convocation in reference to Church hymnal.

The two subjects, which excited most interest in the discussions, were the following; the first introduced by Dean Milman, and amended by Archdeacon Grant—

"That a committee of this house be appointed to examine by what authority the separate services for November 5, January 30, and May 29, were drawn up and are appointed to be read, and the legal force which they severally possess; to report thereupon to this house; and to make such recommendations relating to those services as they shall think desirable." The resolution was adopted, and a committee appointed.

The Rev. Canon Wordsworth moved the following resolution, of which he had given notice on the previous day:—

"That a committee of this house be appointed to consider the best means of obtaining the counsel and coöperation of the laity of the Church, particularly at annual Visitations or diocesan Synods; and that the committee be desired to report to this house on the subject as soon as convenient; and also to frame the draft of a dutiful representation upon it from this house to his Grace the President and their lordships in the Upper House." This motion was carried by a large majority.

In the doings and debates of Convocation, we cannot fail to detect not only an improved tone and spirit, but the increasing moral power of this body. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury bears himself differently, and altogether encouragingly; and the manner in which he met the carping of the new Bishop of London must have been felt by the latter as a rebuke. The resolution of Canon Wordsworth on Diocesan Synods reaches cardinal principles; and this whole movement we hail as the brightest sign of the times since the Reformation. Parties are ignored in the attempt at revival of Convocation; and the most timid are growing hopeful and even confident.

We go to press at this stage of its proceedings.

NEW BISHOPRICS IN INDIA.

At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Feb. 20th, the Report of the Sub-committee on the extension of Episcopacy in India, which had been approved by the Standing Committee, was read. It was stated that a feeling very friendly to the object had been manifested in the Northwest Provinces, and that memorials signed by many hundred persons had been sent to the Society. One which had just arrived from Burmah was read to the Board. It was resolved that memorials should be sent to the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Control, and the Directors of the East-India Company, with the object of obtaining the necessary Parliamentary authority for the erection of three new Sees, at Agra, Lahore, and Tinnevely. The following were requested to form a deputation to the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Control:—The Archbishop of CANTEBURY, the Bishop of OXFORD, the Rev. A. R. Symonds, the Rev. F. Poynder, H. W. B. Frere, Esq., and C. W. Puller, Esq.

ANOTHER CHURCH SYNOD.—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The Bishop of Capetown has at length followed the example of his right reverend brethren in Australia, in assembling a Synod of his Diocese, comprising the laity represented by delegates. The objections, formerly supposed to exist, in the want of permission to call Synods, have been disposed of by the Royal assent to the Melbourne Church Bill, and by the Secretary of State's despatch of February 15th, 1856, to the Governor General of Canada. In respect to membership, the Melbourne Church Bill requires an express declaration of Church-membership, and disavowal of connection with every other religious body, from every voter, and rules that no one shall be accepted as a delegate who has not been a communicant for the whole year, at least immediately preceding the election; whereas the Bishop of Capetown was content that any one offering himself for a delegate should be simply a communicant, and that only those voters who were not communicants should be required to make a declaration of Church membership, the Melbourne code being thus somewhat the more stringent of the two. The objects of the Synod, with the limitations

of its functions, are all very clearly explained in a circular letter issued by the Bishop summoning the lay delegates. It is declared to be incompetent, as being only a Diocesan Synod, to touch the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Homilies, Canons, &c.

The points on which its deliberations are invited are the following:—

1. The constitution of the Synod itself. 2. The steps to be taken to place the clergy of the diocese in the position of incumbents, instead of that of licensed curates. 3. The appointment, support, and discipline of the clergy. 4. The tenure and management of Church property. 5. Questions relating to the formation and constitution of parishes. 6. Difficulties which have presented themselves with regard to marriages, divorces, and sponsors. 7. The mission work of the diocese. 8. The subject of education. 9. The desirableness or otherwise of seeking to obtain the assistance of the Legislature to carry out the objects of the Synod. And other points of minor importance.

Five parishes out of nineteen refused to send lay-delegates; and three out of about thirty clergymen refused to attend.

The Synod was opened January 10th, with a most able and interesting charge from the Bishop.

The Bishop of Capetown, who is apparently a most efficient man, has been assailed by the dissenting press with great severity. He recently, in a correspondence with a Mr. Surtees, on Synodical action, has the following, on the present condition of the English Church:—"Of Dr. Arnold none can speak without respect for his Christian courage and real goodness. But Dr. Arnold did not believe in the Divine constitution of the Church—he did not believe in a visible Church at all—he was the friend and ally in all religious matters of the Chevalier Bunsen. And he was not only the ally of this very able and good man, though tinged with Rationalism; but has become the founder of the Rationalistic school now struggling to obtain a footing in the English Church; and had he lived until now, would have been pained to behold the effects of his teaching, not only in the Church at large, but also in his own family—one of his sons having, after first becoming a skeptic, then a Methodist—and able to find rest nowhere—just joined the Church of Rome. Were the secret history known of those who have been perverted, it would be found, I believe, in a large number of cases, to be similar to that of Dr. Arnold's son. It would be found that they had not been trained up in the distinct principles and doctrines of the Church of England—that very many of them had been nurtured either as Nonconformists or in the extreme Calvinistic School of our Church. It was so at least with the most remarkable of those men who are now lost to us—with Manning, and Wilberforce, and Newman, and Pugin—and I might add, the Ryders, and Sargeants, and Simeons."

CHURCH AND STATE PARTIES IN ENGLAND.

The vote in the House of Commons, disagreeing with and non-sustaining the Palmerston Ministry in the Chinese War, led to a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the country, where a vote has just been taken. It is worthy of note that, in this election, a union of Liberals and Low Churchmen went for the Ministry; the latter sustaining him on the ground of his late appointments to the Episcopate. They talk plainly in England; and it is evident enough that the Church, which has lately been infused with new life, is to occupy a more important place in future political struggles. A complete and unexpected reorganization of parties, however, seems probable. Where the Church will come up in this boiling of the political caldron, is not yet determined. But in the election, the Ministry were large gainers, standing at least three hundred and sixty five Government, to two hundred and forty-nine Opposition. Several leading Anti-Church members were routed, as Mr. Miall, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pellate and Sir William Clay; the radical Manchester party has suffered a total defeat, Cobden, Bright, and Gibson, being rejected; while several decided Churchmen are returned, as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, Sir W. Heathcote, and others.

STRANGE DEVELOPMENTS.—BISHOP TAIT, MR. STANLEY, AND MR. MAURICE.

We observe some movements of late in England which are worth reporting as signs of the times. It is known that in place of Professor Hussey, the Rev. A. P. Stanley has been appointed by Lord Palmerston, as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and also as examining chaplain to the Bishop of London. This same Prof. Stanley has lately published a course of Lectures, in one of which, besides loose statements, unguarded and undefined opinions, there occurs the following passage: "If the Christian religion be a matter not of mint, anise, and cummin, but of justice, mercy, and truth; if the Christian Church be not a priestly caste, or a monastic order, or a little nest or a handful of opinions, but the whole congregation of faithful men dispersed throughout the world; if the ancient maxim be correct, *Ubi tres laici ibi est ecclesia*, then the range of the Church is as wide as the range of the world, which it was designed to penetrate, as the whole body which its name includes."—p. 12.

Now, so far is this "maxim," from having the support of Catholic antiquity, as Mr. Stanley intimates, it was the saying of Tertullian after he became a *Montanist*. More ancient are the words of St. Ignatius, *ἡμεῖς τρεῖς* (Bishops, priests, and deacons) *ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται*.

Here are further extracts from Mr. Stanley: "Can we hesitate to say, that if the Christian Church be drawing to its end, or if it continue to its end with no other objects than those which it has hitherto sought, it will end with its acknowledged resources confessedly undeveloped, its finest hopes of usefulness almost untried and unattempted." * * *

"It may be that the age for creating new forms of the Christian faith is past and gone—that no new ecclesiastical boundaries will henceforth be laid down among men. It is certain that in the use of the old forms is our best chance for the present. Use them to the utmost—use them threadbare if you will; long experience, the course of their history, their age and dignity, have made them far more elastic, far more available than any we can invent for ourselves. But do not give up the study of the history of the Church either in disgust at what has been, or in despair of what may be. The history of the Christian Church, no less than of the Jewish, bears witness to its own incompleteness."

Now, in the name of all that is orthodox, what does such language mean? We suppose that we know very well what it does mean; and so do our readers.

In the same vein, Bishop Tait amused himself recently in the House of Lords with the following bit of flippant ignorance: He said, "As for the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, there was no subject on which a whole string of Fathers could not be brought on one side, and a whole string on the other." Will the Bishop be kind enough to furnish a catena of the Fathers who deny the doctrine of the TRINITY? or of the essential DIVINITY of JESUS CHRIST? The speech is only noticeable as showing the tone and spirit of the new Bishop of London.

Nor is this all. The English papers have the following: "It will be remembered that, in 1855, the Rev. F. D. Maurice was obliged to resign his Professorship at King's College, London, in consequence of a difference of opinion between the Council of that Institution and himself regarding the propriety of certain doctrines of his on eternal punishment. Since the appointment of Dr. Tait to the See of London, and of Mr. Stanley to an examining chaplaincy to that Prelate, great efforts have been made to procure Mr. Maurice's reinstatement in the professorship. We are enabled to state that through the interference of Bishop Tait, the visitor of the College, and of the new Dean of Westminster, (Dr. Trench,) this result is very probable. The Rev. Gentleman has lately given £500 to the Working Men's College, and £1000 more have been lent to it on a mortgage, by an unknown person, who is said to be Mrs. F. D. Maurice."

We see indications multiplying that the "Broad School," in England, are becoming as radical in their Church, as in their doctrinal notions; as pretentious, as they are insolent, and as intolerant and bitter as they are loose and radical.

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ART. 1.—THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLIC POSITION.

PARTIES exist in the Church. No doubt of it. Thence the jealousies and suspicions, the misapprehensions, hard words and misrepresentations, by which the Church has been so much injured and tormented of late years. Perhaps we might even go farther than this, and say that there are among us some who rejoice in this state of things,—who love to fish in troubled waters, and would organize in the Church all the machinery of party in its full extent of mischief.

And yet while admitting all this, we see in the Church great hopes of peace and calm, of the gentleness of love and mutual confidence. A great many elemental signs encourage the expectation that the bitterness so rife in political matters, although seeming on the very point of reaching the same full growth in the Church that it has attained in the State, will never come to a like maturity of organization or of action. There is a great deal of honest earnestness, and single-minded simple-hearted devotedness, among Church Clergymen of all parties. This gives us strong hopes of peace. We are persuaded that many men now entertaining mutual jealousies and mutual feelings of distrust, only need to be brought together for half a day, to see that no such systems are held as fear and

suspicion had imagined. There are in the Church many men of both parties, who could they sit down quietly together for three hours, would inevitably find out that they hold the same commission, work within the same Church, and after the same mode of Ecclesiastical action, have each a full living faith, and a full abundance of works, and only view the same great body of truth from different aspects. If the earnest, the sincere, the devotional of all parties in the Church only could be brought into social intercourse with one another a little more freely, we should have no apprehensions. Half the fuel of party rage, half the coals that feed the flame of party would be removed. We have seen this issue, we can say, in actual life. We have seen the earnest, practical, devoted "High-Churchman,"—so called,—who stood upon the strongest basis of doctrine, brought in contact with the earnest, practical, devoted "Low-Churchman." We have beheld the astonishment of the two men upon their recognition of the fact, that at bottom they were the same in doctrine and works and action, so strong is the tendency of a living faith among brethren, having the same commission, dwelling in the same Church and using the same Creeds and Liturgies, to enable them to go down to the common basis upon which they all rest and are founded. From this tendency, which we ourselves have often seen at work, we draw great hopes of the decline of the incensarism of party in the Church.

Professing, ourselves, to be Churchmen, sound Churchmen, we enjoy a still better hope, a more deep-founded expectation of the coming increase of outward Unity, the decrease of party violence. And this we get from facts which in another point of view might cause despondency. We admit that there are in the Church, even in her ministry, men who do not clearly hold the Church system, who are Calvinists, or Lutherans, or Methodists; men whose private systems, consistently and distinctly acted upon, would destroy the very organization of the Church. We consider that there are such men among us, and that this would be the result of the notions they hold, were they carried out into a course of definite and consistent action. But we look upon these men, with these notions, within the Church, as wholly different from what the same men, with the same notions, would be without the Church. A Calvinist, or a Methodist, inside the Church, is not what he would be outside it. He is not in the same position, nor the same man, although even he himself may think that he is. We, as sound Churchmen, know that by his position he is a

vast deal better man than he thinks himself to be. Putting aside the fact that Calvinism in the Church, for the most part, only means an unusually strong practical appreciation of the doctrines of Original Sin and Grace, and that any sound Churchman who holds these in their full practical significance and preaches them according to it, shall in nine cases out of ten be called by these good people a Calvinist,—putting aside this fact, there is in their very position as inside the Church, a great deal that leads to peace. We will suppose a man within the Church to be upon an alien Theory, wholly and entirely, the Five Points, for instance, of John Calvin's cast-iron system. That man, within the Church, is wholly different from what the same man, with the same system, would be without. His position in relation to us, consistent Churchmen, is entirely different. He has Apostolic Baptism and Apostolic Orders. He has the Church's Commission, and administers her Sacraments. He uses her Liturgies, her Creeds and her Offices. By his official position and by all his official acts, he is with us. He preaches a doctrine different from that which mentally he holds, and ostentatiously declares himself to hold. Mentally and consciously, and so far as party Shibboleths are concerned, he has one scheme; practically and really, and by position, another. He has another, although he knows it not. He is with us sound Churchmen, in fact and truth, in office and position, and by every service he performs. Thus there is an inconsistency in his position—a cleft between profession and action in him, which issue as it may, tends towards peace. He cannot stay as he is. Either the half-conscious feeling of his own inconsistency, showing itself at first in mere dislike to the Church's doctrines and practices, must go on, increasing until it result in a fury and hatred against everything connected with the Episcopacy like those of the old English Puritans, who in some places prevented Confirmations for twenty years together, and abhorred the Altar, the Surplice and the Organ, with such a perfect and frantic hatred, as looks to us now almost demoniac or insane; or else the man will become reconciled to his position, and to the faith and principles that are natural to it. As long, however, as that man is within the Church, there can be no such feeling in our mind with regard to him, the "Low-Churchman," as may exist in his mind towards us. The Church existing in these United States by Apostolic Succession is a broad fact. It is the Church; not a sect or a denomination, or a Church, but *the* Church, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. This fact and the true Church doc-

trines agree. The "low" Churchmen doubt, or deny, or are afraid of it. Every man, nevertheless, that officiates in the Church, asserts the fact by his position and all his official actions. The "low" Churchman may hate us for being consistent. We cannot hate him as he can us. We must look upon him as merely inconsistent. He will either come to recognize the position in which he is, and gradually to reconcile himself to it, or else his private system must become more and more predominant in his mind until its antagonism to the system under which he is and acts, shall compel him to go where he belongs. Dr. —, of —, did so; and so will many more. Such is the position of the doctrinal "low" Churchmen, and such the two-fold issue of such a stand. In fact, there are in the Church many such men, men who through the want of Baptism in the Church and of Church training, by the influence of pious associates, through the examples of parents, or brothers, or sisters much loved and gone to their rest in heaven, being in the Church, are among us, holding systems wholly discordant with that of the Church—Calvinism, or Lutheranism, or Methodism,—and believing and calling those systems the Gospel. The conflict of these systems with their real position must lead to one or other of the results we have specified;—either to their becoming reconciled and acting consistently, or else to their maturing their private system and acting consistently upon that, by forsaking the Church.

These are the men whose honest terror, whose feeling of inconsistency in themselves, projected as a black shadow upon their opponents, makes half the trouble in the Church. Still they are within the Church, having the Apostolic commission, administering Apostolic Baptism. We feel that towards them, sound, consistent Churchmen ought to take loftier grounds than they have been wont to do; that we must do so on the slightest thought; and that considering their position and ours, it is to Christian charity, patient forbearance, considerate endurance, that we have to betake ourselves. We have only to wait, and the strife between us and them is ended. Our work is this—to abide, to keep things as they are, to be entirely conservative. So shall we be established the more firmly upon the Church basis whereon we are, and time shall bring all their party, so far as it is a party, to an end, with all its hopes. In our realizing their position, we find the possibility of much and growing peace between us and them.

Nor is there less in realizing our own position. And the question comes up at once, and who are we, priesthood and

laity, with our organization and our Episcopacy, our Liturgy, our Sacraments and Ordinal? There is only one answer can be given, that is at once safe and consistent,—only one position that can be taken by sound Churchmen in the United States—we are the **AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**. There are so-called Roman Catholics here; we are **AMERICAN CATHOLICS**. There are dissenters; as distinguished from them also we are Catholic. We are a Church protesting against Rome and as such, protestant; and protesting against Dissent; and, as such, Episcopal; the Church that calls itself “The Protestant Episcopal Church,” as bearing upon its forehead its organic opposition to both these anti-Catholic influences. We are in this land the American Catholic Church; the Church which holds the Nicene and Apostolic Faith, has the Apostolic Ministry, opens as in the purest times, the Bible to both the Laity and Clergy, and gives the Sacraments as they were given of old. This is what we are, this is our position and our nature.

Suppose that we, both clergy and laity, should rise to our position, should lift ourselves up to the consciousness of being what in fact we are, and act upon it. Suppose we should take our system of doctrine to be the Creeds, and begin to appreciate it—to teach it and to realize it practically, beginning with “I believe,” and ending with “Life everlasting.” We do think, that as against Popery and as against Dissent, such preaching from a consciousness of the position we occupy, would help us much. Suppose we did this. Suppose that instead of dashing theory against theory, and doctrinal system against doctrinal system, “Anglicanism” against “Gallicanism,” that against “Calvinism,” that against “Ultramontanism,” we at once accepted our position and said, “As in this land we are ‘American,’ belonging to the ‘American Catholic Church.’” Suppose, furthermore, we recognized the broad fact, that God governs the world,—the issue of events being in His hand, while He yet leaves to man his natural freedom; and that thus, this New World, being a part of His system, its development is not a thing of chance, an excrescence and fungus of the old and worn-out growth, but is in truth and fact a foreseen event and intended to work out God’s good purposes. Suppose, furthermore, we looked over Europe and calmly viewed the course of things for a thousand years there, to see that the causes of all corruption to the Church have been the tyranny of the State and the tyranny of the Pope; and that while one system has been antagonist to the other, still each

is equally the source of corruption to both clergy and laity. Suppose, then, taking this view, we took into consideration the fact that we, the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, are the first free Church that has been so for one thousand years, the first Apostolic Church free from both these baleful influences of State-dominion and Papal sway. What conclusion should we come to from all these facts, so thought upon, but this; that God, in His own good way and in His own time, is going to do His own work; and that by placing us here, existing in truth and fact as the 'American Catholic Church,' He has work for us to do, in the Holy Catholic Church, over the whole world existing both in time and space?

We stand here not as "Anglican," for union with the State and support of Constitutional Monarchy is a part of Anglicanism; but yet, having all the safeguards against Popery, which the learning and purity of the English Church, our ever venerable mother has devised. Not Roman, for we are "American;" not "Presbyterian," nor "Methodist," nor "Congregational;" for we have the Episcopacy, the Creeds, the Sacraments. But it is as the old Catholic Church in a new position and in a new land, that we are set here; and no doubt, to do a new work,—a piece and parcel of the old work.

We have no sympathies with Rome, no desire for any imitation of her action in any way. We take our Prayer Book as it stands, Creeds, Liturgies, Offices, Articles, in the plain literal sense, and we need nothing to guide us but these, the Church's standards, Her conciliar action, and Her usages, and Her Episcopacy. We know that we are the "American Catholic Church"—that we have our work to do as such in the system of God's providence; that we shall rise up to it in the providence of God, and that all parties within the Church will feel their imperfection and their inadequateness as in presence of this great fact. And, at the same time, they shall become convinced that this great fact completes and satisfies all their yearnings and all their searchings of heart. By the guidance of God and by the grace of His Spirit, the time shall come when we all shall be raised up to the level of the loftiness and the grandeur and the nobleness of our true position. And on the other hand, the course of Romanism and of Dissent in this land, by the natural issue and result of their constituent principles, is about to be such, that as years pass onward they will each evince in their action, that they are not the "American Catholic Church;" the practical issue and result of our

principles and our action, shall show that we are that Church, into which, so seen and known, all the elements kindred to Catholicity in any way, that exist in all the sects outside us, shall come in individually—not in bodies or systems.

We look upon it as a sure result, that by a rising up, consciously to the knowledge and conviction of what in fact and in truth we are—we of the Protestant Episcopal Church must come to a clear unity within ourselves, both practical and theoretical, both in action and feeling; and that externally, because we are the Church, American and Catholic, we shall absorb within us all sects, all parties, all denominations, every fragment of this present sect-rent Christianity wherein there is a particle of spiritual life—and this in a natural, quiet way, without movement or agitation or compromise for the purpose, but by natural growth and influence, by baptisms, by confirmations, by the unnoticed and unadvertised coming over of men, women and children, into that body which they feel and know to be the Church of God—a true Catholicity, working upon the masses by absorption, and assimilation, and gradual spreading, and an influence universally pervading—"the leaven that leaveneth the whole mass."

The movements in the Church of the last eighteen years, among "Low Church" and "High Church," are, upon this theory, most hopeful and most encouraging. Among all parties they are the instinctive and unconscious recognitions of this truth, the pregnant signs that this great fact is breaking forth into living consciousness, in the convictions of all earnest men, within the Church. Laity and Clergy of all parties desire the progress of the Church in numbers and influence. They long for a greater amount of true Christian faith, and real and earnest works. They would that we were more holy and zealous. They are anxious that the Church should extend from the Pacific to the Atlantic. They desire a pure and unworldly spirit to go out from her, and this spirit to bring all men home within her fold. Let us go, from Maine to Mississippi, from California to New York, and these are the hopes and convictions, the deep yearnings of the heart, of every earnest and pious man among clergy and laity of all parties.

And all those aspirations and convictions are capable of being arrayed under the old formula, the "four marks" of the "Catholic Church," Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, Apostolicity,—all the earnest longings, the deep heart-yearnings, of the sincere and devoted within the Church, are only to be account-

ed for by the fact that we feel thoroughly and universally, that we are the Catholic Church, and that with us only are these great desiderata practicable.

Because we are the Church in this land ; because we are the "American Catholic Church," all Christians in this land ought to unite and be one with us, and receiving the Church's Baptism, and the Holy Communion, ought to be one in Faith with us, one in prayers, one in profession. Therefore it is that we send forth and establish missions everywhere which receive converts from all religious societies,—ordaining again their Clergy, and asking from their Laity no letters dimissory from their former pastors. This we can do with justice only on the above grounds. And this we do all of us, both "high" and "low." Because we are the Church, we feel that there ought to be unity of doctrine, moral and religious ; and we always, both "high" and "low," use the great instrument of this doctrinal unity, a Liturgy. We groan and long for internal unity, of heart and feelings and affections among all. And there is no doubt that it is growing, even among our poor parties and our mutual insignificant jealousies.

Again, ask the earnest Laity and Clergy, and you will find that towards holiness there is a growing feeling, towards distinctness of faith, towards piety, towards zeal and self-devotion. Put aside mere party leaders, and there are more zealous, sincere, pious Clergy, men who realize the purpose, the objects, the ends, the uses of the Church as sent into the world for the salvation of man, the society instituted by Christ himself to subserve that purpose, than ever were in the country before. That there are more Laymen, "high" and "low," who cast themselves with a simple faith upon Christ, in the Church, making use of the Church, her Ministry, her Creeds, her Sacraments, her Services, in a quiet, undoubting, loyal way, for the end which they were intended to subserve and aid,—actual holiness, in the individual and in the Body.

Again, take all parties, "high" and "low,"—all feel that we ought to exist as a Church, in every city in the Union,—in every village and town. All are convinced that we should bring all men and women and children in the country within our fold. In fact, the "Low Churchmen," as Albert Barnes has somewhere said, are just as earnest and assiduous "in the work of proselytizing," as he calls it, as the "High Church" party. Indeed, more so. In truth, it is oftener the fact, that practically they are more earnest in this peculiar work. They

have often unconsciously a deeper conviction of the Catholicity of the Church—that *all* should belong to Her—that she should embrace *all*—than the “High Church” party has.

And for Apostolicity; all, both “high” and “low,” believe in the Apostolic Commission, the Apostolic Origin and Apostolic Succession of the Church. It is taught in Virginia as in New York. It is everywhere borne on our banners, and is in fact so fully proclaimed, that every sectarian, in all parts of our land, knows very distinctly what “Apostolic Order” and “the Apostolic Commission” mean in the mouth of a member of the Church.

Look then at the results of all these facts,—the central point in which they all unite, the great truth to which they all converge, and what is it? This it is. No movement of the last twenty years within our body, that is not predicated on the truth that we are “the American Catholic Church” in this land. There is no movement that has not had for its object to realize among us one or other of “the marks of the Church,”—to bring it more fully into knowledge or into practical action. We may theorize as we like, but in fact, and truth, in organization, and in doctrine as well as in the providence of God, in the action of all within our fold and the course of all without, we are the “American Catholic Church” in this land. All our movements arise from a conviction of this fact,—more or less distinct,—all tend to realize it, both practically and doctrinally. This element we see, as we have said, existing as a motive, as well as an end and final cause, in the divers movements of both “high” and “low” in the Church for the last twenty years.

And yet many, nay, the most of the movements towards this end *have been awkward and inefficient*. For instance, Wesley by his itinerancy, swept half a million of converts into his society. Some see this to have been the case and say, “Yes, let us have an itinerancy!” Again, Francis D’Assisi made multitudes of converts by open air preaching. “Let us have open air preaching!” Again, the Pew-System shuts out multitudes. “Let us put away the Pew-System!” Again, Voluntary Societies merely try to do what the Church ought to do, and does not. “Let us put an end to Voluntary Societies!” Again, Voluntary Societies are lawful and do a work which ought to be done. “Let us fill the Church then with Voluntary Societies!” Again, the Diaconate has a peculiar diaconal education, by virtue of which for one year at least, and often for several, the Deacon ought, under a Presbyter, in a parish,

to do the work of Deacon; in other words, ought after his academic and theological education are ended, to have his *Diaconal Education*. And yet he practically has it not. "Let us, therefore, amend this error, by passing canons enabling Bishops to ordain men Deacons who have no education whatsoever!"—and so from end to end.

All these movements testify to the conviction and feeling and the determination to realize and act upon the truth and fact we have spoken of. All are very like the child's action in his flower garden, taking bright flowers and green branches without roots and planting them that they may grow. All these movements are chargeable with the one capital defect,—they substitute for real *root measures* mere results, mechanically undertaken, in the notion that the causes will spring from the effects—that the roots will grow from the flowers or branches.

Who, for instance, high or low, Clergyman or Layman in the Church, believes in the Pew-System? Who does not feel its evils? Who would have it if he could help it? And yet we have it and must have it, because it is a result. And until we can find out the roots and principles from which a free-system organically and naturally springs, we must have the Pew-system and cannot get rid of it. Then when we find out and get on those grounds and principles from which a free-system springs, a "free" system will come forth naturally, easily and universally, and the whole Church at once will accept it.

We have given this as merely one instance out of many, to illustrate a principle we have always felt to be true; that these are movements towards mere results which have in them no organic life, and which therefore must wither and go to nothing. There are again *root movements*,—the taking of measures which spread and grow and increase, having in them a vital life. Perhaps the best example of the first is John Wesley's mock Episcopacy—a thing he thought expedient and therefore instituted it, and it seemed at first with infinite success. Perhaps, also, the best example of the second—the "root movement"—is the pertinacious determination of the Church in the United States, so unreasonable to all without her fold as it did seem, and so apparently trifling, to have the Apostolic Succession in truth and fact, and not to rest content with anything short of this. The first has had great success, and that at once, in a moment, but we have all of us seen indications that it is to wither. The last is a "root," it has grown slowly and quietly, but it is to endure, while the earth remains, and

the nation is yet to rest under its branches, to be healed by its leaves, and to feed upon its fruit.

The mass of the movements in the Church for the last eighteen years, we count to have had no root. They testify to noble instinctive feelings, to Churchlike ideas. But this is all. They have all shown that they have no roots, by withering until there is little or nothing left. In fact, we must say in reference to all these movements that have made so much noise and occasioned so much thought,—we think they have added very little to us in strength of men, or means. It is our deliberate conviction that our growth and increase arises not so much from these movements or the action of their advocates, as from the calm, quiet, deliberate piety and zeal of clergy and laity who have no mission or great work to do, but persist steadily in doing their duty to the Church in their own appointed spheres, without reference to any of these schemes in any way.

All these schemes, all this agitation, points in one way as we have shown. It all has its explanation in the one fact that we are the “American Catholic Church.” We shall be so in effect only by developing in ourselves the Holiness, the Unity, the Catholicity, and the Apostolicity of the Church. An agitation, to assume the name, to call ourselves by it, would probably last twenty years before it became successful, and would be after all an agitation for a name. We have the root, and every man, woman and child, who does his duty in the Church towards God and man in the sphere in which he is placed, is laboring towards the *thing*, and through it towards the name ultimately.

We shall increase and grow in holiness, in energy, in unity, in influence, in distinctness of principles and in clearness of action, upon these principles. The time then will come when all within the Church shall see what we are, and all without it. The fact will rise up and prove itself, and the name will follow easily and quietly, and without opposition. Our progress in all those qualities that really mark the Church, will help us better towards the result than any amount of agitation and confusion about the name. And to this we shall be aided by the natural development of both Rome and Dissent, from their own organization and principles. The course they are running, and which from their constituent principles they must run in this country, will prove to all men that neither of them is, and neither can become the “American Catholic Church.” Therefore three days’ work towards the reality of the thing, is

of more value than twenty years' agitation about the name—twenty years of the small devices and pigmy labors by which party endeavors to establish itself.

It will be seen, then, that we take a high and comprehensive view. We look upon the Church planted here, by the providence of God, as an organic vital body, having a life in it which is far above our comprehension and our guidance. It has its work to do in this New World. And this work is a living part of the course of the Great Work that has been going on since our Lord ascended. In that great plan, our place exists—the place of the “American Catholic Church,” as distinct as ever was that of Judea or of Asia—of Rome or of Florence—of Greece or of England. Only by faith and living works in our sphere can we truly aid its development. All our best measures then,—all that are the most truly root measures, consist in removing obstacles that impede the free work and living energies of the Church. Her organic power and vital force is upon us. Her current, as she sweeps upon her path, is bearing us onward. The most influential man, layman or clergyman, has had but small influence upon it, compared to what it has had on him. To work in our sphere therefore, of duty, in faith and truth, we count the best for us all, clergy and laity. If we see obstacles, to remove them in every way we can, but still to wait and be patient. For individual zeal in our proper sphere—work in the way of each one's proper duty more tends to that wherein our hopes and aspirations center, than any amount of agitation.

The question now arises, whether we think that separate and apart from the measures recommended and agitated during the last twenty years, there is any other that may tend to bring about the results we all so desire as to the Unity, the Holiness, the extension universally of the “Apostolic Church in these United States?”

In accordance with the views expressed in the earlier part of this Article, we do think that there is. We do think that we of the American Church have remaining in our way a very great obstacle, which has impeded our progress very much,—an obstacle which, when once the Church sees how greatly it has hindered us in all the qualities of a Church, may be removed at little cost of time or expense, and which then will leave open the way to the accomplishment of the most desirable of all those measures, which we have been discussing during the last eighteen years, and have in vain endeavored to set afoot. In other words, we consider that there is a measure

capable of being easily taken, which is in itself highly efficient, and being in itself a "root measure," is one of those that would cause growth and progress in the direction in which all desire to advance; and that the want of it is a great obstacle entailing a large abundance of the opposite evils.

WHEN the Church in the United States was organized, we insisted upon the Episcopacy as derived from Apostolic Times—in other words, upon a Clergy of Apostolic descent. Men in vain argued in favor of a Lutheran Superintendency, a Calvinist President of the Presbytery, a Methodist Mock Episcopacy of men calling themselves "Bishops," and having no mission as such. The Church insisted upon the Apostolic Succession—she obtained it, and from that time to the present, she has never repented of her firmness and fixedness in the cause.

We made one great mistake in the matter. Obtaining the Apostolic Ministry, the very center of the "Catholic Church," we forgot to place our Episcopacy in the Apostolic Position. In other words, instead of making our Bishopricks "SEE BISHOPRICKS," we made them "*Territorial*"—instead of naming them after *Cities*, we named them after *States*. For example, according to primitive custom, the Bishop having jurisdiction all over the Church in Massachusetts, would be called "Bishop of the Diocese of Boston;" we call him "Bishop of Massachusetts," and so we have the Bishops of "Pennsylvania," "Ohio," and "Missouri," instead of "Philadelphia," "Cincinnati," and "St. Louis." The State, or Territorial Bishoprick, is our way,—the "See Bishoprick," is that which is the proper way, that which is Apostolic, Primitive and Universal.

Men will say at once, What difference does it make whether the Episcopate, for instance, whose jurisdiction extends over Pennsylvania, is called after the State or its chief town?—whether it be the "Diocese of Pennsylvania," or the "Diocese of Philadelphia?"—a "State Bishoprick," or a "See Bishoprick?" Small as the difference appears, we trust to make it manifest that it is really great and most important—that the adoption of the principle of "See Bishopricks," which can be effected at no expense, with little labor, and small trouble, by the General Convention, is more important to us than the utmost effort in many other directions, of which the results may seem more immediately discernible. The General Convention could rename our whole Episcopate after this principle in ten minutes; and in ten minutes more pass a canon embodying the principle, for all future Bishopricks. Yet we believe that this small matter, so

easily done, so apparently indifferent—because it is a “*root measure*,” would be worth more than an endowment of a million of dollars for Missions—more than the increase in our numbers of a thousand Clergy. The root is worth more than the branches. It is the cause and origin of them all.

This we have been convinced of for a long time. We have seen as a fact and truth, that our Episcopate is the center of our growth, the root of the Church. We wish therefore to see the Bishop the officer of Apostolic descent in the “*Sec*,” the Apostolic and Primitive position,—in order that our progress may be such as all parties desire, and all are convinced that we ought to make.

To bring this subject out in something like its full weight and dimensions, we remark that we can distinctly prove these facts :

First, That the Church has the same evidence for a “*See*” as the proper form of the Diocese, as she has for Episcopacy itself. We can prove that it is *Apostolic, Scriptural, Primitive and Universal*.

Secondly, That in placing the Episcopate upon this principle, we place the Diocese in the only true and appropriate position—*there being in the very nature of cities as such, certain peculiarities of position and constitution* which completely and entirely adapt them to be the proper place and the peculiar center and position of the Episcopate.

And *Thirdly*, That because of our want of this *proper and peculiar position* of the Episcopate, there are a multitude of wants which we cannot satisfy—of duties we cannot perform—of convictions we all have which we cannot act upon individually. Because of this want “*offenses come*,” and difficulties arise to Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, and lastly to Laymen, which, were our Episcopate rightly placed, would never occur. Because of it, there are jarrings of the machinery that run through the whole to the remotest tooth and pinion, and take place solely because the great central wheel is not in its own proper position.

Our readers, we trust, have now before them our idea clearly and distinctly. The Episcopate is to the Church the center of all existence, all growth, all action, all progress. It has a peculiar position in which it can exert its whole power, in which the same amount of force shall produce the fullness of its effects. That position is the “*Sec*”—the Episcopate, named from the city its *Sedes*, (Latin,) *Siege*, (French,) or *See*, (English). Our first Bishops in the United States, whether from thoughtlessness not considering antiquity and universality, or per-

haps from timorousness, made at the first a very fatal blunder in naming the Episcopate from the State instead of the City. This, though apparently but a mistake of *words*, is really and truly the mistake of a *thing*; the introduction unnecessarily of an organic flaw in the constitution of the Church; unimportant apparently at the first, but which, now that our Church is expanding and growing with the growth of this New World, will be felt as a fatal wound, a crack in the foundation, of no apparent importance there, but in the superstructure to be seen as a huge rent rendering the whole building insecure.

We say that *we* see all this. We desire our brethren in the Church to see it. We desire every thinking man, "high Church" and "low Church," to look at this, to consider his own wishes, his own desires, his own difficulties, to bring them in contact with this idea of the "See Episcopate," and he shall see that this small change, apparently merely verbal, lies at the root of nearly all progress; that the Territorial or State Episcopate is at the basis of our defects, our want of progress, and the disappointment of the hopes which, as the Apostolic Church, we hold, and which, as such, we ought to see fulfilled. And that, therefore, the mere change, by authority, of the name of the Bishoprick, from the Territorial to the "See" title,—that of the Diocese of "Pennsylvania," "Massachusetts," or "Ohio," into "Philadelphia," "Boston" or "Cincinnati," merely verbal as it seems to be, would be the taking away of a flaw,—the removal of one organic mistake, and the reestablishment thereby of a great means of Union, and Harmony and Progress.

Our readers now see clearly our idea. Let them also clearly see what principle we desire to have established. No change is contemplated, *as necessarily taking place* in the jurisdiction of any of the present Bishopricks. The only change proposed is that of the name. For instance, if the present Diocese of "Pennsylvania" were submitted to this principle, it would become the Diocese of "Philadelphia," the jurisdiction of its Bishop would still extend, as now, over the whole State of Pennsylvania, until another Bishoprick should be established, and then the limits of the two might be arranged just as they would be under the present name. This one, only merely verbal change, involves two principles. First, every Bishoprick or Diocese shall be named after the largest city within its limits. This is the first. Secondly, every city shall be considered the center and basis of a future Episcopate—in other words, of a future "See." These are the two principles we wish to see brought before the mass of the Church, and finally established

by authority and acted upon. It is these principles that we would here undertake to advocate.

We would remark by the way, that we coincide wholly with the universal feeling among the clergy and laity of the Church, that an increase of the numbers of the Episcopate is desirable. But having the same basis, we would suggest that our plea, "See Bishopricks" *versus* "Territorial Bishopricks," is the true statement of the cause, the true declaration of plaintiff against defendant, of right against wrong. This is not "*small Bishopricks*" against "*large Bishopricks*." Rome was never a small Bishoprick, nor London, nor New York. Such a plea has in it a certain amount of truth, but also a certain amount of untruth, in the very statement of the case, which renders it unmanageable and apparently dreamy and unreal. The true declaration is ours. The "See Episcopate" *versus* the "Territorial."

Our first assertion is, that the "See Bishoprick," as such, is Scriptural, Apostolic, Primitive and Universal—that it is as much so as the Episcopacy itself. The same grounds which we have for believing that the Apostolic Succession existed in Judea, in Italy, in Asia Minor, from the time of Christ himself; these same proofs we have that the Churches therein were called respectively the Church of Jerusalem, the Church of Rome, of Ephesus, and the Bishops, Bishop of Jerusalem, of Rome, of Ephesus, and not of Judea, of Italy, or of Asia Minor. And upon the whole earth, from the days of Christ, we have in the Church no Territorial title, such as "Bishop of Ohio," until our Church blundered into it. This is our first assertion.

Now taking into account that we write for Churchmen, who believe in the Apostolic Succession as a truth and fact, upon which they stand as established; and also considering the express declaration of Theodoret, that "those who are now called Bishops, were originally called Apostles," we have as clear and distinct Scriptural proof that the name and title of the Episcopate was taken from the City, and not the State or Territory, as we have of the existence and the reality of the Episcopate itself.

It is Scriptural and Primitive, we say. The first example is that of the Seven Churches, mentioned in the Apocalypse of St. John. Here we have the Apostles of the Church named: *Malak*, (in Hebrew,) *Angelos*, (in Hellenistic Greek,) equivalent to *Apostolos*, in the ordinary Greek; so meaning and so to be translated;—translated clumsily "*Angelus*," by Jerome, whom our version follows in the translation "Angel;" but

still really "Apostle," and having in these passages no other meaning. These needful explanations made, we not only have, what all scholars recognize, the Episcopate in Asia Minor in the time of the Apocalypse; but we also have this Episcopate named, and called from the City, its "See,"—not from the State or Territory; the Church, the Bishoprick, the Bishop, all taking the one title, not the other, in the words of our blessed Lord, the Founder of the Church, as uttered by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of St. John, the founder of those Churches, "Unto the Apostle (*Angelos*) of the Church of Ephesus, write." Rev. ii, 1. "Unto the Apostle of the Church of Smyrna, write." Rev. ii, 8. "Unto the Apostle of the Church of Pergamos, write." Rev. ii, 12. "Unto the Apostle of the Church of Thyatira, write." Rev. ii, 18. "Unto the Apostle of the Church of Sardis, write." Rev. iii, 1. "To the Apostle of the Church in Philadelphia, write." Rev. iii, 7. "Unto the Apostle of the Church of the Laodiceans, write." Rev. iii, 14. Here are seven Churches mentioned, and their seven Apostles or Bishops, and in each instance the Church is named from the City, not from the Territory. Ephesus was the first founded Bishoprick in Asia Minor. The Church, the Bishoprick, the Bishop, were called after Ephesus, the City, not after Asia Minor, the Territory. Timothy we find elsewhere spoken of as "Bishop of Ephesus," not of "Asia Minor." Ephesus, again, was the capital city of Ionia, which may be regarded as answering to one of the States in our Union. Now we have no such title as "Bishop of Ionia," from the Apostles' time down to the present. Wherever the Episcopate has been in that region, it has been called, not from the Territory, but from the City. The Church, the Bishoprick, the Bishop, all are named from the City and not from the Territory.

Let sober people that believe in the Scriptures think of this and consider, that these names are given by our Saviour himself speaking through the Spirit to the great Apostle St. John. This fact alone should make us feel the absolute necessity of following the example they afford. It should make us feel, that although we may not perhaps be able from our own narrow and small experience of things, or our own knowledge and comprehension of the constitution and principles of the Church, clearly to see, what are all the reasons for this arrangement of the Episcopate—still it must be the organic, Apostolic and only right way—when we have our blessed Saviour in glory after His ascension, uttering and using this form and title, through the Holy Spirit, as inspiring the Apostle

St. John. It is and must be Scriptural and Apostolic; and not only so, but the appellation used, and by Christ our Saviour himself, and by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit which informs and gives life to the Church.

But we rest it not upon this alone. Another part of the argument will lead us to consider the advantages of the one mode and the disadvantages of the other; though still willingly confessing that the "See Bishopricks" being of Divine institution, the Territorial of our own fabrication and creation, we may not be able to see either all the uses of the one or all the impediments resulting from the other. Faith only, and the full consciousness and experience of the Church in this country can evince, to itself, the truth. But the one is of our invention in the year 1785,—the other is Scriptural and Apostolic, nay, given, as we have shown, by our Saviour himself, through the Holy Ghost, as a part of the divine organization and arrangement of the Church, as really as the Episcopate itself.

It is primitive also. For, putting aside one exception, (which is, that in the case of an island having one Bishop, the Episcopate was sometimes called after the Island, as the Bishop of Crete, in Asia, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, in England,) there is in Scripture and primitive antiquity for four hundred years, no departure from the rule that the Bishoprick is named after "Cities," not "Territories," or "States." The "See Bishoprick" is therefore "Scriptural, Apostolic and Primitive," having in these respects as much evidence in its favor as the Episcopate itself has.

But it is also universal. It descended with the Apostolic Succession. In fact, it is an arrangement coördinate with it, and kindred and harmonious with it. This is but too plainly shown by the contrast of the working of our clumsy and inconvenient method, as apparent in such examples as those of the Bishopricks of "New York," and of "Western New York." Our titles, as in this instance, involve confusion and future trouble in their very shape; and the more Bishopricks, the more clumsiness and future trouble. The old and Christian way would be, to call them "Bishop of New York," "Albany," "Buffalo," "Brooklyn," &c. In truth, the Apostolic Succession—the very idea of Succession—involves the necessity of the "See Bishopricks." Take one of the proof passages from our early Fathers, in evidence of the existence of the Episcopate. See how it proves the Episcopate to be a "See" Episcopate. "Let them," says Tertulian, "show us the origin of their Churches, and give us a

catalogue of the Bishops, in an exact succession from first to last, whereby it may appear that their Bishop had either some Apostle or some Apostolic man living in the time of the Apostles, for his author, (authoritative consecrator,) or immediate predecessor. For thus it is that Apostolic Churches make their reckoning. The Church of Smyrna counts up to Polycarp, ordained by St. John, the Church of Rome to Clemens, ordained by St. Peter, and so all Churches in like manner exhibit their first Bishops, ordained by the Apostles, by whom the Apostolic seed (succession) was propagated and conveyed to others."* By this it clearly appears that the title of the Episcopate was from the City. Bishop succeeding Bishop, in the same See and Title, until the City ceased to exist. How convenient this! How much more suitable to the very idea of a succession than the mode of talking of a "Bishop of New York," and "Bishop of Western New York;"—that is, Bishop of the whole State, and Bishop of the Western half of the State! A strange blunder, by which "New York" comes to mean only part of New York; to avoid which, on our present plan, every time a new Bishoprick is instituted, there should in reason be an actual change of the names and titles of all the old Bishopricks; a procedure obviously incongruous with the very idea of Succession.

In the Apostolic and Scriptural method, on the contrary, the first Bishop was Apostle of "Ephesus," not of "Asia Minor," or "Ionia;" and then, when there was a ripeness for another Bishop, Polycarp was placed in "Smyrna." The name of this city, then, was the title of the New Episcopate, and that of "Ephesus" was unchanged. The one arrangement is easy and natural, because in perfect accordance with the institution,—the other mode clumsy and discordant.

Next, in reference to Jerusalem, it is unanimously declared by all ancient writers that James, the Lord's brother, was the first Bishop thereof. Clemens Alexandrinus, Hegesippus, Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, most ancient writers and after them Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, all style St. James the brother of our Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem; all call his successors by the same title."† And yet Jerusalem was capital of Judea. James was not "*Bishop of Judea*," but "*Bishop of Jerusalem*;" not a Territorial, but a See Bishop. And so we can confirm by the case of the first Bishoprick in the

* Tertullian, cited by Bingham, Prim. Chria. Antiq., Vol. I, page 56, Straker's Edition.

† Abbreviated from Bingham.

world, the mother of all other Churches, that evidence which we had from the Book of Revelation.

Again, in the See of Antioch, we have St. Peter sitting as Apostle, instituting that See and ordaining Bishops; first Evedius, and after that Ignatius, Bishops of "Antioch," not of "Syria;" named from the Capital City of the country, not from the country itself. The most accordant manifestly with the natural progress of events, the natural order and method of the propagation of the Church.

These instances suffice to show the sense of Holy Scripture, and the Primitive Church, upon this point. They show that by the Apostles, the Churches they founded, their Bishops, and the office of their Bishops, were called after Cities, never after Territories. From the primitive times downward, furthermore, the name and title were similarly kept up, even to the remotest successors of the original incumbents. We have examined the lists of Sees in Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, comprising the names of upwards of twelve hundred Bishopricks, as they existed throughout the Church, in the whole known world, down to the year 900; and there is not one named from Territories, but all from Cities, and even Villages—places so small that they are not noted for anything else than the fact that they had a Bishop. We have looked through the catalogues of Bishops and Bishopricks in Eusebius, and found them invariably "See Bishopricks," never at all Territorial. Surely, this unanimous consent all over the known world, shows that the "See Bishoprick" is a part of the Christian System, universally observed alike in the most polished and most barbarous countries, and therefore to be universally followed.

But to leave Primitive times and come to our own. All the nations of the Eastern World retain the custom. In England we have the "Archbishop of Canterbury,"—not "Archbishop of England," nor of "Kent;" and London, Exeter, Oxford, Durham, all City Bishopricks. So in Ireland; Armagh, Dublin, etc. In Scotland, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc. Cross over to France, where, although they have a corrupt Church, still it is a Church under an Episcopate, and there you have the same rule observed of Cities giving the nomination to Bishops. In Germany the names of Sees are names of Cities. In Russia, and all over the Eastern Church, the same rule is universal. In fact, over the whole world, in every Church in the world at the present date (except our own) the Episcopate is a See Episcopate, taking its name from Cities, not from Territories. Surely we have made a blunder in not

following the same universal rule and binding analogy. Our mother Church of England committed no such blunder—her new Sees at home are “Manchester” and “Ripon.” Abroad, her new Sees are “Calcutta,” “Sydney,” “Quebec” and “Toronto,”—named from Cities. It is true that at first mistakes like ours were made, in founding Bishopricks of “Ceylon,” and “New Brunswick;” but they were soon rectified by changes into “Colombo,” and “Fredericton.” In the great majority (nineteen out of twenty-seven) of her Colonial Sees, instituted since 1832, England has followed the ancient plan: of the remaining eight, some are small islands, in which case, the particular rule of See Bishopricks, even in primitive antiquity, seems not to have held; and others are countries like Prince Rupert’s Land, without any city existing in them. With these exceptions, England has of late followed the rule. The Roman Church and the Greek Church have observed it more strictly still, making no exceptions from it whatsoever. So that it seems our Church is the only Church in the whole world, that has broken through this ancient rule and named her Bishops after Territories, instead of naming them by their Cities.

The first part of our argument is now finished. We have shown that the “See Bishoprick” is Apostolic, and primitive and universal. We have indicated how much in accordance it is with the very idea and constitution of a Church, and have also shown that we are the only Church who have taken the territorial Bishoprick in its stead. We have seen also how easily we can step upon the other ground, and at the same time we profess to believe and hope to prove to our readers, that small as this change is, it is a “root,” which will facilitate every other reformation that is desirable, and make a place for their execution, naturally, easily and harmoniously. And that there are reasons for this arrangement, positive and actual reasons, in the very nature of cities, by which and in consequence of which, the position of the “See Episcopate” is justified. In other words, we assert that naming the Episcopate after the City, and making the City its “seat” or “center” or See, the Church has certain advantages from that position which it is damaged by not having; that the See Episcopacy, with the amount of actual power and resources that it has in its institution and the man that fills the office, works at an advantage, while the same Bishop, even the same man with the same amount of piety, learning, zeal and energy, works at a disadvantage and wastes power in any other position of the Episcopate.

It may, to be sure, be answered that the arrangement of the Episcopate found in Scripture and the Primitive Church came naturally and by accident. St. Paul naturally went to Rome as the center of the Roman Empire and of all the influences that then ruled the world. St. John went naturally and by accident to Ephesus, Peter to Antioch; and the result was that accidentally the Sees were established in those capital cities and thence spread to the smaller ones. We would suggest that the true account to be given by a Christian, is, that they went as is said in the Scriptures, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and under the direction of our Lord. "Be of good cheer Paul, thou must bear witness also at Rome." Acts xxiii, 11. An universal arrangement such as this is, reaching over the whole Christian Church, beginning at the beginning of Christianity and by the will of our Saviour, presumably takes place, not by chance or accident, but because it is so appointed of God, who knows and governs all things. And it is so appointed, not arbitrarily, but because in the nature of things there is good reason for it. The Episcopate was placed in the cities from the first, and named from them, because there exist in the nature of a city, as such, peculiar and appropriate advantages to the objects of the Episcopate—*because it is the most suitable position for it.*

To this day these advantages remain; to this day they are lost to us by the want of this position. The want of the name makes the want of the thing,—and this places us at a disadvantage—produces a jar. Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Laymen,—we all feel a jar running through the machinery. There is an occasional want of harmony of action. There is a feeling that we are out of the proper position, and are not placed as we should be, for doing the work we should do, and, in short, as mechanists say, that we are "out of gearing." All this, we take it, grows out of the wrong position of the Episcopate. The great central wheel of the whole machine is not snug and clear in its place.

We all feel the jar, each in our own way. Bishops feel it, Presbyters, Deacons, Laymen. Suppose we go more to the bottom of the thing. Suppose we put aside the great "I," that huge telescope by which A, B and C sweep the skies and see their own difficulties in a magnified form; excluding at the same time all vision of the rest of the firmament. In other words, suppose we admit that there are difficulties pressing upon us all, as well as upon ourselves individually; that these difficulties may possibly be organic; that there may be in the body of the Church, as in the human body, local dis-

eases which cannot be cured by local remedies. Thus in the human body there is sometimes a headache, which no application to the head can help,—a pain in the back which no remedies thereunto applied will aid. Suppose we consider that our difficulties pressing on all classes in the Church, may possibly be of this kind, and that possibly on this principle, to name and place the Bishoprick properly would afford relief to all, Presbyters, Deacons and Laymen, as well as Bishops. Let us for a moment suppose this for the sake of analysis, and see whether our difficulties and jars and troubles of all kinds may not be *organic*, instead of *local*.

Now what is our theory of the Episcopate? The answer is plain. We have it in every sermon on the Episcopacy. We have it in every book, in every treatise. A Right Reverend Father in God—a Spiritual Governor to the flock—a representation by Divine Succession, of the Apostles in all their gifts except those which were extraordinary. All these things are laid out in every sermon on the subject. They are our doctrines. We hold them up to all within and without the Church. To a certain degree they are realized; to a certain degree not realized. Without us, among the huge miscellaneous mass of dissent, there is another tradition, Presbyterian and Congregational, which, to a degree, has more or less crept within the Church. Is it not a fact that the true theory of the Episcopate, the theory that makes the Bishop really and truly a Spiritual Father, is counteracted by another even within the Church—that springs from this false tradition? The alien theory may not be distinctly stated, but it is very distinctly acted upon. This theory is, that the Bishop is a Functionary, an ordaining and confirming, and consecrating Functionary. His business is in an official way to perform the functions peculiar to his office; but as for actual, spiritual, paternal power apart from these, of that he has none. This theory at present is not preached out boldly, but is very distinctly acted upon. Take a strong city parish, made up as such parishes very often are. Let the Rector be a man of energy and governing power and no particular theological knowledge or training. He rules with the old Presbyterian sway, as it was in the time of Baxter. The Bishop of the Diocese confirms, ordains and consecrates—as a Functionary for that purpose set apart. The Presbyterian knows it. It is his theory. He does his best to make the Bishop feel it. It is thus on the theory of the man, according to his acts, a Presbyterian congregation, tolerating Episcopacy, and accepting graciously the Bishop as a Functionary.

Again, there is, we will say, another such congregation. The Rector is eloquent, able, pastoral; he has everything to draw people together and keep them together; but the governing power, the administrative ability he lacks, and so A, B and C in the congregation, take the reins; they govern him and all the rest. They too make the Bishop a Functionary. It is now a Congregational Society, tolerating Episcopacy.

Thus our Episcopate is fettered and shackled by Congregationalism rampant in the Church, or by self-uplifted Presbyterianism. These two influences show themselves in all sorts of difficulties and disrespects, and incapacities and offenses. Many of our Bishops feel it and know it. They have a grand and lofty office, the noblest and the greatest office that ever was imagined, and yet in carrying it out, or attempting to carry it out, difficulties meet them owing to their position, which are appalling. I believe our Bishops to be, a great majority of them, sincere, earnest, zealous men, fully determined to do their duty, and yet all of them conscious that from some hidden cause they are working at a disadvantage; all conscious that the powers of the Episcopacy are not producing their full result; that even their own personal labors do not produce the full fruit proportionate to their work.

Look at our Bishops of large Eastern Dioceses; take their traveling five, six, or seven thousand miles a year; take their mere letter writing, keeping them when at home, often ten or twelve hours a day in correspondence, which an educated Secretary in Deacon's Orders, at five hundred dollars a year, could do as well. And then take some of our Western Bishops, with Dioceses of twenty or thirty clergy, having no pastoral care; no Church to preach in; no salary; nothing to do but to teach school for a living, if they cannot live otherwise, and *rush* about once a year for two or three weeks on visitations. See one of these last confirming when he can get people to confirm, and preaching when he can get a place to preach in! What vain using up, in both cases, of the power of the Episcopacy.

Name your Bishop, east or west, after the great City. Let that be his Sec, and let the Bishop know and feel it so to be. Soon, like Augustine and Athanasius in days of old, he will find work enough for the peculiar spiritual powers of the Episcopacy in the great city, and its thousands or hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Soon, as they did, he will cry for Bishops in the adjacent cities, and the Church shall grow and spread, and men of capability for spiritual work of the highest and most earnest kind, will not be used up in mere traveling

and clerking it. The first in primitive days to urge the extension of the Episcopate were the Bishops, the last, in these days, they are to yield to the unanimous cry of Presbyters and Laymen for its extension.

In fact, the system of "See Bishopricks," the Church being free from the State as we are, is the natural system whereby the Church propagates itself. Our present system is an obstacle to our spread. The primitive system would be a rapid and easy, because the natural means of growth and extension.

Our Bishops, owing to the present system, are so busied with letter writing and traveling, and merely official and functional labors, that they have no time for study, no time for spiritual work in the city where they reside, more than in any other city. Merely name the Sees after the cities, and the thing will soon develop itself in another way. The man of burning zeal and energy, whom you now wear out with traveling and formal letter writing in the East, or the reverse in the West, if he be put in a City Bishoprick, a See Bishoprick East or West, tells in a different way. Now we will say the Bishop of the State of Waushara can't get any support as Bishop of Waushara, though elected duly and consecrated, there being only two hundred and seventy-three communicants. And so he goes to school teaching, for forty years. Episcopacy, as we call it, or the Church, gets to be backward in the State, there growing up meanwhile cities therein, we will suppose of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants. The Bishop all the time making his bread nicely and prettily, and writing annually or triennially as the case may be, faint wailing complaints of what the Church ought to do, and could do, had it this, that and t'other, until the whole Church gets tired and enquires, is the Episcopacy a thing to which a man ought to devote his life and time? or is it something a man can do very decently in ten days of the year, living by something else all the rest of it? Had the See Bishoprick been our plan the good man on being elected Bishop would have gone at once into the chief City; at once gathered a congregation around him, as being Bishop named after that City, having jurisdiction over the Church in the whole State. This would be the mother Church. The man as Bishop would have been occupied in the pastoral care, which belongs to Bishops, as much as to Presbyters, and when the time came there would come endowments, Church Colleges, Church Schools, and all the rest. Make him Bishop of Waushara, the State, and after forty years' actual work, at farming or school teaching, and forty years' no-work in the pas-

toral office, (for Bishops and Presbyters are alike pastors,) you have him in one character, the industrious man worth fifty thousand dollars, because being a school teacher he has worked at that—in another, the Bishop with the Church in his Diocese nearly as far back as it was forty years ago. Had we taken one system it had gone easily in the one way; taking the other it went in the other direction just as easily.

It will be seen that we do not object to Bishops having Churches. We do not,—that is to say, provided we have the "See Episcopate." Provided we adopt this principle of the "See," the undertaking the pastoral care by a Bishop, is not only right, but also scriptural, primitive and apostolic. With these two principles working together the Church will establish itself in the West easily, quietly and abundantly, where it will not reach otherwise, by any strength, for fifty years from this time.

It has been already intimated that we conceive the City as such to be the appropriate seat (*sedes*) of the Episcopate; that it was not because of chance or accident that the Episcopate was named after the "city," but because the latter has by its nature as a "city," advantages which make it appropriate to the purpose, and suitable for the residence and central influence of the highest order of the ministry. Now it is a necessary preliminary to this branch of our discussion, to observe that "corporations" so called are not the mere arbitrary creations of the law. They are natural institutions. The law only sustains and defines them. It does not constitute or make them. The Family, for instance, consisting of husband, wife, children, etc., is a natural corporation independently existing before any direct law for it. Now corporations of this kind have a natural seat or *locus*, a limit marked out for them in time and space. Look at the Family, you will find that the Home is its seat or *locus*. One family, in one Home; this is the rule. Break this rule by putting two families into the same house and by the same rule you have without fail great confusion. In like manner, the Church consisting of pastor and people has the Church-building for its seat or *locus*. One Church, to one Church-building:—depart from the rule, the same results ensue in this case. In like manner, take the Diocese consisting of its own Bishop, many Presbyters and by right its seven Deacons, with its communicants and catechumens. This is the natural corporation and the natural seat or *locus*,—the "home" of the Diocese is in the City.

Accordingly we find the principle jealously observed in primitive Christianity. Antioch has we will say two hundred

thousand people. It is a See with its Bishop and Clergy. Constantinople at the same time has eight hundred thousand inhabitants and Imperial Rome two millions. There are not four Bishops in the one nor ten in the other, because there is a population so many times more. The old rule predicated unquestionably on the conviction that the Diocese is a See, is "only one Bishop in one City."

To resume; we seem in practice to be ignorant of the relation between the "Bishoprick" and its "See." It is not merely that we do not name the Bishop in Pennsylvania "Bishop of Philadelphia," and consider his jurisdiction to extend over the State, until the other cities in the course of events have got other Bishops; it is that we ignore the "See" altogether. Now why is the City the proper "See?" We have looked at this in the light of our own experience, and find that we can see seven advantages ensuing from that arrangement, each one of them more or less undeveloped amongst us, and its contrary evil being more or less developed by the present state of matters.

In the first place the "See" is the centre of Unity.

Secondly, of Peace and Love.

Thirdly, of Piety and Zeal.

Fourthly, of Learning.

Fifthly, of System and Law.

Sixthly, of Financial Success.

Seventhly, of Extension and Progress.

People will exclaim, "you do not, surely, mean to assert that if you have the Episcopate as a 'See Episcopate,' you will thereby secure an advance in all these respects, merely because of that position!" We do. We maintain that when there is a proper line of action even in the material world, for a force to work in, any variation of direction whatsoever from that line, diminishes the result. When there is a proper seat or *locus* for a natural corporation, the result is diminished by any change which puts it out of that its natural centre. Take the same man with the same power in either case, and position makes a vast difference in the effect and result.

We shall examine first "the Episcopate in the 'See' as a means of Unity." Look at the Church in one of our Western cities, or new cities anywhere. The first three or four Clergy are a band of brethren; intimate, closely connected, friendly, meeting at one another's houses, making allowance for one another's faults, upholding one another and in every way realizing the Brotherhood of the Priesthood. This State of Love would continue, had we the Spiritual Father there

residing,—the father in the house, the Bishop in his “See.” Put a man then in the position of Spiritual Father, such men as the Church could furnish hundreds of. Let him of course have his residence, to which all his Clergy could resort. He is not an equal, but the Spiritual Father, and they his children. Lifted up above them in position, in dignity and order, a man, as he ought to be, of great heart and wide mind, of learning and wisdom and deep experience and wide knowledge of human life in its weakness and its strength; how many troubles would he nip in the bud, by seeing the jealousy of one and soothing it, the irritability of another and calming it, the feebleness of a third and upholding it! What meetings would then be statedly at his house of the Clergy, then truly his “crown” or “diadem” of Presbyters! What bringing together of the Clergy, what gentle compelling of them to appreciate in the true brotherly way the value of one another! Look at the picture and then look at the Clergy of large cities now. You in your congregation, I in mine. The spirit of Congregationalism reigning and rampant. Hard words, jealousies, unfounded fears, misunderstandings and sometimes worse still, malice, intrigue and underwork. Verily a Home is something, and a Home dwelt in by Brethren is the better for the residence of a Father.

But we have the Episcopate now! We have our Spiritual Fathers, divers of them residing in the chief Cities. Yes, we put them over huge tracts of territory, where there ought to be ten Bishopricks, when there are ten Cities. Two-thirds of the time when your Spiritual Father ought to be in his See, he is not there but traveling. When he comes home, what is it? “My Dear Sir, I wish I could; but I have only a week at home after this, and the last three days I have been up till two o’clock in the morning writing my letters.” In fact the Bishop’s office as tending to unity among the Clergy of his Diocese is almost nullified. The “See Bishoprick” is intended to develop and would develop it. The “Territorial” rather tends the other way.

But the effect is worse than this mere negative result. Men want leaders and in some sense masters. The idea of “every man for himself” is not precisely the true one. I want a master, and so does pretty much every one. One man out of a hundred or a thousand is fitted to be a master—the others to obey. This is seen in the State clearly, but in the Church instead of a master, God has given a Spiritual Father. Were he placed in that position, where the full strength of his commission would come out, his would be the

leadership of the Diocese ; faction, disunion, party,—where were they ? Pretty well gone, gradually growing less and less. Why so ? Just simply because he, a Spiritual Father by his commission, would then be by position Spiritual Father in fact, seeing the good of all men in the Church and of all different notions and reconciling them all, bringing all together and leading them himself in good works. As it is, what is the case ? The Bishop who ought to be on the ground is away traveling, or if at home, there he is worried to death by formal correspondence, and Dr. Z., who is on the ground the whole year round, and has a decided taste and ability for governing, and some for tormenting also, is at the head of one party, has his paper, his society in the Diocese, for thrusting his own creatures into parishes, his tract and book society and his horde of adherents. Dr. X., at the head of the other party, has the same. What has the Bishop to do, being absent, three-quarters of the year, but either to throw himself into the hands of one or the other, or else to trim between them ? Oh for such a position that our Spiritual Fathers could *rule* in *peace*, in *holiness*, in the spirit of a Spiritual Father, and then our present factions would be absorbed in fraternal union, and even their present leaders would feel the Episcopate to be the true cause and power of unity, and cease from faction !

But will all Bishops lead if we place the Episcopate in the “See” position ? We have had a wrong position for seventy years ; it takes some time for an evil tradition to perish ; but give us the right position and having the spiritual authority in its proper situation, we shall soon have the men. Put the ablest in the present position ; it takes from him the capability of being a spiritual Father : place him in the right one ; at once it calls his capacity forth and gives it room to act.

There is another feature of this spiritual power of the Episcopate, that has hardly been seen at all. The pastoral work, that is, of the Bishop, in the “See,” on the laity of his charge. We have not seen it, for our Bishops, by their position at the present time, are too much of functionaries, have their time too much wasted. But from what we have heard from the old men, in reference to the Lay feeling towards Hobart and White ; (the latter it will be remembered almost entirely a constant resident in the city of Philadelphia ;) from what we have seen of the feeling of the Laity towards the Episcopate, even in the present false position of it, also ; we do think there exists unused, indeed almost unheard of and unknown, a fountain of Loyalty and Love, in the hearts of our Laity, which would be a source of the greatest happiness, as well as the

means of a most thorough support and success to each and every resident "See Bishop." At present they see their Bishop perhaps once a year confirming, perhaps not so often. They see him occasionally at other times, at Conventions and Ordinations and Consecrations. But actually the pastoral care of the Bishop over the Laity as Spiritual Father is very small indeed.

The See Bishoprick taken in all these points of view, is found to produce Unity. This is our first point.

The Unity so produced, is the unity of Peace and Love, the unity of Brethren in Christ under a spiritual Father in God. This is our second point, already made out, in the establishment of the first. The same arguments evince both points.

Our next point is that the "See Episcopate" is in itself a cause to the whole diocese of increased piety and holiness. Yes! we do say clearly and distinctly, that placing the Bishop as we have at present placed him, giving him the care of a region embracing ten cities instead of one, tends to impede the spiritual action of the Episcopate as an agency of piety and zeal and holiness. It fills up his time with formal duties and official acts, and thus makes of him a functionary. These with traveling and letter writing, occupy all his time.

We were all delighted, a few years ago, with an account of the Bishop of Tennessee's visit to a place; how he spent there eight or ten days; the effect it had upon the people and upon the Clergy. How did all Churchmen feel then? "This is right and true! This is part of the office of a Bishop!" And every earnest man rejoiced that the Bishop of Tennessee had opened up a new vein; had realized, or as it were, discovered anew, one part of the Episcopal office, its efficiency as an instrument of piety and holiness to the people and of aid in promoting it to the parochial clergy. He found it out, it is true. But where it is most needed such a course is impossible. The Bishop of Tennessee has twenty clergy in his Diocese; he might spend almost three weeks per annum at each station, and not defraud any of them. What if he were Bishop of New York, or Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania; appointments three weeks ahead every day of the week for months together in this style:

21st October, Morning: St. James', Grahamville,—Consecration, Ordination, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Institution.

Afternoon, 3 o'clock: St. John's, Jacksonville, (fourteen miles distant,) Consecration, Confirmation, and so on.

Officialism can no further go! Bishop of Tennessee, you made a great discovery! You exemplified a great truth! But the simple fact is, that if your Bishoprick were as large as it will one day be, the thing will become physically impossible. Official duties utterly cut up by the roots in such cases the possibility of any such action. As Spiritual Father, the Bishop of one of our large dioceses may see the necessity, the advantage, the great good of going, say to such and such a parish and working along with the clergyman, we will say for a week or ten days, as Bishop. The clergyman may beg it of him, but it cannot be done—the thing is physically impossible. The drudgery of traveling, of formal writing, of official duty, all these impede the Spiritual uses, the peculiar spiritual work of the Episcopate. The most faithful, the most fervent, the most determined of our Bishops, the men that see most clearly that the Episcopate has a distinct *pastoral work* over Clergy and Laity, cannot do that work; they see it is an impossibility, made such by their position. They are made functionaries by our system. Place the Episcopate in the other position. How naturally would the feeling that the Bishop has a distinct pastoral care grow on the part of Clergy and Laity! How naturally in each city would a Bishop's Church grow up; a Bishop's House; a Clerical Room; even a Baptistery for Baptisms—the same building serving as in days of old, for a place in which to hold the Councils of the Diocese; and withal a Church Library, too, all making a group of Episcopal buildings, the center of resort to all Clergy and Laity. The same amount of official duty would then be done, but with less labor and waste of power, and with a vast deal more effect. On Easter, as in the days of old, those to be Baptized would meet the Bishop and Clergy in the Baptistery. It is a solemn, High Festival, a day of glory as in the Holy Church, (before the legal and chartered tyranny arose of Popes and Kings over the Church,) the Bishop and Clergy and Laity, all feeling the joy and highness of the festival. Baptisms for the whole city would of choice be done in the Baptistery or in the Bishop's Church. The Confirmations of a whole city would come in on the solemn Church days, Ordinations in the same way. The Bishop's Church would be a Mother Church, a source of honest and loving pride to the whole Diocese. The official acts would be as many, but the number of miles traveled vastly less; and then the actual pastoral care given, which now is cut away by officialism, by traveling and by formal letter writing, would be increased to its maximum.

There is not a Clergyman, who one time or other in his life, has not felt how much his own pastoral care would be aided, were it backed by a real pastoral supervision and a certain amount of true pastoral work in his Parish done by his Bishop. In fact the pastoral work of the Presbyter *is perfected by the pastoral work of the Bishop*. The last at present is almost non-existent,—not for any fault of our Bishops, but simply because of their position. There are occupations that require residence; there are occupations which by their nature consist in perpetual motion. The conductor on a railroad cannot be at the same time a farmer. And really our Episcopate in many cases seems almost non-resident, almost as much of a traveling occupation as that of a conductor.

But we shall be asked, "Do you not then believe in the 'Cathedral System?'" Not a whit! We do not believe in old clothes of any kind. We believe that this so-called system is the traditional adaptation to a very unfortunate position of the Church, of a very good idea, and has in it also the traditional *misuse, perversion and corruption* of that idea. We do not therefore want either the name or the thing. Neither Cathedrals, nor Deans, nor Chapters, nor Canons, nor Prebendaries, nor Vergers, nor any of those beautiful and picturesque mediævalisms, which under the name "*et cetera*," once made so much trouble in our Mother Church of England. We have Bishops, Priests and Deacons, we want no more. But we do want the See to be established, as the Divinely appointed "*locus*" and seat of the Episcopacy. And we know that then its official and formal duties will be done with the *minimum* of labor and time. And that as a means of this, the Bishop's Church, the Bishop's Room—all that is true and appropriate in the idea—will again arise, without seeking for the worn-out rags of mediævalism from England or from Rome. Moreover, we can see and feel that then the pastoral care and the pastoral work of the Bishop will have time and space to bud and grow and to let both Clergy and Laity know by actual experience, that which we all preach, that the Episcopate is the perfection and completion of the pastoral care and the pastoral work. That the two orders of "Apostles" or "Bishops," and "Presbyters" or "Priests," are both Pastoral or supervisory orders in the Church economy. Many of our Bishops no doubt are convinced of this truth, and are struggling to act it out. But it is a fact, that if all a man's time is filled up with one sort of work, he cannot do another sort of work, which also requires the same spare time. We put our Bishops in such a position

that they are required to be, say nine months in the year, rushing about, over all the railroads of the State, from place to place, and then the rest of the time kept busy with formal letters and such-like work. Thus their time is thoroughly filled up. They have it not to use in anything. The Bishop of Tennessee with twenty Clergy can do something in the pastoral work of the Episcopate. The Bishop of an Eastern diocese little or nothing.

"But would there not be difficulties?" Of course there would. But let us have the change; name the dioceses after the "See;" give the liberty of division even although the division be not immediately made; and at once the Bishop realizes his position, and its spiritual duties and the capability of doing them. The people realize it. The work is found to do; it is recognized as to be done; and the means are found to support the man in his work. His clergy and his laity come to the rescue, and the probability is, that where we can get one endowment in fifty years on the present system, for an Episcopate, we shall have twenty on the right and true one. False systems perpetuate themselves by producing incapacity for the true course of action, both in men and in corporations.

Fifthly, It is worth our while now to consider the operation of the "See system" still more extendedly in its good effects upon institutions of learning. Let us see, then, how it works on them. We have in the Church after Constantine, and also in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches of the present time, an arrangement in respect of dioceses, which groups several together in one "province." The expediency and advantages of this arrangement, by which the Bishops and Clergy of certain districts of country are enabled to meet in council upon matters of common interest, seem to have so deeply impressed one of the most practical and earnest administrative minds in the Church, that the thing was introduced by him to the notice of the General Convention of 1850, came up again before that of 1853, and was referred to the Convention of 1856. The name "province," is taken from the arrangements of the Roman Empire. It is used in this country now by the Roman Catholic Church. They have their "province" of New York, embracing several Bishopricks under the Archbishop of that city, and their "provincial councils," councils of the Bishops of that "province." Now, as we have already said, we do not much care for old clothes, whether they come from Constantine the Roman Emperor, from Anglicanism, or from Romanism. Furthermore, we have no admiration for the term "province." It belongs to Church

and State as organized by Constantine. It smells also of old colonial times. We do not covet it. Nor, again, do we desire any new orders or offices of the ministry, whether those that developed upward out of the State alliance, "Archbishops," "Metropolitans," "Patriarchs," "Popes," or those that grew in another direction, "Deans," "Archdeacons," "Subdeacons," "Acolythists," etc. We desire the old orders, "Bishops," "Priests" and "Deacons," and none else. And we know the power of words; we know that an Archbishop is very naturally to be looked for at the Head of a "Province." The word therefore we do not like.

But we see a *similar* arrangement to be very advantageous—*always to have existed* in the Church. And fully are we persuaded that such an arrangement has its uses. *The See Episcopate produces it at once.* Put your Bishoprick in its proper place, and at once the thing springs into being with all its uses—and they are many. Say there are twenty Bishops in and within the State; how natural and easy is it to have at some time a "Council" of the Church, in and within the State of New York for example, composed of all the Bishops of the various Sees, and delegations of their Clergy and of their Laity to consider matters of general interest to the Church in the whole State! How easy to repeat it—to make it periodical! From the See Bishoprick it naturally results, crystallizes itself, as it were. Such councils did Cyprian hold in the third century. Such Athanasius held of the Bishops of Egypt. It was only after Constantine that they came to be called "provincial," and headed by an Archbishop.

Here we have at once by a natural outgrowth, the Church conciliar organization in its fulness. There is, first, the Diocesan Synod. Again, there is the State Council; "the Council of the P. E. Church in the State of —." Thirdly, there is the "National Council of the P. E. Church in the United States." The first and third we have in existence under the title of Diocesan and General Conventions. Why we should not call them in the old Christian way, "Synods" and "Councils," we do not see. However, the thing is a great reality, and bye and bye it may be trusted to appropriate to itself the proper name.

But to return. This institution of "State Conventions," a Council wherein the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of a whole State should meet in council, in reference to matters common to them all, which we have seen to grow so naturally from the "See Bishoprick," we look upon as most important in regard of matters of learning, especially in reference to Institutions.

In fact, we consider this organization as the true solution of the interesting and difficult problem how "Universities" and "Theological Seminaries," are to be supported. Take, for instance, the Church in the State of New York. We have great influence and great wealth. A Diocesan Institution on the plan of our present Dioceses, professedly and really excludes half of the State. A General Institution is clumsy and inconvenient and has a multitude of disadvantages. Suppose that the "State Council," the Convention of the Church in the whole State, Bishops, Clergy and Laity were a settled thing. At once we should have the power of keeping up, organizing and aiding Institutions for the whole State, which we cannot have now. We should have also a power of direction and control equally great. They would become Church institutions indeed, and in them every Bishop and every Clergyman and Layman in the State would be interested. We might carry out this idea in its application to many more arrangements and many other subjects, but we have said enough. We are certain, however, that the whole problem of learned institutions, belonging to the Church, is to be solved in this way only. It is easy to see how the right arrangement grows out of "See Bishopricks." The Bishopricks being named after the Cities of the State, all must feel it natural to meet in Council as to the Church affairs of the whole State. The energy and unity thus given to the Church in the State, and the way in which a Bishop is led to hold up the hands of his Brother Bishop, is manifest. It was seen in the cases of Cyprian and of Athanasius, in Africa and in Egypt. It is *hardly* seen among us now.

Sixthly, We consider that the See System is that which the most tends to the extension of the missionary work, and so the most conduces to the increase of the Church, both where it has been already planted and where it is not yet. We thank God that the Church, the whole Church, feels the value of the increase of the Episcopate, and unanimously, both the Clergy and the Laity of the Lower House of General Convention, have given utterance to that feeling. We know, too, that experience distinctly shows, that a multiplication of the Episcopate multiplies at once the Clergy, and produces and plants parishes where before there seemed no probability of their existence. But we fear that the Church has little perception of the deep-lying truth that the Episcopate in its true position in "the See," is the great natural and organic missionary agency of the Church. Look at the Primitive missionary work: how was it done? It was always thus. A missionary enters a

country. He goes at once to the chief city. A congregation is gathered and becomes a Church, the Mother Church of the whole country. The Bishop is consecrated. His "See" is taken and named after that city. He has at first jurisdiction over the Church in that whole land. Then city after city, new "Sees" are established, new Bishops appointed, Churches multiply in each of the several cities, served by Presbyters connected with the Bishop's Church and ordained by the Bishop. Each city is a center of missionary work upon the country, until at once and harmoniously, all over the land from these central points, the "Sees," and by their missionary officers, the Bishops in their Sees, the whole country crystallizes into Christianity.

Well and wisely said that man who said the Church is the "great missionary society of the world." He had completed his saying, had he seen that the Episcopate is the great missionary agency—the Episcopate, that is, organized after the original plan, not upon our present system. In fact, regularly and naturally, as the famous Indian Tree propagates itself from a single stem, standing alone upon the sun-scorched, shadeless ground, pillar after pillar descending from on high from the parent trunk and rooting itself in the ground, until what was at first but a single stem is seen as a manifold, shady grove, under which all animals can rest; even so the Church, in its multiplying and increasing Episcopacy, puts forth and settles its Bishops of Apostolic origin, and they are the roots of its missionary progress, the living pillars of its missionary work. From Ephesus, amidst Pagan Idolatry, where St. John planted the first stem, went forth the Seven Sees of Asia, and their Seven Apostles, mentioned in the Apocalypse. These Churches spread by the natural organic growth to four hundred Bishopricks in a country only six hundred and thirty miles long by two hundred and ten wide—about twice the size of the State of New York. In Libya, Pentapolis and Egypt, it grew from the one Bishoprick of Alexandria up to a hundred in the time of Athanasius; these countries being about three times the size of England. In Palestine, a small country, from the one Mother Church of Jerusalem, it grew to fifty Bishopricks. In St. Augustine's time, in about the year four hundred, the present Mediterranean provinces of Africa, (that is, we will say, from Libya to Morocco,) had four hundred and sixty-six Bishopricks. These all had grown from the one Mother Church of Carthage. The Church is a missionary society indeed, and her Episcopate freed from absurd restrictions and left to propagate itself in the natural way, is the great mis-

sionary agency and institution. We pass by the Apostles ; we have seen the same method in their case. But behold the See of Ephesus and thence from it proceeding the Seven Sees of the Apocalypse and their Bishops. Then from one of them into the region of France comes Pothinus, the Missionary Bishop : he becomes Bishop of Lyons ; the Episcopate spreads from one city to another until finally the work is finished, and France is a Christian nation.

Such is the primitive missionary work, and such its relation to the Episcopate and the See. We discern clearly that thus it was at first, and that it is not so now with us. Therefore it is, that we ask that the chosen agency of God for the missionary work may be left unfettered to adapt itself to its destined ends. We ask that the method of naming the See be restored, and we doubt not that then our Bishops, unshackled and placed in the Apostolic position, will grow and fit themselves to the work. We have said before that the evil tradition of seventy years cannot be got over at once. But let us try. Merely let us name the Bishoprick after the city, and enact that all new Bishopricks be so named, and we step upon the old system. Then at once the Church's missionary work is *free* and uncontrolled. The roots are planted in the earth and pillar after pillar shall propagate itself, descending from above, until the earth be covered with its shade. We ask no "organization," as it is called, on these principles ; nothing but the removal of absurd restrictions, and the nomination of each Bishoprick after a city. This being done, the Missionary Church is in progress and growth, and will grow.

But in everything cities are the true centres of missionary labor. Look at them in one point of view and they are centres of opinion. To the cities throng all new ideas for discussion, for debate, for acceptance. Proselytes are made to them ; courses of action are predicated upon them ; means taken and money raised to propagate them. No wonder that St. Paul went to Athens, to Corinth, to Thessalonica, and to Rome. He knew well the value of cities as centres of opinion. Take the country ; put twenty people on the square mile, and place among them the most fervent pleader for a new measure or a new course of action, and he stands a poor chance. Put ten thousand people on the same space, and he has material to work on, audiences, converts, adherents in abundance. This is very rarely indeed taken into consideration. The influence of cities in this direction is not commonly understood. And a great multitude of our desponding clergy have never asked, or even thought upon the truth that lies before their eyes,

"that men in cities are more easily brought within the Church." We once asked of two Clergymen of far distant cities, each having say twelve hundred people under his pastoral care; how many of them originally belonged to the Church? The answer was in one case about thirty and in the other about fifty. All the rest were converts. In the cities Christianity was first preached in days of old; in the cities the Church established her Episcopate; and in the cities was the first growth, the growth that converted the country. So it is with the Church at the present day; not because of any of these desponding notions we have heard vented among us, that "Episcopacy is most adapted to the refined," who are to be met with in cities, "to the educated," or "to the wealthy;" a kind of stuff, that desponding and melancholy men of a talking vein are apt to be putting forth, when their business ought to be, to do their duty, and if they have faith show it by some little confidence in the Church and her divine Master, and in her mission. If they have no faith, they ought at least to abstain from discouraging others who are at work, and hold their tongues.

But this matter of the peculiar adaptation of cities for the work of the Episcopate, solves a very strange problem which comes up in the study of Christian Antiquity, concerning the fixedness of the Episcopate in the old church, in places where one should think it would have been itinerant as ours is. Cities have in their very position a very important office to fulfill, analogous to that of the heart in the physical body. There is a real circulation of which they are the agents. Take, for instance, a large city like New York or London, the centre of a whole country; or even a smaller city, the centre of a smaller region. Take the census reports and the experience of an inquiring man, with statistical ability, and you will clearly see that year by year there is an influx and current from the country into the city, of a certain mass of population, which, had we the elements of the problem, we could see to be determinate in quantity and quality, according to certain fixed laws. The circulation this may be called from the extremities towards the heart. Again examine, and you will distinctly see, that from the city towards the country there is in like manner an efflux and counter-current of population setting year by year, which you may consider to be in like manner determinable. This is the circulation from the heart towards the extremities.

Now let A, B and C, rectors of City Parishes, earnest men, apply this to their own experience: let them look at the lists of

their communicants and analyze them with a view to this fact, and they will see the influx and the efflux and their uses. Families coming into the cities and then becoming Church people, when from *rural* they become *civic*; and again other families leaving the cities, and taking out with them, men, women and children, lay-missionaries, as they truly are, the basis and material of new Churches. We say that this great statistical fact over which, in its consequences, we have known the desponding and feeble to lament by the hour, is the great missionary means of the Church; the great missionary process, with reference to which the Church was framed both in the Episcopate, as a divinely given ministry, and also in the See as divinely instituted, for the centre and seat or locus of the Episcopate. This circulation, this influx and efflux is the natural constitution of society to which the divine ordinance is adapted. The ancient Church took advantage of it completely; we as yet only in an imperfect way. Ask for the origin of parishes in new places; we will say, in New York or Pennsylvania, for instance. Was it that a missionary was sent to the place among a people wholly ignorant of the Church? In one case out of one hundred it may be so. But in the rest it springs from the baptized laity of the Church, men, women and children, all of them missionaries, who have in cities or large villages enjoyed the privileges of the Church, and then going into new places in the country, feel their value, and determine not to remain without them in their new homes. We suppose that within our own experience we have known of twenty such cases. Two or three at least in a far Western State, where former lay members of Trinity Church, New York, were the originators or main upholders at the first of new Churches so far remote from that ancient parish. The efflux of population from the cities into the country is the main agent at the present time of making the Church known to the masses all over the land. Again the influx of the country population into the cities is the chief means of converting that population to the Church.

"What," people will say, "can a man be brought into the Church more easily in a city than in the country?" We say, yes. The *rural* and the *civic* population are essentially different in character and habits and ways of thinking. The arterial blood differs from the venous blood. So do these two. Each has its peculiar qualities and both equally good and necessary to the body. So are these to the body politic. The man in the country is essentially conservative, traditional, unchanging. The man in the city is excitable, progressive, intel-

lectual. New ideas are constantly presented to him and constantly discussed by him. Owing to the influences of cities, families, who for generations would have remained outside the Church and careless of religion, when going to reside permanently in the cities, come easily within it. It was so at all times, and it will be so till the end of time. The efflux spreads the knowledge of the Church and her work before the masses. The influx brings them into that position where most easily and most naturally they can be introduced within the fold. And in this two-fold operation, the one movement, the one class of population, supplements the other.

Here, then, we see the adaptation to the missionary work of the "See Episcopate," with its peculiar Christian unity of action, its peace and love so naturally ensuing, its piety and zeal so spontaneously flowing forth. This whole powerful agency, the primitive diocese or Christian corporation, is placed in the centre of the circulation, at the point where the influx terminates and the efflux originates and takes its character. Receiving in its manifold arms, and moulding by its far outreaching influences, the influx of the rural population, it then, when years and generations have framed them in life and doctrine, according to the Church's model of "a man in Christ," sends them forth, the Church's missionaries, over the whole land, borne out in the natural efflux of circulation which is ceaselessly issuing towards the extremities, carrying along with them the desire for new Churches, new Bishopricks, and the whole system and organization of Grace which they have learned to love.

So clearly do we see these facts, so fully are we convinced of their importance, that we are persuaded that the principle of "See Bishopricks," once being established, in many cases the whole money that now is spent in little places over a Western State, in view of missionary work, might better be spent in the great City, the heart and centre of that country population.

"Would you, then," it will be said, "that we should send out only Missionary Bishops to these Cities and send no Clergy to these other places?" No. We would not interfere with any missionary organization at present in action, or any missionary work. We know that the Church has a self-adapting power, a capability of bringing out her powers into action. What we propose, and all that we propose, is this: let our Bishops take the See and the See title; and then, naturally, *all* the missionary effect of the Missionary Office in the position adapted to that office, will come forth. The extremities will send their

current to the heart, and the heart its current to the extremities; and new centres will be established gradually and easily, until from the great City of each State, over each State, the constitution and polity of the "American Catholic Church" shall establish itself, a fixed fact, coëxtensive with the constitution, the polity and the population of the American Nation; until each member of the Nation by natural birth, shall have become a member of the Church by spiritual Birth, and yet all knowing that the spiritual Body and the Nation, although they coëxist, are wholly distinct, a position secured to us by the deep politic wisdom of the founders of the State, and the deep Ecclesiastical wisdom of the introducers of the Church.

But there is one thing more that is essential to the missionary progress of the Church, that is, means, or *men and money*. And here we come upon our seventh topic. Now we must say that there is a great deal of truth in the phrase that is usually employed—"There is money enough in the Church for all purposes, if we could only get at it." So there is. And, moreover, there are large-hearted men enough to give it also, if we only could give them the guarantees; if we only could get out of the Congregationalist method of raising funds, and get upon the Church method. Nay, we will be bold to say, that it does seem to us, that the first elements of the doctrine of almsgiving upon Church principles are so neglected and Churchmen so much accustomed to go on other principles, that the wonder is not that we raise so little, but that we raise so much. Do men in the Church give,

1st. According to their means? No.

2d. Do they give habitually? No.

3d. Do they give upon principle? No.

How, then, do they give? First: precisely in the same proportion and upon the same motives,—excitement, interest, and so forth,—that men give in other denominations. Yes, there are means enough among our laity for the support of the Clergy according to their need, for the education of young men for the ministry, for the poor, for missionary work, for every purpose for which the Church wants money. And there are liberal souls enough to give these means. And there is the power of giving these habitually, proportionately and upon principle. But there is a jar somewhere. The moment we come to money matters, there seems to be such a fault and such falseness of position that every thing goes wrong.

Now let us go back to a principle already mentioned in this Article. The Diocese is a corporation, a natural corporation, the City what we have called its seat or "*locus*," or peculiar

place. Name the Diocese after the City, and naturally, easily and quietly, the Bishop, the Clergy, the Laity, fall into their proper places. At present, suppose that knowing this whole matter of alms and finance to be in a wrong condition, we assign to the Bishop any duty, in order to its settlement on a better footing: what is the result? He has too much to do already, and can do nothing in the premises.

Again, as things are at present, the Presbyter, so far as his own money matters are concerned, is essentially in the position of a Congregationalist Clergyman, only he is upon an unlimited contract. A corporation, whose business is to supply itself with preaching, &c., has a contract with him for that purpose. What has a Layman of the Church to do *for the Church* in this state of affairs, except he be a Vestryman? The answer is, Nothing. In other words, by means of our territorial Bishopricks and our congregationalism, we put our *devoted Laymen*, who are business men, in such a position, that while the Church has a vast deal of business to do, it is put upon the Presbyters, upon Committees, upon one sort of lame, imperfect crutch or another, and but half done.

Let your Bishop assume his place; let the divinely organized corporation be placed in its natural seat and *locus*, and at once we begin to step out of this false position in which we are. At once the business of the Church has the appropriate men to do it, and it is done. Laymen have rightly and justly a vast deal to do in the Church, more than Rome or England ever dreamed of; and Lay-women also; if we only had the Church in the proper position to develop this rightful and due activity.

The way in which this will be developed, may be indicated by a fact in the Primitive Church. In the Ante-Nicene Church, there always existed a class called *Asketai*, Laymen, living in the midst of cities, devoted to extraordinary degrees of good works, employed in the business of the Church, in reference to this very matter of alms, as also the care of the poor, the Christian education of the young, etc. They were not monastics, but men living in active life in the cities and differing from other men in no respect, but that they were devoted to the Church and the Church's work; bound by no special rules of life, no formal vows; but simply giving themselves to do the work, because it was to be done, and they were there to do it. The matter of Deaconesses or Sisters, the corresponding work of Lay-women, has been so much before the Church of late, and is so approved that we shall not speak of it. But with regard to this other matter, the management and

arrangement of financial concerns, or what we should call the business transactions of the Church; before the union of Church and State, by Constantine, we believe they were transacted wholly by this class, of what we should call *devout Laymen*, and the old Church called *Asketai*. There was then an abundance of means and of men to raise and manage them, for all purposes. But when the union of Church and State took place, the Clergy at once became State officers, endowed and salaried, and, as a consequence, had business of all kinds thrust upon them.

"If any one," says Bingham, "is desirous to know what part of the Church revenues were anciently most serviceable and beneficial to the Church, he may be informed from St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, who gave the greatest commendations to the offerings and oblations of the people, and seem to say that the Church was never better provided than when her maintenance was raised chiefly from them; for then men's zeal prompted them to be very liberal in their daily offerings; but as lands and possessions were settled on the Church, this zeal sensibly abated, and so the Church came to be worse provided for under the notion of growing richer, which is the thing that St. Chrysostom complains of, in his own times, when the ancient revenues, arising from oblations, were in a great measure sunk, and the Church, with all her lands, left in a worse condition than she was before. For now her ministers were forced to submit to secular cares, to the management of lands and houses, and the business of buying and selling, for fear the orphans and virgins and widows of the Church should starve. St. Austin seems to have had the same sense of this matter; for Possidius tells us in his Life, that when he found the possessions of the Church were become a little invidious, he was used to tell the Laity 'that he had rather live upon the oblations of the people of God, than undergo the care and trouble of those possessions;' and that he was ready to part with them, provided all the servants and ministers of God might live as they did under the Old Testament, when, as we read, they that served at the Altar, were made partakers of the Altar. But though he made this proposal to the people, they would not accept it."*

Now can such a state of matters again exist? As a people, we have cast off one obstacle. The Church is State-free and therefore Pope-free. Those two tyrannies, wherein lay the difference between primitive times and those succeeding, put

* Bingham's Christian Antiquities, Vol. II, pp. 78, 80.

the Clergy in the false position of business men, and really put the Laity nowhere, as we can see by the words of St. Augustine, as also by the universal temper and tendency of all Romish Bishops and priests, down to our own days, and here in our own country. We have got rid of that obstacle to the primitive way, the union of Church and State. Our own difficulty is the territorial Bishoprick, by which the Bishop is made a functionary, the Presbyters and parishes put in the position of Congregationalist Preachers and Societies, and the laity given nothing to do. Let us restore the See to its primitive position and at once there is a tendency towards the primitive liberality, and the primitive way of managing it.

We know and have known laymen of great business abilities, great zeal, great devotion, able entirely to support themselves, who would gladly give themselves up in the way of the Primitive Church. But where is the place for them now? Put the corporation in its right location and an amount of work for the Church will be done at once by Laymen and Laywomen, who now can do nothing, such as we could not purchase for any amount of funds. There is another Primitive usage which tends in the same direction—the weekly Eucharist. For the explanation of its actual relation to the subject, in its bearing upon “Christian Good Works,” we must refer to the work quoted in the margin.* The revival of this practice, also, shall come in to complete the result of the change we advocate.

We shall finish by this assertion. The idea of a Christian Church in the days of old, was “A Christian society organized by and supernatural union with the body of Christ, under the *pastoral* care of a *ministry divinely constituted* for the purpose, living in true faith, and showing that faith by a superabundance of works of love.” A modern Church is “a corporation of men whose business and purpose is to supply themselves with stated preaching upon the best terms they can, by contract.” The first inroad upon the Primitive idea, was made by the State-union, brought to pass by Constantine, which made the Clergy state officials and forced them into all kinds of business. Then came naturally to an end the “Weekly Communion,” the instrument and remembrance of good works. Lastly, when the American Church got rid of the State, then came our Territorial Episcopal system, with its consequences, in mere functionary Bishops, Congregationalist Churches and Presbyters, and its idle Laity.

By the providence of God the first great obstacle has been

* Elements of Christian Science, pp. 260-269.

taken away. Church and State have been separated here, and we are the "American Catholic Church." The weekly Eucharist exists already in several Churches in the country, among others the Church of the Holy Communion, New York. And the good works of that congregation and their rector, are known already everywhere. Let us have the Episcopate in its natural position, and easily, quietly and naturally the diocese shall assume the position it had in primitive times, and become at once a missionary centre in reference to men and means, and everything that can spread the Gospel. Thus shall the Church among us be what the Church once was, seen and known of all.

As we have said, we are not hasty; we want nothing now but the change in name of the present Bishopricks into "See Bishopricks," and the recognition of that principle in the nomination of future Sees. What we know of primitive antiquity, of the nature of men, and of the elements of growth the Church possesses in this land, assures us that the restoration of the Primitive Bishoprick puts us at once upon the road to better things in the matter of finance,—of men and money,—for the missionary work that everywhere lies before us.

The "City," as such, is the centre of missionary operations. Take, for instance, St. Louis, Chicago, or San Francisco; these and every other city, down to the smallest, contain, each an abundance of young men capable of being educated upon the spot for the Ministry—young men earnest, capable, willing, if the Church only held the right relation to them, only had upon her the garments wherewith she might clothe herself. We believe in a learned Ministry, and none else. And we think that in each such city there exist means, "if we only could get at them," enough to give every such young man four years' academical education and three years' theological education, each the best that can be given. We think that there are means enough in that city to send these young men to bear the pure Gospel, the Gospel in the Church, to every part of the country of which that city is the centre and should be the "See;" and in the city itself to raise up and establish for every thousand of the population, in the course of time, a Church and a Clergyman. There are means enough for this in every city in the land.

But we must stand on different ground from that we occupy at present. The "See Bishoprick" tends towards this result, in time. The Episcopate so placed was the missionary agency of the Primitive Church, and its missionary work was thorough, complete, entire conquest of a population into one

united Christianity. This also is our missionary work, and none less than this the work of the Church in these United States. We cease not to be a Missionary Church in New York City as in the wilds of Nebraska, in Boston as in San Francisco, until each city has its Bishop, each thousand of its population its Church and Rector, until, in one word, over the whole land we stand in truth and fact, named so by ourselves and so acknowledged by all, "The American Catholic Church" in these United States. And this with no factious or political Christianity, or Catholicity, but one real and true, evincing itself to the whole world, as it did before the fatal days of Constantine, as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic, in truth and fact. Less than this, we take it, in its whole extent, no Churchman desires; with less than this, in all its grand and saintly reality, no Churchman ought to be content.

We have now ended. It is the first time this subject has been presented before the Church. We hope, therefore, our readers will make all allowance for mistakes, inadvertencies and insufficiencies. We have taken a broad and high ground far above party, and at the same time have not feared to state our own position and express our sentiments clearly. For we feel that this organic defect is one that is an offense, a cause of trouble to earnest and high-minded men of all parties: a constitutional affection which stands in the way both of "high Churchmen," as they are called, and of the "low;" which impedes the honest zeal and good intentions of us all. By the removal of it we have felt and do feel that the learned will have more room and scope for their learning, the good for their goodness, the zealous and fervent for their zeal; that an obstacle will be taken from before the feet of all, which in its local consequences has much disturbed the peace of all; and that many troubles will be remedied before they burst into flame—much confusion nipped in the bud.

In parting, we beg our readers to bear in mind precisely what we ask—the naming only of Bishopricks after Cities, in the primitive fashion, and the enacting that this henceforth be the method after which they shall be called. This is the only question we have discussed, the only change we advocate. The policy of increasing the number of our Bishops, it must be distinctly seen, is a different question altogether, so far as our advocacy is concerned. We hold, on that question, with all the Presbytery and Laity of the Church, in favor of the extension. But we wish our readers to keep clearly before their minds, that our present argument is for the "See Bishoprick,"

the naming our Bishopricks after Cities only. That, alone, is the measure we now advocate.

We desire them also to take notice of the ground we have taken. We think that the naming of Sees after Cities is a "root" measure. We do not therefore proclaim it to be a "panacea," a "heal-all," an "universal remedy." We think that the change is small, easily made, unimportant and insignificant to him who spends no thought upon it. But we believe it to be a "root" measure, which takes the Episcopacy as the centre of our growth out of a wrong and false position, and places it in the position most appropriate for developing and exerting all its powers. We think, therefore, that the advantages, small at first, will grow day after day upon the knowledge, the conviction, the practical experience of the whole Church, until men shall come to wonder why it was not always so. We think that our Bishops, our Presbyters, our Deacons and our Laymen will find in it increasingly such an occasion and opportunity of out-growth of all the qualities in themselves and in one another, which are the true marks of the Church—that they will wonder the mistake of overlooking it was ever made.

But we must not again go back into our subject. We know that the experience of our brethren can bring up many more arguments and more facts in the same direction. We hope that the experience of the Church, the knowledge and convictions of each Clergyman in it, will be contributed to the examination of this subject, so that with full experience, full knowledge and full persuasion, the Church may amend a mistake seemingly small, yet really most important and most injurious in its consequences.

For ourselves, we have spoken many things boldly,—none, we hope, bitterly. We have stated facts, as far as we knew them, with truth, and argued upon them with fairness, we hope, and candor. If we have said anything at which our brethren, "high" or "low," in the Church, are offended or hurt, it is without intention or the desire to offend. We therefore hope that we shall be looked upon with the same eye of charity, the same absence of bitterness and malice with which it is our trust that we are looking upon others. We have been starting a new topic of debate. It may awaken discussion or excite controversy. The abstinence from personalities towards others and from mischievous insinuations of evil motives, which we have endeavored to observe, will, we hope, be observed towards us, in return. In this hope, we commit the subject to our readers, bidding them God speed.

ART. II.—ANDERSON'S COLONIAL CHURCH HISTORY.

The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire. By the Rev. JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, M. A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, Rector of Tormarton, and Honorary Canon of Bristol Cathedral. In three Volumes. 12mo. Second Edition. 1856. London: Rivingtons. pp. 512, 582, 654.

THE title of this work deceived us. We supposed it to be a history of the Church in those vast Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire which now far surpass all that the prophetic eye of Edmund Burke saw in his day; that it was a sketch of the incipient stages of those modern missionary movements in the English Church, which are already beginning to remind us of Apostolic days; movements, which have resulted in the erection of thirty Missionary Dioceses, each with a Bishop at its head, and a band of about thirteen hundred Clergy; and in bringing to her altars at the present day about twenty thousand communicants; and in the regular contribution every year of a million and a half of dollars to her Missionary treasury. And, although in England, as in the American Church, the Missionary spirit has, as yet, very little hold of the hearts of a considerable number of the Clergy in the largest parishes, and of the more wealthy of the laity, still a great work has been begun, there and here. But the volumes before us, tell us almost nothing of all this. They trace the development of the Missionary spirit in the English Church from the time of the Reformation down to the period of our own Revolutionary War, or A. D. 1776. And yet not one single Missionary Diocese did the English Church erect, or cause to be erected, till A. D. 1787, when Nova Scotia, which had offered an asylum to so many of the Clergy from the States, was made a See, and a Bishop was appointed. The experiment of cold neglect of her own Church on the part of the Government, of starvation and cruelty, of giving stones for bread, and scorpions for fish, to her own children, had proved poor policy; and that Government which has ever acted on the low principle of mere policy in this matter, has in later times pursued a different course. Would, for her own

sake, she had acted from higher motives when she laid her sacrilegious hand on the property of the Church in Canada; and this, to gratify the mad hate of enemies, and to prepare the way for spoliation on a larger scale hereafter, and, not unlikely, much nearer home.

With Missionary work, in a strict sense, and as now understood, the earlier part of these volumes has almost nothing to do. It should not be forgotten that, for a long period, and until latter times, the distinction between Church and State, although recognized in theory, it was not thought important for a great many, and especially for Missionary purposes, to regard in practice. It was not so in primitive times. But at the period of which we speak, it was the common sentiment of Christendom, that, for certain purposes, the State was itself the Church. If it was not an ecclesiastical body, it was yet, in form, and by the most solemn enactments, thoroughly Christian. Nor was the State reluctant to assume all the prerogatives which belonged to it in this capacity. Political Puritanism in England, Scotland, and New England, and the History of Continental Protestantism, are illustrations of this fact. During the whole, therefore, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Missionary life of the English Church flowed through channels opened up by the State. Nor was there lacking opportunity in this connection to do all that lay in her power.

Nor should it be forgotten, that this period was emphatically one of geographical discovery, and of colonization. The rich fields of beauty and of treasure which fact and fable alike painted before a dazzled and bewildered imagination, and the Spanish argosies which came home from the New World laden with gold and golden legends, awoke the ambition of every nation in Europe to seek their fortunes in the Indies of the East and the Indies of the West. England participated in this spirit. If she was behind Spain, and Holland, and Portugal, in the march of discovery; if there are no such splendid conquests, or magnificent schemes of colonization in her history, at this period; nay, if in the story of self-denials and hardships to plant the Cross in savage wilds, the French Jesuits challenge our admiration and provoke unpleasant comparisons, still an explanation is to be found in facts to which we shall presently turn our attention; while, with her subsequent career, and present position in commercial enterprise and Christian effort, she can well afford to make large confessions as to the past.

We said, that the title of the work deceived us. But we are not disappointed, either as to the interest or the value of

the work. Mr. Anderson tells us, that the "condition of our Transatlantic Colonies in early times, and the trials which the Church in those Colonies had consequently to encounter, reflected, for the most part, the condition and trials of the Church at home." And hence he has thought it better "to trace the troubled stream to its fountain head, and to show that throughout the course pursued by it for many years, it had borne the fortunes of the whole Nation upon its bosom." And here is really the key to the plan of the work. No inconsiderable share of the author's labors have been expended in describing that "transition period" in the English Church and Nation, during which the Romish yoke was thrown off, and the habits, feelings, principles, and activities of the nation were adjusted according to a new, or rather the Primitive standard. And if, as a modern writer says, the character of a people is not essentially changed in a single generation, we can well appreciate the long protracted struggle ere the wounds upon Christ's mystical Body were healed, and the heart of the Church was ready to beat with healthy and vigorous pulsations.

The work of English Colonization was slow, and during this whole period of nearly three centuries, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, was almost uniformly disastrous. On the North American Continent, in the West Indies, in Russia, in Western, Northern, and Southern Africa, in the Levant, in Brazil and Peru, and in India, efforts were made as early as the sixteenth century to plant settlements and extend English Commerce; and though the way was thus preparing for that splendid career of commercial activity and success on which the nation has at length entered, still her early experience was a constant scene of disappointment and failure. Conflicting counsels and civil revolutions at home, national jealousies and fierce oppositions abroad, met the nation at every step. The charge of mistaken policy, too, even when prosperity was within her reach, lies at her door; and the warmest admirer of the greatness and glory of the British Empire now, can have little to say in defense of this portion of English history.

There were causes, too, of the most serious character, which hampered the Church and hindered her prosperity during this whole period. It was, as we have said, a "transition period." The Church had enough to do to extricate herself, not merely from the physical power of Rome, but from the still stronger power which Romish doctrines, habits, education, &c., had for centuries woven around her. To cut herself free from all these influences, to reject nothing merely because

Rome had retained it, and to adhere to nothing which was not plainly Scriptural and Primitive, to dig deep and plant herself firmly on these old foundations, and that, not for an age, but for all ages and for all times, this was the great work of the Church of England during this portion of her history, rather than the work of Missionary activity. And yet Romanism was a positive element on the one hand; and Puritanism was equally positive on the other; and both these systems were ready for instant and vigorous operation at home and abroad.

The Church of England was, at this period, undergoing a process of assimilation and concentration; not the work of a single year or of a generation; and this, too, amid conflicts, without and within, which forbid our looking for the work of Missionary aggression at her hands. There was the bloody reign of Mary, when her Bishops were murdered or expelled from their Sees, and her Priests burnt at the stake or driven from their parishes. Just a century later, there was the same sad story of ruthless vandalism from an opposite division of her foes, both joining in the cry over Jerusalem, "down with it, down with it, even to the ground," and exulting together over her apparently remediless ruin. And then, there was the long century of managements, and machinations, and intrigues, by which these intervals were separated, and when one party, and then the other, alternately seemed to predominate; and there was the treachery of false friends, and the timidity of weak ones; the faltering hearts even of the faithful, and the rash steps of the hasty and impetuous. And then, a little later, there was that sad era of religious declension, a natural reaction from the sternness of Puritan doctrine and discipline, and from the canting hypocrisy too often sheltered under their guise; when the gross corruption of the Court overshadowed society; when Bolingbroke wrote, and Pope, and Dryden, and Rochester sang, and Swift preached; and when, too, even many of the leading divines gave to the mere moralities of our religion that place which belongs to the Cross of Christ, its Doctrines and its Institutions; and when earnestness in the Christian life wandered with the Wesleys and Whitfield into by and forbidden paths. And then, too, and almost worst of all, there was the sad mistake made when eight Bishops, about four hundred of the Clergy, and many of the most devout of the Laity, with such men as Sancroft, and Ken, and Kettlewell, and Nelson, at their head, set up their schism, altar against altar, and so, not only destroyed all sympathy with, but excited an implacable hatred against sound Church principles in the Hanoverian

monarch. In vain might Churchmen plead with him for Bishops for the American Colonies on the ground of consistency, when that same consistency had already sent two Jacobite Bishops to America, consecrated by a Nonjuring Bishop ; and was already plotting for his own downfall, and for the elevation of the Pretender to the Throne.

We have thus noted briefly, a few of those prominent historical features of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which threw their shadows across the path of the Church ; and yet, which, doubtless, under Providence contributed to that wonderful and wise moderation which marked the progress of the English Reformation. But these stormy times of peril, of civil and religious revolution, of fierce and bloody attacks from Papists and Puritans, each backed up by Continental influence, were not the times for Missionary enterprise, or even for successful colonization. The details of these struggles will be found in the volumes of Mr. Anderson, and drawn with more particularity, more discrimination, more freedom from party bias, than we have ever seen done before.

Mr. Anderson has been particularly successful in sketching the portraits of the leading characters who figure in this portion of English history. He has evidently aimed at impartiality, and his estimate is usually drawn with great fairness and exactness. We give a few passages from his pictures of those two representative men—LAUD and CROMWELL. After describing the fiendish malignity of Laud's persecutor, Prynne, and while he gives, we think, due allowance to Laud's faults of temper and character, he pays the following tribute to his worth :

"The pious devotion, for example, which was his stay and solace when all earthly comfort had departed, did not then, for the first time, sustain and guide him. The record of his private devotions is still extant, in which he repeated upon each day, the word of confession, of prayer, of praise ; and strove to turn to his soul's profit the remembrance of some of the most memorable events which befel him in the course of his troubled life. He has noted throughout those pages, in each recurring year, and in tones of deepest humiliation, the offenses which he had committed ; and has thus supplied, as his earliest biographer remarks, 'a brave example of a penitent and afflicted soul, which many of us may admire but few will imitate.' The foulest libeler will hardly dare to say, that the tracing of such words with his hand, or the repeating them with his lips, was hypocrisy on his part ; for no man could have known that such tokens of holy communion between him and the great Father of Spirits ever existed, had not the spoiler rifled every secret and treasured paper belonging to him. The character of such records bespeaks their truthfulness.

"And that this spirit of devotion enabled Laud to resist and triumph over many a temptation which assailed him in his daily walk, is evident from the fact, that amid many examples of gross profligacy, no stain was attempted to be cast upon his own temperate and chaste deportment; and in an age greedy of spoil, and reckless as to the means of gathering it, his hands, although wielding enormous power, were never soiled by dishonest gains. And yet, whilst he resolutely refrained from accumulating riches for the purpose of self-indulgence, he was unwearied, as he was generous, in prosecuting works of public munificence and private bounty. His weekly alms-giving, his daily hospitality, his affection for the poor of his native town of Reading, his noble benefactions to the University of Oxford, his zeal, discrimination, and kindness, in befriending men whose piety and learning shed upon that age a lustre that will never fail—all these bear witness to the depth and largeness of Laud's charity."*

As to the charge of Romanism so often brought against Archbishop Laud, the author says :

"Not only was no argument urged by Laud against Fisher ever retracted, no word of censure which he was constrained to speak against Rome, either then or at any other time, ever repented of; but he reprinted, in an enlarged form, in 1638, nearly six years after he had been raised to the Primacy, the very work which, sixteen years before, had been the first record of that conference. Let this important fact be carefully borne in mind, and be cherished with gratitude by those who feel, (as all who read the work with attention and impartiality must feel,) that it is one of the noblest vindications of truth which have ever been produced in the controversy between us and Rome. Let the vigilance, also, and the boldness with which, in the year before this republication, Laud baffled the schemes of Panzani, and of Con, the Pope's Nuncio, be remembered as another proof of his unswerving integrity with respect to the points at issue between the two Churches. And that the cause thus maintained by Laud was not a matter of state policy, but one which he regarded as necessary to defend the individual man from error dangerous to his soul's health, is further evident from the effort which he made, a few years before, to win back his godson and friend, William Chillingworth, from that communion with Rome into which he had been seduced by Fisher; and the success of which effort was signally proved by the publication, in 1638, of Chillingworth's immortal work, 'The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation.' It was, doubtless, the recollection of these and other evidences, too numerous to be here recounted, which, according to Evelyn, led the English Roman Catholics to rejoice at the tidings which came to them at Rome of Laud's death, as of one who had been their most troublesome enemy; and for the same reason, the Roman Catholic historian of this country, in our own

* Anderson, Vol. I, pp. 439, 440.

day, has frankly acknowledged that, whilst Laud wished to retain several religious ceremonies which had been consecrated in his estimation by the practice of Christian antiquity, in every other respect, both his conduct and his writings, completely disprove the imputation that he endeavored to introduce Popery.*

Of Cromwell, he says :

"So passed away one of the most extraordinary of men of that, or of any other age; one whose spirit was kindled with an ardor of religious zeal, the sincerity of which it seems impiety to question, and yet capable of a dissimulation which none but the practiced hypocrite could sustain; who manifested his love of justice by the vindication of right and the correction of wrong, and yet trampled under foot the most sacred prerogatives with the energy of a capricious tyrant; who lifted up his country amid the nations of the civilized world, by selecting, throughout every department of public enterprise, the man fitted for the office, and not the office for the man; and yet, again, depressed her to the dust, by delivering her into the hands of arbitrary and cruel agents; who cherished the tenderest affections of domestic love within his heart, as pure as though the flame of worldly passion had never scorched it, and yet could look, unmoved, upon the most appalling scenes of tumult, and plunder, and death. I attempt not to analyze the process by which qualities so conflicting could meet together in the same man. They who see in him the operation only of the one class, will exhibit in his portrait the most hideous features which can be depicted of human wickedness, unredeemed by a single virtue; whilst they who keep their attention fixed only upon the other, will, in the extravagance of their hero-worship, describe his career as one 'bathed in the eternal splendors.' †

And yet, unpromising as those times were for missionary aggression, they are not altogether barren of such fruits, as we now proceed to show. We have already alluded to the comparatively unsuccessful attempts at Colonization, especially during all the early part of the period which we are now examining. At the close of the sixteenth century, when Spain and Portugal had gained possession of the richest of the territories both of the East and the West, England could not point to a single permanent settlement beyond the limits of her own sea-girt shore. The nation had made vast progress, under the long reign of Elizabeth, in Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, and Literature; the Church, too, reformed on the Catholic model, had identified herself with the glory and prosperity of the nation; and with the beheading of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the destruction of the Spanish Armada, almost the last hope

* Anderson, Vol. I, pp. 447-449.

† *Ib.*, Vol. II, pp. 229, 230.

of Rome of regaining this brightest jewel in the tiara had expired.

The next century, from A. D. 1603 to A. D. 1702, and which comprises the reigns of all the Stuarts, together with the Puritan insurrection, and the five years of Cromwell's misnamed "Commonwealth," constituted an era in English colonization; although a century which includes the history of a Charles I, a Cromwell, and a James II, could hardly witness a system of well conducted foreign settlements. Still, attempts were made, and on a most liberal scale; and Mr. Anderson's volumes show to what extent, in those foreign enterprises, the English Church was true to herself. For the details upon this point, on which alone the reader can form a correct opinion, we must refer to the volumes themselves. The author's research among official and unofficial documents, reports, letters, &c., &c., many of which have never been published, we do not hesitate to say, has thrown new light upon this subject, and places the character of the English Church, both absolutely and relatively, on new and higher ground. To us, especially, American Churchmen, deluged as our country has been with Puritan literature, with our old Colleges and Universities shaped by, and in turn, shaping this one-sided Puritan sentiment, in whose behalf they were specially established, with our histories, orators, and poets, all echoing the same story, it is not strange not only that the national heart, but that the hearts even of Churchmen, have never done justice to the character of the English Church at this period.

As we have already observed, the Church sought, as a co-worker with the State, to which she was so closely allied, to diffuse the Gospel and a Christian civilization through those channels which the State was so abundantly opening before her. It was sound policy. It was scarcely her fault, that an unsettled, changing, and faithless State Government did not allow her to pursue it more resolutely and consistently. She is exhibiting more loyalty in these present times. And the State, too, with a little interlude, now and then, of sacrilegious robbery, and Erastian interference, and opium smuggling, and patronage of Buddhism, is yet learning the lesson of connivance at Church principles at least. The present troubles in India may well teach the State, that temporizing with heathenism is not the highest Christian wisdom, nor the truest national safety. When love to Christ yields to fear of *caste*, miracles alone can convert the Hindoos, or even win their respect.

Let us turn now to some instances of this earnest Christian

zeal on the part of the Church, as witnessed in the experiments of English Colonization. The Government of these Colonies was not uniform, and yet, whether *Provincial*, as in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, New Jersey, and New Hampshire; or *Proprietary*, as in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; or *Charter*, as in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, in all, toleration at least was contemplated; and, wherever practicable, the Colony assumed from the very outset a positive Christian character. As Mr. Anderson says, "there is not any more conspicuous or important fact, than the uniform regularity with which the ordinances of the Reformed Church of England went hand in hand, with the extension of the earliest commerce of England." Thus, immediately after the Reformation was inaugurated, and when Calais was the sole foreign possession of the English Crown, Cranmer determined to send two chaplains to that town; and in A. D. 1538, he recommended Nicolas Bacon, father of the great LORD BACON, as town clerk of Calais, and distinctly on the ground that he knew him "entirely to be of such towardness in the law, and of so good judgment touching Christ's religion, that in that stead, he shall be able to do God and the King right acceptable service."*

In A. D. 1553, the expedition planned by Edward VI, was sent under Sir Hugh Willoughby to Northeastern Europe, and among the rules for the management of the ships, the thirteenth was as follows:

"13. Item, that the Morning and Evening Prayer, with other Common Services appointed by the King's Majestie and laws of this realm, to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the merchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honor, and for his Grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."†

In A. D. 1578, the first Charter ever granted for the establishment of an English Colony, was issued by Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America." And in the Letters Patent, it was ordered that the Laws for the government of the Colony "be as near as conveniently may, agreeable to the form of the laws and policy of England; and also, that they be not against the true Christian Faith or Religion now professed in the Church of England," &c.‡

* Anderson, Vol. I, p. 18.

† Ib., p. 25.

‡ Ib., p. 48.

In A. D. 1576, 1577, and 1578, Frobisher made three several voyages in search of the Northwest passage. Frobisher, in his journal, says:

"On Whit Sunday, being the 26 of May, A. D. 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anchor at Blackwall, and fell that tide down to Gravesend, where we remained until Monday, at night. On Monday morning, May 27, aboard the Hyde, we received all the Communion by the Minister of Gravesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes."*

And in his account of the third voyage he describes the character of the Chaplain of the Expedition:

"This Master Wollfall, being well seated and settled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform these infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity."*

In A. D. 1606, James I, granted Letters Patent for the plantation of Virginia. We find in that Patent the distinct recognition of this duty incumbent on a Christian nation to communicate through its Colonies the blessings of the Christian faith. The Patent declares:

"So noble a work may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His divine majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility and to a settled and quiet government."†

It was also directed by an express Ordinance,

"That the said Presidents, Councils, and the Ministers, should provide that the Word and Service of God be preached, planted and used, not only in the said Colonies, but also as much as might be, among the savages bordering among them, according to the Rites and Doctrine of the Church of England."‡

The celebrated John Smith gives the following account of the earnest Christian zeal, and the consistent observance of the Order and Discipline of the Church by that eminent ser-

* Anderson, Vol. 1, pp. 81, 82. † Ib., Vol. I, p. 165. ‡ Ib., Vol. I, p. 166.

vant of God, the Rev. Robert Hunt, in the first English Church in the New World, at Jamestown. We find also the same loyalty to the Prayer Book in the Bermudas, and by other of the early Missionaries :

"I have been often demanded by so many how we began to preach the Gospel in Virginia, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintainance for our ministers, therefore I think it not amiss to satisfy their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, entreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings. When I first went to Virginia, I well remember, we did hang an awning (which is an old sail,) to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun ; our walls were rails of wood our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks ; our Pulpit a box of wood nailed to two neighboring trees ; in foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till we built a homely thing like a barn set upon crotchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth ; so was also the walls : the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part far much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain, yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion, till our minister died. But our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundays, we continued two or three years after, till more Preachers came. And surely God did most mercifully hear us, till the continual inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines near consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness."*

The author gives numerous proofs, showing, beyond a question, not only the Christian character, but the Christian *motives* and objects, with which the Virginia Council at home at this period prosecuted their undertaking. Our limits forbid quotations. But the ruins of those old Churches, scattered even now all over Eastern Virginia, the materials and furnishings of which were brought at such great cost from England, these are monuments of the deep and living piety of those old English Churchmen. In A. D. 1609, the Council issued a pamphlet containing a formal Declaration, in the name of the Council, of the purposes intended by the establishment of the Colony, and of the measures which they had taken in its behalf. In this same year, also, the Rev. William Crashaw preached a Sermon before the Virginia Council, setting forth the duties and encouragements of those who were going forth to carry the Gospel in the Church to the savage wilds in the New World. Mr. Crashaw says :

* Anderson, Vol. I, p. 180.

"If there be any that come in, only or principally for profit, or any that would so come in, I wish the latter may never be in, and the former out again. If the planting of an English Colony, in a good and fruitful soil, and of an English Church, in a heathen country; if the Conversion of the Heathen, of the propagating of the Gospel, and enlarging of the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this business, it is pity they be in at all."*

And in the Pamphlet issued by the Council, they declare, "the Plantation of Religion to be the main and chief purpose" of the establishment of the Colony."[†]

But, as we have already said, for the proofs how truly a spirit of earnest, living piety, and of a true devotion to the interests of the Church of Christ in its integrity entered into the early efforts at English Colonization, we must refer to the volumes of Mr. Anderson. That such was the character of that Colonization is most certain, notwithstanding all the systematic misrepresentation with which it has been, still is, and will continue to be, held up to the American public.

In this connection, there are the names of two English Churchmen deserving to be held in perpetual remembrance, as well for their own rare attainments in learning, as for their labors in the cause of Christian Missions. We mean EDWARD POCOCK, the distinguished Orientalist, and ISAAC BASIRE. The former was sent out in A. D. 1629, at the age of twenty-five years, as Chaplain to the Levant Company on the nomination of Laud, then Bishop of London. The fierce opposition and jealous conflicts on the part of the Portuguese and Dutch had, for more than half a century, blasted the efforts of the English at establishing Commercial Settlements in India. Still the field was too inviting to be given up, and the Levant Company lingered on in existence, waiting for those more propitious opportunities which were in the future. Pocock, whose Syriac Version of the New Testament had given him reputation, was nominated by Laud as Chaplain at Aleppo. Here, while pursuing with extraordinary success the study of Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, and collecting those Oriental Manuscripts with which he enriched the Bodleian Library, he still applied himself with great diligence to the duties of his Mission; as his biographer says, "proposing to his hearers, in his own regular and unspotted life, a bright example of the holiness he recommended." His eminent talents and attainments pointed him out to Laud for the New Arabic Professorship at Oxford, a post which he filled with brilliant success until his death,

* Anderson, Vol. I, p. 194.† *Ib.*, p. 222.

though he was subject, for a time, to every annoyance which Puritan enmity could inflict. His labors on the Arabic Version of the Polyglot Bible, his Commentaries, and his contributions in other departments of Oriental Literature, have made his name immortal in the world of learning. But his devotion to the cause of Christ was equally earnest. Mr. Anderson thus describes him :

"But Syria was still the region to which the thoughts of Pocock were turned most frequently and anxiously, even to the end. About ten years after the Restoration, he sent out to Huntington, his friend and at that time, his successor in the Chaplaincy at Aleppo, copies of our Church Catechism, which he had translated into Arabic, and published for the use of young Christians in the East. Soon afterwards, at Huntington's request, Pocock published and sent out to him an Arabic translation which he had made of the daily Morning and Evening Prayers in our Prayer Book, the Order of Administering Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and also the doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the arguments of our Homilies. Thus, in every way which could either conduce to the spread of Christianity in Eastern climes, by making known to their inhabitants, in their own tongues, the Gospel of Christ ; or secure the correct reading of the texts both of the Old and New Testament, and assist the right interpretation thereof, by bringing home to this country the literary treasures of the East, Pocock was ever forward, ever successful. All the increased facilities of intercourse which arose between England and other countries in that region, were applied by this faithful and learned man mainly to this one great end. For the attainment of it, he watched and prayed with a steadfastness that knew no intermission. * * * * Nor was his a solitary light. We have seen further, that it kindled the same pure flame in the hearts of others ; and was fed, in its turn, by theirs. And so the proof was exhibited to the world, that with the extension of England's commerce and dominion, some of the most faithful and devoted members of her Church strove, in the hour of her adversity, as well as of her wealth, to make known, in the differing languages of regions opened to them, the riches of their own inheritance."*

Less known, but for Christian worth equally deserving of note, was ISAAC BASIRE. A Frenchman by birth, he was ordained by Bishop Morton, of Lichfield, and filled several posts of honor, as Chaplain of Charles I, Prebend of Durham Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Northumberland. Under Cromwell, he was driven from his field of labor, and himself, wife, and children were cast out as beggars from their homes. Supporting himself and family by tuition, in A. D. 1648, he

* Anderson, Vol. II, pp. 129, 130.

traveled with his pupils in Southern Europe, Greece, Syria, Jerusalem, and Mesopotamia. Here the condition of the Eastern Churches arrested his attention, and his name deserves to be had in everlasting remembrance for his efforts, even at that day, to reform those old Churches, like the English Church, on the Primitive model. He conferred with the Patriarch of Antioch, he distributed Turkish copies of the Catechism among the Armenian Bishops, he sought to reform the errors of the Greek Church, and designed to visit the Coptic Churches and confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria. Evelyn, in his Diary, thus speaks of him: "In the afternoon, preached at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great traveler, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He showed that the Church of England was, for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen."*

The labors of such men as Pocock and Basire, and of Laud also, show what a truly Catholic and large-hearted spirit animated the breasts of many of the sons of the Church of England in the seventeenth century. It was, far more than we have been taught to believe, their *true* Catholicity which sharpened the spear, and lifted the axe, and fanned the flames, of the merciless persecution under which they fell as martyrs.

We now approach a period in the history of the English Church when the Missionary Work, distinctively as such, occupies a more conspicuous place. The Church could not afford to wait upon the State in the fulfillment of her high behests. The broad fields, with their rich fallow grounds, called for more vigorous culture. Civil and religious dissensions had comparatively ceased, at least Popery and Puritanism had withdrawn from the struggle for Empire. The Church, long wearied and worn in the conflict, began to show the return of her recuperative powers, and to pant again for victory in another and nobler field. At the very commencement of the Eighteenth Century, so imperious were the wants of the missionary field, and so truly did the hearts of Churchmen respond to their call, that THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, were established. And yet it ought to be said, that these Societies, now venerable in age, and still vigorous with the freshness of youth, were, as well, the expression of an already awakened Christian love, as the creation of an absolute necessity. Although the ma-

chinery of these Societies was distinct, the same noble spirits founded and conducted both. No one, however, was more thoroughly identified with the formation of those Societies, no one entered with a clearer head, or larger heart, or more self-sacrificing devotion, into the noble enterprise, than Dr. THOMAS BRAY, afterwards the Bishop's Commissary in Maryland. The proofs of his personal influence with Archbishop Tenison, and Bishops Compton, and Stillingfleet, and Patrick, and other leading dignitaries, are given by Mr. Anderson, as also of the warm interest taken in these new efforts by men of position and wealth, both Clerical and lay.

The history of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, during the first twenty-eight years of its existence, as written by its Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey, was published, in full, in former Numbers of the CHURCH REVIEW, and we need not dwell upon it here. But the way was now fully prepared for all that the largest Christian benevolence could do in planting the Church in the distant Colonies of England.

Thus far our brief comments have been designed to exhibit the Missionary spirit in the English Church at home, as presented in these volumes of Mr. Anderson. To a large extent those Missions were planted and conducted in the Colonies which now compose a part of these United States. But in all, in the Bermudas, in the West Indies, in Nova Scotia, throughout the whole field, there is the same varied story, often sad and disastrous, sometimes bright and cheering, yet always verifying the promise, "according to your faith be it unto you." In the Provincial Colonies, Virginia and the Carolinas, and in Maryland, after the Proprietary Government was abolished, and Maryland became a Royal Colony, A. D. 1691, and the Church of England became the established Religion, in all this wide, rich field, there is the same sickening story of reproach and shame. Nobler men never lived than some whose lives were spent as heralds of the Cross in these Western fields. It was the intention of the Government at home to give to the Church in these Colonies all the *status*, the dignity and power, and honor of an Establishment; and yet, when the Revolutionary War was over, the Church in these Colonies was comparatively dead, the number of the Clergy greatly reduced, there being in Virginia *only twenty-eight*; and nowhere was there on the part of the people a more thorough and deep-rooted antipathy to the distinctive principles of the Church. Even the Clergy, both in Maryland and Virginia, on great Church questions, were found on the side of Dissent.

But this sad story is familiar to our readers. What was the secret of the Church's comparative failure in Maryland and Virginia? Mr. Anderson's volumes, if they tell us little that is really new on this point, give enough of detail to show beyond a doubt where and what, the real difficulty was. Every obstacle may be resolved into this one thing, the want of a vigorous Episcopate. This wanting, hindrances to the prosperity of the Church spring up on every hand. There was, first of all, and worst of all, the unworthy character of too many who ministered at the Church's Altars. Dr. Chandler declared in his day, that in Maryland "the general character of the Clergy, I am sorry to say, is most wretchedly bad. * * *

It would really, my Lord, make the ears of a sober heathen tingle to hear the stories that were told me by many serious people of several Clergymen in the neighborhood of the parish where I visited ; but still, I hope that some abatement may fairly be made on account of the prejudices of those who related them."

In Virginia, the character of the Clergy was equally bad. Bishop Meade, in his late work, says, that they, "for the most part, were the refuse or more indifferent of the English, Irish and Scottish Episcopal Churches, who could not find promotion and employment at home." Nor does he give a flattering account of the Clergy then, and for a long time after the Revolution. One was president of a jockey club. Another abandoned the Ministry and fought a duel in sight of his own Church. Another preached annually a Sermon, for a stipend, against Atheism, Gambling, Horse-racing, and Swearing; while he practiced all of the vices himself, and died at last in his ravings, hallooing the hounds to the chase.*

The Churchmanship of these men was as loose as their morals. Irregularities of every kind prevailed in the order of Public Worship. The Liturgy was altered, or curtailed, at the caprice of the Minister, or the whim of his parishioners. Clerical garments were discarded. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered irregularly as to time and place, and in the most slovenly and irreverent manner. Nor was this all. In the absence of a Bishop and of his rightful authority, troubles of every kind were perpetually arising in the administration of the government of the Churches. Whether the final arbiter, in these Parish broils, was the Bishop of London, or his Commissary, or the Colonial Governor, or the Provincial Legislature, or the Parochial Vestry, few seemed to know ; though

* Bishop Meade's *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, pp. 50, 18.

there was no lack of jealousy of real or fancied prerogatives. Bishop White, in describing the early Church in Maryland, says, that "all interference of the Bishop of London, except in the single matter of Ordination, was held by the proprietary government to be an encroachment on its authorities."* And Mr. Anderson gives repeated instances where lay-tribunals were set up in the Colonies for the trial of causes strictly ecclesiastical. No wonder that the people of a new country grew more and more alienated from a Clergy whom they had ceased to respect, and yet were compelled to support; and that these Colonies were a rich harvest field to Dissent and Sectarianism of every name. So low had the Church sunk, in Maryland and Virginia, that as late as A. D. 1811, at the General Convention at New Haven, it was officially reported: "the Church in Maryland is still in a deplorable condition." From Virginia, there was no representation. But the Committee on the state of the Church, say: "they fear, indeed, that the Church in Virginia is, from various causes, so depressed, that there is danger of her total ruin, unless great exertions, favored by the blessing of Providence, are employed to raise her." And at the next Convention, in A. D. 1814, the Committee say of the Church in Virginia: "in many places, her ministers have thrown off their sacred profession; her Liturgy is either contemned or unknown, and her sanctuaries are desolate. It would rend any feeling heart to see spacious temples, venerable even in their dilapidation and ruins, now the habitations of the wild beasts of the forest."

A more cheering view meets us, as we trace the history of the Churches planted by the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These men were better Christians, and, as a class, better Churchmen. Then, as afterward, opposition to the distinctive principles of the Church compelled men to be always ready to give a reason for their Faith; and hence their work was well done, and hence, too, the stability and growth of this portion of the Church in later times. Every possible care was also taken by the Society in the selection of its Missionaries. It was necessary that they be men, not only of competent learning, but of accredited piety and wisdom. They were required to submit to regulations just and proper in themselves, yet intolerable to one who had not in him the spirit of his Master. They were obliged to keep up a regular correspondence with the Society at home, and, every six months, to report the exact condition of their

* White's Memoirs, &c., p. 18.

parishes and Missionary fields. The Rev. George Keith, early in A. D. 1702, was sent out by the Society to explore and report as to the spiritual wants of the country, and the appointment of Missionaries speedily followed; and they were subsequently sent to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. These men went forth, with no governmental support or patronage; bearing no Commission but that from the King of Kings; and often to meet the bitterest persecution of civil rulers, and, almost always, an opposition that never slept. And yet, we may truly say, the blessing of Heaven never failed to rest upon them. Mr. Anderson's sketches of these Missionaries, though brief, are among the cleverest portions of his volumes; no Churchman can read the self-denials, the fortitude, the unflinching loyalty to the Church, and yet the meekness and humility of these early pioneers of the Cross without being nerved himself to purposes of high resolve for Christ and His Body's sake. Such men as Bray, and Keith, and Talbot, and Johnson, and Chandler, and Beach, and Cutler, and Leaming, and Honyman, and Caner, and Checkly, and Seabury, and Inglis, and Ogilvie, would adorn the brightest pages of the Church of any age. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War the Society was supporting about *eighty* Missionaries in the Colonies, at an annual expense of about £40 each. Virginia had at that time *ninety-one* Clergymen laboring in *one hundred and sixty-four* Churches and Chapels. It is an important fact, also, that the Parishes planted by the Missionaries of the Venerable Society are now among the strong Parishes of the Church in this country.

The condition of the Church, however, in the Missions of the Venerable Society, as well as in Maryland and Virginia, called imperiously for the services, the labors and blessings of the Episcopate; and, at an early day, we find the attention of Churchmen turned to the attainment of this object. Everywhere there were Clergymen to be ordained, and about *one-fifth* of all those whose zeal led them to England for Holy Orders never lived to return. There were also candidates to be confirmed, Churches to be consecrated, discipline to be enforced, the faint-hearted to be encouraged, the unruly and stubborn to be rebuked, plans for planting and strengthening the Church to be executed. The Church was a body without a head, working too often at random and wasting its strength. Mr. Anderson's volumes are full of accounts of these efforts to obtain Bishops for the American Colonies, and of the story of

their defeat. Once, at the earnest petition of the very last *free* Convocation, good Queen Anne was about to send a Bishop to Virginia, when her own death frustrated the design. Once, the Bishop of London went so far as to yield to the prayer of the Maryland Clergy, and Colebatch was about to proceed to London for Consecration, when the Maryland Courts issued a writ of *ne exeat*, and he was forbidden to leave the country. Once, Talbot of New Jersey, and Welton of Philadelphia, in despair of other relief, asked and received consecration, A. D. 1723, at the hands of the Nonjuror, Bishop Taylor; but their Jacobite principles and conduct obliged the Society to disown them, and drop them from the list of Missionaries. The Venerable Society echoed and reëchoed the demand of its Missionaries for an American Episcopate. Bishops Gibson, and Secker, and Sherlock, and Butler, gave their best energies to the plan, and still it failed.*

Among the causes which hindered the attainment of this object, given by Mr. Anderson, there is one which he has not named. And the Rev. Dr. Hawks, in his able paper on that subject, has made no mention of it. Indeed, until lately, it has been comparatively a secret. We allude to the organized opposition on the part of the leading Presbyterians and Congregationalists of this country, formed in A. D. 1766. It extended all over the country, and was designed to embrace all the Colonies. It numbered in its ranks men of talent and power. It met regularly and worked systematically, and yet in the dark. It had its agents in England, who had access to the ear of the King and of his Ministry. This Anti-Episcopal League bent its whole energies to this one object, the defeat of every plan for sending Bishops to the American Colonies. Those men knew very well that, without Bishops, the Church in America was shorn of her strength; and, for a course of years, their system of management answered its end. And when, at length, they saw that the Church was spreading all around them, and that Bishops would be sent, then they assumed another attitude, and threatened Civil War and revolt; evidently believing that the English Government would not dare to send over Bishops in the face of a Revolution, and either could not, or would not, do it afterwards.

The question of "Bishops or no Bishops," was one of the leading causes of the Revolutionary War. The elder Presi-

* For a clear statement of these early struggles for the Episcopate, see Hawkins' *Missions of the Church of England*, Ch. XVII.

dent Adams affirmed this ; and there are abundant proofs of a fact so important in the history of those times.

It is an important question what the result would have been, had the Church been early established in her integrity, and been true to herself in the American Colonies? We do not hesitate to believe, that she would, to-day, have embraced the large mass of the people in these United States. In reality she is no exotic here. By intention of the owners of the Country, by the language of the Charters granted, the Church had then, and has now, a right to feel that she is no stranger here. The Maine Charter, granted to Sir F. Gorges in A. D. 1639, and by which that Province was specially devoted to the "religion now professed in the Church of England," would have been protected; and the Province would have been saved from the rapacity and invasion of Puritan Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Bay Charter would have been kept from a gross perversion of its meaning. Throughout all the Southern Colonies, the Church would have met and satisfied the spiritual wants of the people. In Virginia, the Church instead of numbering, as now, a mere fraction of the population, herself weak and dispirited, halting in her course and apologizing for her very existence as if she were an intruder, scarcely known and felt as a vast controlling power for good, but looked upon as the dry and dusty relic of a very respectable broken-down aristocracy, would have stood forth with her ancient institutions of learning, her old, vine-clad, venerable and beautiful Churches, and her vast wealth, the Mother of Saints and the Gate of Heaven to the people, and the munificent dispenser of those treasures which have been sacrilegiously wrested from her. John Wesley, too, would have had no plea of necessity, the only ground on which he justified himself in instituting his bastard Episcopacy; and the Church would have inherited the life and energy of that unfortunate schism. It is too late, now to utter regrets over the suicidal policy of the Mother Church. She is learning wisdom in these later times, and may she act consistently among the hundreds of millions for whom she is now responsible. If Episcopacy was Christ's plan in the organization of His Church, we have nothing to do with compromises or consequences. Duties are ours, results His. If Episcopacy was not Christ's plan in the organization of His Church, then we are left without a compass or a chart, to trim to the shifting winds of Heaven as we please. Only, let us remember Episcopacy does not stand or fall alone. Several of the Doctrines and Institutions of Christianity rest on the same

evidence only. If Episcopacy is a thing of expediency, so are they. Look at Massachusetts Puritanism, first and last, and see if it is not so in fact.

We had proposed, in reviewing these volumes of Mr. Anderson, to notice at length the efforts of the Church of England in another field; namely, for the conversion and civilization of the Indian races of this continent. It is a field of enquiry too little known, and worthy of careful attention. The terms of the early Charters; the gifts for the endowments of Henrico, and William and Mary College; the efforts and plans of such men as Dean Berkeley and Chandler; the royal gifts at home for the establishment of schools and for the celebration of Christian Worship—all this forms a bright chapter in the history of the English Church. As an illustration of the munificence of these gifts, the beautiful and costly Communion Service, now used in St. Peter's Church, Albany, bears upon it the evidence that it was first given by Queen Anne to her Indian Chapel of the Onondagas. And the labors among the Yammasees, the Five Nations, and other Indian tribes, of such men as Thomas, and Moor, and Smith, and Barton, and the Barclays, and Ogilvie, and Inglis, and Andrews, show what the Church only wanted the opportunity to do. Nor were their labors altogether unsuccessful.*

The contrast between the spirit and designs of the Church of England, and of Puritanism in the New World, may well be tested in this work of Indian Missions. Mr. Anderson says, and truly: "the early annals of New England are wholly silent in regard of any systematic efforts made by her people for the spiritual improvement of its Aboriginal inhabitants." Indeed, such leading Puritans as Thomas Peters, and Hooker, and Davenport, as Neal acknowledges, seemed to assume that they held possession of this New World, as the Israelites did of Canaan, by a heavenly grant.† Their language was, "The heathen are driven out, and we have their lands in possession; they were numerous, and we are few; therefore hath the Lord done this great work to give His beloved rest."‡ The wholesale massacre of the Pequots, A. D. 1637, in cold blood, one of the most dastardly and treacherous crimes on the page of history, was a fitting commentary upon such a heathenish interpretation. And their treatment of the Indi-

* For an account of the Indian Missions, see Hawkins' *Missions of Church of England*, Ch. VI, XI.

† See Hazard, Vol. I, p. 476.

‡ Neal's *Hist. of New England*, Vol. I, p. 152.

ans whom they had taken as prisoners in war, in selling them into slavery, could only be justified on the plea that, being themselves "the chosen people of God," they had a right to sell the Indians into bondage, even as the Children of Israel took possession of the Canaanites and of their land. The argument is a very convenient one, the only trouble is in respect to the premises.*

But yet, something was undoubtedly done in behalf of the Indians; and we shall be pointed to the labors of John Eliot, "the Apostle of the Indians," as a redeeming feature of this portion of Puritan history. And who was John Eliot? Himself an ordained Minister of the Church of England, he was glad to look, and did look, to the Venerable Propagation Society, for aid and sympathy in his labors; which Society sent out types, and press, and other materials for printing his Bible in the Indian language; and that noble Church of England man, ROBERT BOYLE, stood by and assisted him to the very last.†

We would not fail to do justice to individuals who, from the ranks of the Puritans, sought to act a Christian part to the native Indians. The name of David Brainerd, nor was he a solitary instance, can never be forgotten while Christian zeal and heroic self-sacrifice command respect and homage; but of Puritanism, as a living body, it must ever be said, that its gross intolerance toward every other form of religion than its own, was only equaled by the cruelties which it inflicted on the native Indian tribes.

In reviewing these historical volumes of Mr. Anderson, we have done no more than allude to some of the most prominent points of history which he has so patiently and thoroughly elaborated. His access to original MSS. and official papers, for which every facility has been granted him, have enabled him to write with a fullness and accuracy of detail on such a subject, which is impossible to us on this side the Atlantic. And yet some portions of his history, he would have modified somewhat, had he been personally conversant with the field of labor which he has described. For example, in his history of the Maryland Colony, and of the Charter granted by Charles I, in A. D. 1632, to Lord Baltimore, he has reflected too severely upon that monarch and his spiritual and principal adviser, Laud. He has not, to be sure, repeated the old stere-

* For an account of Puritan treatment of the Indians, see *Oliver's Puritan Commonwealth*.

† Anderson, Vol. II, pp. 196, 207.

otyped falsehood that a Romanist first set the example in this country of Toleration in Religion; but he has misapprehended the terms of that Charter, the powers and prerogatives of Lord Baltimore under it, and the religious character of the Colony itself. If he will examine the "Sketches of the Early History of Maryland,"* which appeared in this Review, he will see that the Charter was not obnoxious to all the censure which he has brought against it, and that the whole history of Lord Baltimore and of his Colony has another, a truer, and, for the Church, a better interpretation. We would enter into details if our space permitted.

There are also some inaccuracies of statement in the volumes, of more or less importance. The History of the Church in Maryland and Virginia was written by the Rev. Dr. F. L. Hawks, and not by *Bishop* Hawks of Missouri. The Rector of Yale College never resided in Hillingworth; indeed, there is no such town in Connecticut. The Rev. Richard Mansfield, D. D., one of the Missionaries of the Venerable Society, was Rector of the Parish at Derby, not "twenty-seven," but *seventy-two* years. The author's account of the desecration and perversion of King's Chapel, Boston, by being turned into a Unitarian Meeting house, is sadly incorrect. We have almost ceased hoping that our Congregational neighbors will ever be truthful in this matter of King's Chapel; it is too musical a string to harp upon; but Mr. Anderson can afford to state facts as they are, especially as they are all in the Church's favor.

But these are comparatively small matters. There are many incidents in these volumes to which we intended to allude. Thus, it is a singular fact in the history of Yale College, that its founder, Elihu Yale, was, beyond a question, a member of the Church of England, and died so. We hoped, also, to pay our humble tribute to that rare man, GEORGE BERKELEY, Dean of Derry, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. His noble effort in behalf of the Bermudas and the American Colonies, foiled by the unprincipled conduct of Sir Robert Walpole; and the circumstances under which he made Yale College the recipient of his munificence in the gift of his farm and a valuable library, form only one link in the golden chain of an unblemished life. His noble bearing, his manly beauty, his countenance beaming with heavenly benignity, and lofty faith, and resplendent genius, all are stamped upon the canvas, the work of his friend, which now graces the walls of that University. Thank God! for the School of Theological Learning

† Church Review, Jan. and Apr. Nos., 1855.

just erected under the most promising auspices on the banks of the Connecticut, to bear his name, to commemorate his virtues, and, instrumentally, to plant throughout the length and breadth of this vast country, that pure, Primitive, Apostolic Church, of which Berkeley was so bright an ornament, and in whose faith he so gently and sweetly died.

In closing our review of these volumes, we remark, that the style in which they are written is admirable. It is clear, pure, easy, and forcible. With no redundancy of ornament, and no attempt at fine writing, there is yet a sparkling beauty in these sketches which has chained our attention to the last. There is, at times, a tone of moderation in the Church sentiment of the work, which, if it never amounts to indifference, yet places the ground of action and of responsibility on lower grounds, of expediency, or propriety, or natural right, rather than on the high imperative demand of Christian duty, and unflinching loyalty to CHRIST and His Church. And yet, there is no want of attachment to the Church in the work, either in its tone or its spirit. We venture to express the hope, that the author may live to prosecute a labor which he is so well qualified to perform, and to bring the history of the English Colonial Churches in the East, in Australia, in Southern and Western Africa, and in North America, down to the present day.

ART. III.—COXE'S IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND.

Impressions of England: or Sketches of English Scenery and Society. By A. CLEVELAND COXE, Rector of Grace Church, Baltimore.

When I traveled I saw many things and I understand more than I can express. Ecclus. xxxiv, 11. 3d Edition. 12mo. pp. 321. New York: Dana & Co. 1857.

Few books of travel exert an important moral or political influence. A work on Russia, by an American traveler, would be little likely to recommend the bliss procured to a people by absolute power; and if, perchance, the recommendation were to be sent abroad, it would but serve to provoke a smile. But with countries so toned to each other as England and America, by all the mighty influences of race, language, traditions, religion, and government, the case is widely different. Here, every cleverly written book of travels in either country, tells on the other—especially every one whose tendency is to bring English example or opinion to bear on America.

Colonization is but the raying forth of the national life into broader fields of action. And the whole heart, mind, and energy, of the early colonies in British North America, were intensely English. Even the points of resistance which precipitated the Revolution, did not obstruct the flow of this national English life. In fact, the great majority in America, and a noble minority in England, led by the ablest men in Parliament, felt that the Americans, in their resistance to acts of arbitrary power, were more true to the principles of the British Constitution, than the British Government itself. The Revolution was achieved; old ties were sundered; hostile feelings engendered. We were repelled from England; we were drawn towards France, our ally in the great struggle for independence. Hence a French influence over our manners, dress, and ideas, which is manifested and felt even to this day. But as time went on, our old natural sympathies gradually revived. And soon there was amongst us a party, which was accused, by the admirers of France, of a dangerous partiality for England. The "Father of his country" was himself involved in this accusation. How unjust were all such charges, we need not, at this day, stop to show. A man, or a party, might now

avow, without challenge or suspicion, all that the old Federalists felt for England. The Revolution had only disturbed for a time that great life which quickened with agreeing pulsations both countries, and now, that the storm had rolled away, it soon began to show its reviving power, under the warm sunshine of peace. The war of 1812 again briefly disturbed the unity of this life. But ever since that period, prejudices have been wearing out. Enmities have been forgotten. Mutual acquaintance has been vastly increased by facilities of intercourse, undreamt of in all former ages. Every day increases this intercourse, and strengthens the fraternal feeling which is fostered by so many endearing associations. Hence the strong aversion of both countries to war with each other. They feel that war would be an act of suicide, and a crime against civilization and humanity. Irritating subjects of dispute have arisen, but they have been happily disposed of, one after another. The Canadian Rebellion might have involved us in strife. So might the Oregon Boundary—the Fisheries—the dismissal of Mr. Crampton and the Consuls. These were all exciting questions and might easily have led to war. But they were, after the first outburst of popular feeling, treated in the spirit of kindness, and viewed in the light of that common sense, which is the glory of our common race, and the result has always been peace.

We have referred to the essential unity of the life-forces in the English and the American people. It is this which, on so many vital questions, makes the same influence act so powerfully on both. It is this which causes important movements in the one to react with resistless force on the other. Let us look a little more closely at the elements of this one life of the two nations, which stand forth in the van of human progress. And first, of race. Whilst the spirit of humanity, in its highest development, would seek to break down the distinction of races, and hold every man a brother, equally near, yet may any one, who looks abroad on mankind with a true insight, see that race is, in fact, one of the most potent forces in determining the course of all history. It is to nations what the primal forces, which determine their form and onward flight in space, are to worlds. Look at the Chinese, and the English—how immiscible—how incommunicable their respective characteristics! Even in modern Europe, where national character is the resultant of manifold influences, blending with a predominant race-impulse, how persistent and far-reaching is this life-force of nations! Look at France and Spain. How many generations would it require to transmute the grave,

stately Spaniard, into the gay, facile Frenchman—the phlegmatic, dreamy German, into the ardent, impetuous Italian? We find the Frenchman still a Frenchman, and the Spaniard still a Spaniard, after three hundred years in America, under climatic influences the most diverse—the one amid the snows of Canada, the other under the tropical sun of South America! Nor is what Tacitus calls the prolonged force of origin, (*durante originis vi*,) less conspicuous, or less productive of results, in the colonies planted on these shores by England. Beginning with the Atlantic coast, we behold three centres of colonization—the Eastern, the Middle, and the Southern. The middle element proved itself the least energetic, and hence those great tides of population, those mighty influences, which are now shaping the destiny of our great Republic, have been derived from the Puritans of the North, and the Cavaliers of the South. It is really surprising to note how faint the traces of the Middle States become as you proceed westward, compared with the conspicuous and striking proofs of the presence and energy of the New Englander and the Southerner, along their respective lines of march towards the Pacific. The true cause of this is doubtless to be found in the superior energy of the extreme colonizations, which, flowing past their more inert neighbors, meet and jostle impatiently in the great West. A less spontaneous cause for the westward spread of the people of the South, may be found in the necessities of their peculiar institution. But whether we regard the Northern or the Southern stream of emigration, and however far we may trace these living currents in their rapid flow towards the Rocky Mountains, we behold in both, all the essential elements of the English character. The American people are still one race, one blood, with their English brethren. And it is this unity of race which enables them to understand and to sympathize with each other. To this they owe, in common, their intense individuality, self-reliance, and independence. To this they owe their self-control, their power of calm, compassionate reason, their unrivaled, practical common sense.

Need we say more to remind the thoughtful reader of the power which unity of race has to attune nations to each other in all the deeper elements of character?

After race comes language. The language of a people is the incarnation of its higher life. It is the spirit of the race embodied. It is the intellectual and moral life clothed in a vesture so transparent that one can see the beating, throbbing soul. Words are alive, through the spirit that is in them. They supply the spiritual aliment of the soul. It is on the

imperishable truth which lives in words, that man must feed, if he would attain to his full stature. All words are not; indeed, equally transparent. For some envelop truth as the husk does the corn; others again as the shell the kernel. But happily most words in common use are but the crystal cup of sparkling water where the container and the contained—the bright form and the living soul of refreshment—seem to us but one and the same. We never feel so proud of our English tongue as when we contemplate the living power of its words—its whole expression of the inner life of the nations who speak it. Take a single element of this life—its spirit of freedom. Above all people whom history celebrates has the Teutonic race aspired to be free. But it is in their Anglo-Saxon descendants that their noble aspirations have been most perfectly realized. And this free spirit is bodied forth in their language, so that there is, in fact, no tongue, ancient or modern, which so glows with the soul of freedom—none whose very words breathe such a burning hatred of oppression and wrong.* Wordsworth with true poetic insight has said:

—by the SOUL
Only, the nations shall be great and free;

and the English language is but the grand expression of a world-subduing soul, which animates two mighty nations with one life.

The uniformity with which our language is spoken over the vast territories of the United States and the identity of this language with that of the mother country, are both without a parallel in the previous history of the world. We have here no colonies going out from the sound of their mother's voice and falling into "solecisms" from barbarous contact. But one language stamps one impress, breathes into the youth of two kindred nations that one intellectual and moral life with which it is so nobly charged. In no former age of the world would so wise a diffusion of the same language, without change or corruption, have been possible. But the press, the school house and the approximating power of the steam en-

* This noble quality of our language received a striking confirmation in 1851, when Kossuth made it the vehicle of such gorgeous eloquence. Why did the famous Magyr pronounce such orations, in no language not native to him but our own? He spoke in French and in German, if we mistake not, but his words in those languages fell dead as the leaves of autumn, whereas his English speeches were surcharged with electric life and power. Kossuth's use of the English at that time was, under all the circumstances, without a parallel in the history of oratory, and has not, we think, excited either the attention or the admiration which it may fairly challenge.

gine and the electric telegraph, have rendered it possible in our time.

This unity of language prepares the way for unity of literature. The old classic literature of England has, indeed, always been ours—ours by birthright—ours by being the aliment of our souls from childhood, and thus converted into the very bone and muscle of our higher life. It is not uncommon for nations to receive and honor alike the great authors of a period when their history was yet one, but at a later day to diverge farther and farther apart. But in the present instance we find the living authors of Great Britain held in as high esteem in America as in their own country. Nay, it is not uncommon for a popular English author to find more readers in America than in England. Now what is the natural effect of the American people being thus drawn into sympathy with and kindled into admiration of the master minds of England? Is it not to draw our people with strong attraction towards the mother country? Then, on the other hand, we find American authors, in proportion to their numbers, enjoying the same authority and esteem in England as in their own country. And this applies to religious, quite as much as to secular literature. Both nations are nourished by the same moral aliment. Hence their unity of impulse and of action in every field of humane and religious enterprise.

After all, the great element which makes England and America one, is their common religion. England, indeed, beholds among her children many dissentients from the national Church. These all find their counterparts in America. And the fact that each sect finds its like in each country, is doubtless a bond of union between the two nations. Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, all feel more kindly towards the mother country, because it is the happy home of their English brethren. Then, again, the Church of England is confessed by all to be "the bulwark of the Reformation." Christians of other names feel that they have a common cause with the noblest daughter of the Reformation in maintaining a pure against a corrupt Christianity—in upholding the Bible as the Word of God and the divine rule of faith.* To be able to estimate the importance of this element of unity, let

* We do not here refer to the appeal which the Church of England makes to primitive antiquity in determining the *rule of faith*, not because we do not regard this appeal as of vital importance, but because we are at present only considering those points which are common to her and those who on certain grounds dissent from her. These latter have, indeed, derived all their knowledge of Christianity from her, and are quickened with her free, pure life, but they do not come up to her measure.

us suppose for a moment England to be at this day as thoroughly Roman Catholic as Spain—such as Mary, or James II would have made her. Would England then be to us what she is now? But being quickened by the pulses of a common religious life, every movement is prolonged into America, by the same spiritual energy acting on kindred and homogeneous elements. Thus the Wesleyan, the Evangelical and the recent Oxford revivals sent out each its widening wave to the remotest shores of America. How strong, then, are the energies and the influences which cement the people of England and America together and make them one—race, language, literature, religion! To these we might add laws and government, for in their fundamental principles the administration of law and government are essentially the same in England and America.

Do these nations then regard each other with that fraternal affection which would but correspond to these intimate relations? Let the present British ambassador, (Lord Napier,) lately arrived in this country to replace Mr. Crampton, who had been so summarily dismissed, speak on this point. Addressing the citizens of New York, and referring to recent subjects of dispute, his Lordship said: "Whatever a few public men, pledged to their party, and speaking for party exigencies, might have done or said, the hearts of the two nations were sound, and it was felt on all these occasions by millions of people who had not the means of expressing their thoughts, that the scandal, the shame, the crime, the treason to the cause of humanity and civilization would have been indeed monstrous and unpardonable, if England and America had gone to war on these or any other pretexts. That feeling has continued to gain strength, and its existence is a far better guaranty for continued amity than any treaties of peace which diplomatists can frame." Lord Napier also stated on this occasion that he represented the opinions and feelings of Lords Carlisle, Aberdeen and Clarendon, and that he had heard the same sentiments enforced by both the great political parties in the House of Commons. And a leading English journal, referring with approval to this speech, says that his Lordship might have added, "that nearly every newspaper of any weight has long propagated the same feelings—that however Lords and Commons may at any time think, the British people will still remain true to their sympathy with America. On that foundation rests their mutual friendship: and this friendship forms the true guaranty for the continued progress of civilization." Noble, generous words, these! The American heart responds to them entirely

Our ambassadors and our journals have spoken to the people of England the same sentiments again and again. Even while we write, we see the daily press filled with words of sympathy for England and confident auguries of her final success in quelling mutiny and consolidating her power in India, in the great interests of Christianity and civilization. It is because the future hope of the world depends so largely on the continuance of a good understanding between these two nations, that we have dwelt so long on their relations to each other, in introducing to our readers a work which was noticed very briefly on the issue of its second edition. For this reason every traveler in either country should view things in a spirit of candor and impartiality, and if he publish to the world the result of his observations, should avoid saying things merely to irritate, and on the other hand should endeavor to make the two nations better acquainted with each other, and to cultivate in them a sense of mutual respect and esteem.

Notwithstanding the points of resemblance—almost of identity—between our own and the mother country, it is a difficult achievement to produce a really valuable book of travels in England. The very familiarity both of author and readers with the subject, creates the difficulty. To reverse the order, what Englishman could have written such a work as DeTocqueville's "Democracy in America?" And who but DeLolme, a Swiss, has produced the standard work on the English Constitution? In truth, the proximity which enables us to understand, too often engenders prejudices which tend to mislead. That in England which we find to accord with our American experience we comprehend at once and regard as a matter of course. But when we encounter points of difference—when we find ourselves in the presence of queen and nobles—of the throne and a hereditary aristocracy—when we see conspicuously displayed the titles of rank and the badges of service, we are offended, or at least we fail to comprehend what seems to differ so widely from our own social and political life. Again: the Church of England is so intimately connected with the history and life of the British nation that no one can understand either the history, institutions, or social life of England, unless he thoroughly comprehends the character and influence of the national Church. For an American dissenter this is nearly impossible. And yet, owing to their numbers, wealth and intelligence, they must form the great majority of American travelers in the mother country. To show how difficult it is for an American, who is not a Churchman, to comprehend the Church of En-

gland, we will mention a fact within our knowledge. A leading Congregational Minister, distinguished for the part he has borne in the controversies of the day, after a visit to England, said to us that in his judgment there was really less difference between the Episcopal and the Congregational Churches in America than there was between the American Episcopal Church and the Church of England! The reader will be curious to know what was the ground of this judgment. It was this. In the American Episcopal and the Congregational Churches the people choose their own Ministers, whereas in the Church of England it is not so!* It may be objected to the Church-tourist, that his own sympathies and the kind attentions he receives from his brother Churchmen will incline him to too high an estimate of the part which the Church of England bears in the drama of English life, and too low an estimate of the zeal and earnestness of Dissent. Is then the American Dissenter who goes to England and fraternizes with his co-religionists there and imbibes their narrow prejudices in any better position to comprehend the institutions and the social life of the mother country? Although it is but justice to tourists of this class to say that several of them have been both sagacious and fair in this matter.

The author of these "impressions" occupied a most favorable position for getting the best views of English "Scenery and Society." A loyal Churchman, his "Christian Ballads" had shown, many years ago, his love and reverence for England and her Church; his poetry had long since found a place in English hearts and had secured there a warm welcome for himself; his knowledge of English history was minute and thorough, his acquaintance with English literature large and liberal; his knowledge of the society and the every-day thought and life of England such as is rarely attained by an American; his familiarity with the local geography and legendary lore of the mother country such as would have done honor to a painstaking antiquary. There is, as every traveler knows, a vast deal of knowledge, curious, learned, elegant, furnished ready-made to the tourist, whose only labor, if he wish to publish for the edification of his untraveled countrymen, is that of skillfully transcribing his *guide-book*. But the work before us was not made after this fashion. For there is subtle, but conclusive evidence, in the book itself, that the

* This does not represent the whole truth, so far as the American Episcopal Church is concerned, for in many places the Wardens and Vestry, and not the congregation, elect the Rector.

literary and historical references with which it sparkles throughout, are the spontaneous emanations of a mind thoroughly stored and cultured before setting out on foreign travel. This is to us a great charm of Dr. Coxe's* book—the felicitous inworking of large and varied intellectual stores with the impressions of the moment. In this respect no American has produced a work that can be compared with it. Stephens, and Bayard Taylor, have given us more graphic narratives; others have furnished us with more matters of fact; but we have yet to see the book of travel in which the vivid impressions of a first view of strange places, monuments, and scenery, is so gracefully gemmed with the events and ideas of the past.

The style of these "Impressions" unites elegance with strength; often exquisitely delicate in its touches, yet strong in the grasp of its common sense; now painting some scene or object with minute finish, and now passing with a rapid telling eye-glance. On the whole, conciseness is its characteristic. Ideas are often suggested rather than plainly expressed. A reference or an allusion will carry the cultivated reader far beyond the author's pages; and the amount of pleasure to be derived from its perusal will greatly depend on the reader's previous intellectual culture. In this respect it demands for its full enjoyment beyond any work of the kind which has fallen under our notice a highly cultivated reader. And for such a reader it will, we doubt not, satisfy the measure of the Horatian canon—*decies repetita placebit*. The author has wrought into it so much of the imperishable truth and beauty of nature and art, of history, letters and religion, and has given to the whole such fine proportion and finish, that his work must take its place in this department of literature as a "Classical Tour." Having regard to its high literary finish, and the culture which it presupposes in the reader, we are surprised at its popularity. It is a hopeful sign.

If we are in quest of natural or political Science, of Philosophy or Statistics, we shall not find them in the work before us. If we would study the lower extreme of modern society—the plague-spots of a ripe civilization: in short, if we would look at the dark side, and thread the foul alleys of English life, we must seek some other guide. But, if we would thoroughly enjoy ourselves in the society of one who went abroad to see and enjoy near at hand what he had long admired from a distance, we could not find more genial company.

* The author having been lately honored with a Doctorate in Divinity by St. James' College, we use what must, we suppose, be henceforth his familiar title.

Dr. Coxe did not go abroad as a Philosopher or a Reformer, but he made a pilgrimage to the mother country to view things there with the eye of a divine, a man of letters and a poet, and the records of his "Impressions" correspond to the man. As a divine, he sought out the sacred bounds of the mother Church—her Universities, her Cathedrals, her venerable parish Churches and her great living lights among the Clergy and the Laity—as a man of letters he visited each place of stirring deeds, whether for or against Church and King—every spot dignified by heroism or suffering—every scene of great and honorable literary labor—as a poet he diligently sought out every place where poets have lived or sung, and yielded himself with *abandon* to the impressions of the hour and the spot.

But Dr. Coxe does not always praise. He is scornfully severe on the Roman Catholic schism—Cardinal Wiseman, and Newman, and his Oratorians, with their mawkish hymns and worship. Lord John Russell too is spoken of in terms which ill befit one who has been the first Minister of the Crown—who has played a conspicuous part in English politics for the last forty years, and who still occupies an honorable place in the confidence of the English people, as is shown by his recent election to represent the great city of London in Parliament. We admire Lord John Russell as little as Dr. Coxe does, but we would refrain from characterizing him in the terms which he sees fit to use. Indeed, we cannot account for the exceeding severity of his language towards that "scion of the house of Bedford," but by supposing that he unconsciously suffered himself to be drawn for the moment into the resistless current of party feeling. Neither are we an admirer of Prince Albert; but, while he is the husband of the Queen, (now by imperial law the Prince-Consort,) and the father of the future sovereigns of England, and while he stands uncondemned of any crime against either the Church or the Crown—whatever suspicions may lie against his supposed Germanizing proclivities—he ought to be spoken of with honor and respect.

The author is no vehement admirer, even of her majesty, Queen Victoria, judging from the style in which he speaks of the Hanoverian line of sovereigns. The following passage, while it shows the strength of Dr. Coxe's antipathies, furnishes the key to his whole method of viewing the mother country :

I do not think that the English are half proud enough of their capital, conceited as they are about so many things besides. They are ashamed of Trafalgar Square and some other slight mistakes, and they always apologize for London, and wonder what a foreigner can find to please him, in the mere

exterior of its immensity. But *foreigner*, forsooth! I always felt that an Anglo-American may feel himself far more at home in London, than many who inhabit there. Who are the reigning family, but a race of Germans, never yet completely naturalized either in Church or State? What is England to Prince Albert, except as he can use it for his own purposes? But to me, and to many of my countrymen, it is as dear as heart's blood; every fibre of our flesh, every particle of our bone, and the whole fabric of our thought, as well as the vitalizing spirit of our holy religion, being derived from the glorious Isle, in whose own tongue we call her blessed. It is not as unfilial to America, but only as faithful to the antecedents of my own beloved country, that I ask no Englishman's leave to walk the soil of England with filial pride, and in some sense to claim "a richer use of his," than he himself enjoys. He dwells in it, and uses it of necessity for some ignoble purposes; but I have no associations with the malt-tax, or with manufactories. England reveals herself to me only in her higher and nobler character, as the mother, and nurse, and glorious preceptress of the race to which I belong. Hence, I say, it is only a true American who can feel the entire and unmixed sentiment and poetry of England.

The author seems to have greatly enjoyed his opportunities of mingling in the literary and social circles of the metropolis. At Rogers', Samuel Warren's and Judge Talfourd's, he saw and conversed with several of the eminent men of the time. And it is while speaking of a party at Lady Talfourd's, "at which the literary and legal profession were more fully represented," that he is led to indicate the peculiar character of the best English society, and the style of conversation which prevails, in a thoughtful passage which we should like to extract.

But it is at the Universities—above all, Oxford—where our traveler's enthusiasm reaches the highest pitch. The wondrous commingling of the past and the present which Oxford exhibits, exerted a weird fascination over a nature, which seems itself to be a happy union of these two elements. Here the dead past is quickened with the life of the 19th century. All around, you behold objects which carry you back to the middle ages—buildings, libraries, museums, pictures, statues, carrying you back through a thousand years, and calling up to your fancy, in vivid colors, every period since. And yet you find yourself among men who are alive with the present, who are penetrated and moved by the ideas, passions and prejudices of our own age—men whose education has rendered them the living continuation of the past, and who are eager to go forth and bear their part in ushering in a happier future. We had marked a passage which savors of rare enjoyment, but must refer the reader to the book itself.

Dr. Coxe evinces a fine sensibility to natural beauty, which seems to have reveled in the charms of English scenery; and power is not wanting to him, to vividly portray what he felt. One of his most felicitous sketches is of a scene near the Cotswold hills in Gloucestershire, but we have no room to quote it.

Among the most striking passages in the work before us, is that which describes the early service at St. James' Palace. We regret that it is too long to extract. The scene, is the Chapel Royal, the time Sunday morning, the hour 8; the service, the Holy Communion, without the morning service. It was read by the Dean of the Chapel, a grandson of the celebrated Charles Wesley. Another clergyman preached a sermon from Job viii, 7; *Though thy beginning was small, thy latter end shall greatly increase.* The preacher dwelt on the approach of death, and spoke of "men covered with worldly wealth and honors, making their end in remorse and misery." There were but eight persons present, but amongst these, "in a dim corner, directly under the pulpit—quite crouchingly and drawn together, eyes shut and white head bowed down, Roman nose and iron features, and time worn wrinkles all tranquilized,—sat in silence the hero of Waterloo. I scarcely looked at him, and yet gained in a moment, an impression of his entire person, which I shall never lose." The time for approaching the altar came, and five, all that communed, went up together, without respect of persons. It was the custom of the place. The duke and the beadle knelt down at the same moment, at the same altar, and drank Salvation out of the same cup of salvation—that cup out of which the Kings and Queens of England had for ages drank their weal or woe. It was a striking scene—the great Duke, the warrior of the world, crowned with all its wealth and honors—going at that early hour, when the pride of London was asleep, to that lonely Chapel to bow himself lowly as a Soldier of the Cross! The author learned that the Duke was in the habit of coming regularly to communicate at that early hour on the first Sunday of every month. He was certainly far from being an exemplary Christian, during a large portion of his long life, but may we not hope that his latter end was peace?

While the author writes as a patriotic American, he does not disguise his admiration of English Institutions. Must he needs be inconsistent in this? We think not. For our own part, we can heartily admire both. Throughout the large range of agreement between the two countries, our admiration of England finds no check. Indeed, it takes rather a strong coloring of gratitude towards her to whom we owe so much. But even where the two countries differ, we can see the best of reasons for this difference. The institutions of England, are the spontaneous out-growth of her old national life. They are but the rich fruitage of her previous history. The throne is a reality in the hearts of the people, consecrated by the

veneration of a thousand years. Its direct control over the machinery of government is, indeed, slight. Yet is it to the nation the visible representative of order, the centre of loyalty. And thus, by bringing the subtlest and strongest moral forces to the support of social order, it becomes a powerful element both of stability and of progress. So too of an aristocracy, where it is a living reality, in harmony with the other elements of national life, where it is but the natural product of a glorious history, and where, as in England, it maintains not merely by the prestige of prescription, but by all the highest attributes of manhood, a place in the respect and homage of men. The author testifies that the English nobility are not recreant to the duties of their high position. "The British aristocracy may be said, even now, to be a genuine one and identified with everything great and good in the nation, and on the whole, presenting a wholesome example to other classes in the State. In all probability, so virtuous an aristocracy has never been seen elsewhere among mankind." This good opinion has been confirmed by many independent witnesses. We have no desire to see either a throne or a hereditary nobility amongst ourselves, because they would be entirely alien to the genius of our institutions, and would find no moral support in the hearts of our people. But we have the clearest conviction, that they are admirably suited to England, and fitted to secure her stability, her progress and her glory. Our glory, on the contrary, must blossom from the intense life which quickens the stem of our Republican institutions. We rejoice, however, that the mother country finds a large hearted, generous appreciation in the author of these "Impressions." Such an appreciation ought to be felt, and acknowledged by the whole American people. It would be no unimportant means of securing to both nations a great future.

Whilst perusing these "Impressions" we have been led to speculate on the future of England. What signs do we find here or elsewhere of decay? Is her power, though we see it not, silently yielding to the corroding touch of time? Is the dissolution of her gigantic frame slowly but surely progressing, and must England yet one day, be only a name, and a glory of the past; "When some traveler from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude" take his stand, according to Macaulay's patriotic fancy, which plays with a borrowed plume, "on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's?" Or, on the contrary, is she still green and flourishing, with no decay at the heart, but every fibre compact and the whole instinct with that life which forever renews and expands? We gladly own that we can discover

no sign of a "decline and fall." But we behold England greater to-day in all the attributes of power and glory, than ever before. Her population is largely increased, and her agriculture has increased in a still greater ratio, while her manufactures have been developed so as to become one of the wonders of the age, and to enable her to lay all nations under tribute. The Machine power of Great Britain, which is estimated at that of 600,000,000 * human beings, is all the product of the last century.

The Commerce of England, earlier indeed in its development, has expanded with and even beyond her manufactures. Do these leading interests, so vast, so national, in their effect justify the taunt of the first Napoleon? Have they blunted the spirit of the British People? Are even Tennyson's denunciations of trade and commerce, as we find them in *Maud*, to be accepted as just?

"Nor Britain's one sole God be the millionaire;
No more shall commerce be all in all and Peace
Pipe on her pastoral hillock, a languid note"—
"Sooner or later I too may passively take the print
Of the golden age—why not? I have neither hope nor trust;
May make my heart as a millstone, set my face as a flint,
Cheat to be cheated and die: Who knows? We are ashes and dust."

We own to a small share of sympathy with the poet's ire, for we think there are some lines of truth in his indignant picture of the supineness and selfishness of a commercial age. But then has not this age of trade shown some noble traits? Look at its charities, its humane enterprises and its Missionary efforts. But we may not delay on this point.

It is true that England lacks soldiers in comparison with France. Is this owing to her commerce? To her manufactures? The former has wholly supplied the chief arm of her strength—her navy. With her army, the case is different. It is not so easy to withdraw her sons from their industrial pursuits as it is for the conscription to snatch away the young Frenchman from his poorly tilled acres. England keenly felt the disparity between her own forces and those of her ally before the walls of Sebastopol. For the superior numbers of the French, enabled them to appropriate to themselves the chief glory of that memorable siege. But did ever soldiers behave with higher bravery than the English at the Alma, at Inkerman, and in the assaults on that wonderful fortress? This deficiency of soldiers is, however, no new difficulty, neither does it spring from the enervation of industrial occupations.

* Mayhew, London Labor and the London Poor, p. 349.

For it existed a hundred years ago, when the manufactures of England were yet in their infancy. Hence those hated Hessians, who fought against our fathers in the war of the Revolution. In the great wars against Napoleon in the early part of the present century, it was England's part to furnish money, to stand in place of the men she could not supply, leaving it to her allies to swell "the living tide of valor." Compared with great military nations like France and Russia, her deficiency in the thews and sinews of an army is striking. But, after all, we feel confident that England could, at the present day, equip a more powerful army than she ever yet sent forth on a mission of conquest. And then, her navy—was it ever so powerful as we now behold it, augmented and equipped for service it could never find, in the late war against Russia? We can see, then, no adequate ground for affirming that England, as a military power, is decaying.

But when nations begin to die it is their moral sense that receives the first withering touch; their spiritual energies are paralyzed so that the light and love of heaven come down upon them in vain. The dew of God's blessing falls no longer on a fertile soil, but on an arid desert. Juvenal gives the philosophy of Rome's fall in a few burning lines. Irreligion as a canker had eaten greatness out of the Roman soul.

"Esse aliquid manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras," &c.

In the earlier period of Roman history, the presence of the Deity was felt as a living pervading reality, warming and purifying the heart and strengthening the soul—after the degree and measure permitted before the Gospel. Well might the Roman people in their best days say:

"Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo."

Josephus gives a striking recital of God's forsaking his dwelling place among the Jews, and giving up that self-willed nation to their fate. And there is a solemn forsaking of this kind, which sooner or later overtakes every degenerate nation. What then dare we hope for England? Is her heart still the seat of the Divine presence? Is her moral sense still uncorrupt? When we behold her ameliorating her institutions, and purifying her laws from old injustice—when we see her renewing her vows to God—reviving the practice of true religion where it had fallen into decay, and publishing the Gospel in heathen lands, we feel assured that England is still true to the God of nations, and that He will yet lead her through a long career of glory and power.

ART. IV.—THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL ASSOCIATION.

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religio, Disciplina, Ritusque Sacri: Cosini Episcopi Dunelmensis opusculum. Accedunt argumenta quædam breviora de Fide Catholicâ ac Reformatione Anglicanâ: auctoribus Lancelotto Andrewes, Juell, Beveregio, Bullo Episcopis, et Jacobo I. Rege. In calce, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Catechismus. Edidit FREDERICUS MEYERICK, A. M. Coll. SS. Trinitat. apud Oxon. Socius. Price 1s. 6d.

THE greatest events are sometimes foreshadowed by the concurrence of those which might be deemed most trivial. A close observer of the state of Europe, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, might have seen nothing indicative of the coming Reformation, in the travels and correspondence of Erasmus, in the revival of Greek learning at Oxford, in the atrocious marriage of Prince Henry, or the elevation of one of the Medici to the Papal throne. Rather, it might have been argued, that most melancholy were the signs of the times, when its wisest scholar was wasting life in apparent instability of resolution whether the evils of the age demanded the reproof of the martyr, or the jests of the satirist; when the dispensations of the pope were quietly acquiesced in, as equal to the abrogation of laws confessedly divine; when Greek literature was more valued as the medium of renewed commerce with pagan antiquity, than as throwing light on the oracles of God; and when the chieftainship of Western Christendom was applaudingly confided to one, who, in addition to his practice of most of the vices of his predecessors, was gravely suspected of regarding Christianity itself as a mere fable. We now know, however, that in all this there was a hand behind the cloud, directing everything in behalf of the faithful, and preparing for that Restoration of Primitive Doctrine, which it was the distinction of the Anglican Church to work out, as the result.

In the present state of the Christianity of Europe and America, one might, if disposed to despond, see nothing to encourage the hope that better days are at hand. In the new strides of the papacy towards the destruction of the faint doctrinal and moral vitality, that has been discernible for centuries in the Latin Churches; and in the dissolution and corruption, on

the other hand, of what seemed organic in popular Protestantism, to say nothing of the vagaries of Prussian Evangelicism, which now flickers like an *ignis fatuus* over the widespread decay of Protestant orthodoxy, one cannot but admit that there are tokens of evil to Christianity in which none but the infidel can rejoice. But notwithstanding, how manifest is the approach of a bright dawn, and the rise of a new spirit, which has promise of the future day, even as the bats and owls have had possession of the long night! The unprecedented assumption of Pius the Ninth, in the manufacture and promulgation of a new dogma, without the pretence of a Council, has produced a manifest commotion among the wise and good who are left to Rome; a commotion which is enlarging itself, with accompanying signs that it is by no means a superficial disturbance, but one that shakes the last and lowest props of Papal dominion over the Churches of Europe. A sense of weakness, and an open confession of the evils of disunion, begin to characterize that portion of Protestantism which professes itself *orthodox*, but which at the same time discards all creeds. That it, also, is working very differently, from what it proposes, is apparent from the remonstrances of such a man as Hengstenberg, and the outcry of others like him, for an historical and organic unity with the Apostolic Church, such as Anglican Catholics have constantly maintained. We purposely say nothing of promising political events in Italy, and in the East, for we believe that a disposition to "trust in princes" has been the scandal and the curse of the Reformation, in Europe, from the beginning. But we cannot but acknowledge, with devout gratitude to God, as the great sign of the times, and a harbinger of the future, the amazing vitality and astonishing growth and power, with which, in a very short space of time, He has endowed that branch of the Catholic Church, which alone proved faithful to its trust, in the great trials of the sixteenth century, and which of all Catholic Churches, at the present day, is best provided with the means, and animated with the disposition, to reunite Christendom, in the profession of the faith once delivered to the Saints.

The state of things thus faintly sketched in outline has awakened, in many, in England and elsewhere, a humiliating sense of the retrograde character of the relations of the Anglican Church to the religion of the Continent, which, it must be confessed, marks her history, since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The accession of the House of Hanover might have been expected to operate favorably, as promoting the intercourse of English orthodoxy, with foreign protestantism. But,

alas, the contrary has proved the result ; for under the patronage of princes, the Protestantism of the Continent was able to turn that event to its own account, and rather poured its own spirit into England, than received the Anglican spirit into itself. Hence the lamentable approximation towards a Lutheran and Calvinistic paralysis, from which we only now begin to recover. And hence also that isolation, in which the Church of England has for so long a time hidden her light under a bushel, and failed to exert her natural mastery over the European mind.

In the times of Queen Elizabeth, and of the first James, how different her position ; and so also, in the still brighter age of the Caroline Divines, when the erudition of the Anglican clergy was the wonder of the world ! Under Elizabeth and her successor flourished Jewel and Hooker, whose labors were for the world, and not for England alone. The Apology of the former, (whatever its defects,) revived the waning spirit of reform in Europe ; the latter was read with amazement, by the pope himself. How powerfully was the Church of England felt in Venice, in the days of Father Paul, and when De Dominis fled to her embrace, after too impatiently essaying to enkindle her spirit in Italy and Dalmatia. The same age saw the erudite Casaubon transferring his learning and wisdom from France and Switzerland and identifying himself with her cause, which he defended with the applause of foreign Universities and Courts. How much was implied in the homage paid by the Synod of Dort to the English prelates, and in the sigh of its president over the maimed Churches of the Continent, and their lack of an Apostolical Episcopate. Diodati told John Evelyn, at Geneva, that he lamented the conduct of the Calvinists in England, adding that he would gladly see, in Switzerland, such a hierarchy and ritual as the Puritans were laboring to destroy. The tribute of Grotius to the superior character of the Anglican Reformation is familiar to all ; and the subsequent conduct of John Ernest Grabe, who came to England to find a Church in which his conscience, as well as his erudition, might not be at war with his position as a professed minister of Christ, is an example of what might even now be going on, had the Church of England preserved her prestige and exercised her rightful command over the minds of the best thinkers and scholars of Germany. The efforts of Wake to promote an alliance between Gallicans and the Anglican Church, must not be overlooked, as a noble enterprise, to which the age proved unequal, but which perhaps is not dead but only sleepeth. It was the last effort of the spirit of a former gen-

eration, and it soon received an opiate from the growing irreligion and indifference of a new period in the history of French and English thought. Good Bp. Wilson, in his remote diocese, however, was such a light as even that age could not altogether obscure. The Moravians sought his Episcopal protection and counsels, from their retreats in the vales of Bohemia; and the very cruisers of a Romish sovereign spared the Manx coast from insult and outrage, out of reverence for the hoary and holy head of that veritable Bishop, who there fed the little flock of Christ in perfect charity with all the world.

One would think that these traditions of the past must always mark out the true policy of an English Bishop, in dealing with the religious movements of the Continent. But we have lived to see a tea-party, at Lambeth, where cloth of gold was paired with frieze, and (to quote the jest of Punch) where *lawn* was made no better than *bunting*. A Babel blast of strange voices, uniting in a hymn at Berlin, which is to be sung at one time in the diverse languages of Europe, is all, if we except a great shaking of hands, which is likely to proceed from the attempt to inaugurate a unity of latitudinarianism and indifference. A more melancholy exhibition of the utter insufficiency of popular Protestantism to the accomplishment of anything adequate to the wants of the times, could scarcely have been made, than was made, when the participants in the aforesaid tea-party came to the point, and tried to remember what they proposed to effect; and humiliating as is the spectacle which the Primate of all England has made of his gray hairs, by patronizing even for a moment, such an enormous folly, it is perhaps well that England has been thus forewarned of the ignominy which is sure to be her fortune, whenever the dignitaries of the Church condescend to forego their *prestige*, and to level themselves with those who have no part nor lot in her Apostolic and constitutional capabilities to do a greater work in a nobler way, and without any help from outside counsels and resources.

That such a work has been inaugurated, quietly, and "without observation," the readers of the Church Review are already informed.* Nothing could have been more unpretending than the first beginnings of the Anglo-Continental Association. Under the patronage of a few English, American and Scottish Bishops, they began in 1854 to print a few tracts in diverse European languages, to be carried abroad by piously

* See Church Review, Vol. VII, p. 23, 1854.

disposed travelers, and given to foreigners, whether Romish or Protestant, as opportunity might be afforded. No one who has traveled in Europe, with a soul stirred within him by the spectacle it presents of a Christianity expiring between a corrupt Catholicity and an incompetent Protestantism, can have escaped the feeling of a strong desire to present to the really earnest minds of the different nations, the unsuspected fact that there is such a thing as a restored Christianity; that one can be an antagonist of the Pope without swearing in the various formulas of Luther, or Calvin, or Voltaire; and that one can be a Catholic, without any sympathy for, or concession to, the corruptions of the middle ages. In short, every Anglican who travels ought to do so as a missionary; and he who thus turns his very pleasures to the glory of God, must rejoice to find himself able, by the aid of this Association, to present to Germans, Italians, Frenchmen and Spaniards, to Protestants and Papists, and to Atheists and Jews, "in their own tongues," a clear statement of the faith once delivered to the Saints, as the Anglican Church, under God, has received it, and as she now upholds it, for mankind.

It was a judicious thought to adopt as the first publication of the Association, a little work of Cosin, in the Latin tongue, which was compiled two centuries ago, with a purpose kindred to that of the Association; that is, to exhibit the actual character of the Reformed Church of England, and the principles of her Reformation. It is worthy of note, moreover, that the little work was published in 1729, under the advice of divers of the Bishops, with a view to the same results which are now contemplated by the Association. It has the advantage, then, of being nothing fabricated to express the views and feelings of a modern school in the Church of England. It bears witness to her consistency with herself for the two centuries that have passed away since Cosin lived, and shows that the desire to enlighten the foreign nations with the burning and shining light of her candle, has been a continuous characteristic of her best and holiest men. We commend this work to all our Clergy and intelligent Laity. It would be hard to find elsewhere, in such short space, so valuable an exposition of the Church's principles and ordinances. To the Clergy, who may not be acquainted with it, we venture to say that it will afford them a very valuable kind of assistance in condensing any theological statement which they may desire to make with perspicuity, and at the same time with adequate caution as to the terms and phrases which it may be safe and adequate to employ. In fact, it is a work distinguished for that merit, which we fear is generally lacking in American theo-

logical works—sometimes even in Episcopal charges—the merit of a clear, precise, and definite statement of doctrinal verity, in terms which cannot be mistaken, and in language such as the use of ages has made appropriate to the expression of theological thought. For purposes of distribution, the work is furnished by the Association, in the Italian, Spanish and German languages, and will soon be issued in Swedish. As a thing to be mentioned, specially, we are also able to announce that it has lately appeared in the Modern Greek. Depositories have been opened in Paris, in Leipsig, in Turin, in New York, and in Malta, so that travelers disposed to be useful can easily find this, and the other publications of the Association, as they proceed to any part of Europe or America.

A few of these other publications are deserving of at least a passing notice. From the prayer-book has been compiled in the French language a useful tract explanatory of the doctrine of the Church as to the Holy Sacraments, and showing that we retain such other rites as Holy Scripture has authorized, in all their essential parts, though we do not invest them with the name of Sacraments, as being devoid either of matter, or form, or of both, as things ordained by our Blessed Lord Himself, and essential to the rite.

A very valuable tract, in the French language, by the late Reverend James Meyrick, of Queen's College, Oxford, bears the title, *L'Eglise Anglicane n'est point Schismatique*; but its character is better pointed out by the title which has been given to the same tract, as translated into the Italian and the Spanish languages, namely, "the Papal Supremacy tried by Antiquity." In this work, the ancient relations of the See of Rome to the residue of Catholic Christendom are forcibly delineated; the usurpations by which it became the dictator of the Western Church are exposed, and the history of the false decretals, on the basis of which the Canon Law of the West became thoroughly papalized, is very ably treated. It is a pleasing fact that this work, in its Italian form, is actually printed at Turin, where, a few years ago, it would have been impossible to find anything of the kind with an Italian imprint. It would be a happy thought to put the matter of this tract into the English tongue, for general circulation among our own people.

A treatise on the Holy Catholic Church, made up from the writings of Anglican Doctors, such as Usher, Bramhall, Taylor, Bull, Hooker, and Jackson, and published in the Italian language, is an important publication, peculiarly suited to the present condition of the Sardinian States, where it may be

freely circulated without opposition from the police. A French treatise, by Dr. Oldknow, on the History and Validity of Anglican Ordinations, is worthy of mention, as singularly adapted to the wants of earnest minds in the Gallican Church, at the present juncture. Such tracts as are published in the French tongue, it must be borne in mind, are generally useful throughout Europe, where all educated men freely use this language as the medium of international intercourse; and this fact renders doubly important the appearance of another publication of the Association in that tongue, the celebrated Sermon of the Bishop of Oxford on the Immaculate Conception. It has attracted a considerable degree of attention, and with other publications of the Association, has been very favorably reviewed in several Continental periodicals. The Association is also distributing in Greece a limited number of copies of Canon Wordsworth's well-known work, *Theophilus Anglicanus*, which has been translated into the Modern Greek; and it is proposed soon to publish, in French, an edition of Massingberd's valuable work on the English Reformation; besides other works of a similar character, in the several languages of Europe. The future harvest to be gathered from such good seed, sown in the best soil of the nations, who can foretell? A few pages of Wiclif's writings, carried by Queen Anne into Bohemia, are said to have created the bold remonstrances of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague. In an age when earnest men are known to be sighing for better things in every part of Europe, what may not the SPIRIT OF GOD effect, even by means as humble as those employed by this Association, in obedience to the command, "*Let your light so shine!*"

Are we, in America, going to neglect this great opportunity of doing good, or to excuse ourselves from a share in this noble work? Does it not offer a channel into which we ought rather to direct, just now, the enlightened zeal that was stirred up by our Oriental Mission, and which has received a check so unexpected, and apparently so inauspicious, by its temporary suspension? If it be asked what our share in this work should be, we answer, it is naturally two-fold. We should as contributors, and as travelers, aid the exertions of our English brethren in the European field, and we should also inaugurate a work of our own among our immigrant population, and among the Spanish populations of North and South America.

Americans are great travelers, and every year considerable numbers of our Clergy and Laity visit the Continent of Europe. It is impossible to predict the good which might be ac-

completed, if only every such traveler would supply himself with at least a few of the light and portable publications of this Society, and would give them to persons of education with whom *the providence of God* might lead them to meet during a tour. It would often prove an acceptable gift, were the traveler to leave a single tract of the kind with any intelligent ecclesiastic, such as one often meets in France. In an age which has seen the efforts of Hirscher and Laborde to throw off the oppressive bonds of the Roman usurpation, how great is our encouragement to reflect that a "little leaven leaveneth the whole lump;" that a little salt may heal the most bitter waters, and that it is our duty to be the salt of the earth! Nor does it seem unworthy of an effort to try the effect of such presents among the Reformed Communities of Europe. In Germany and Switzerland, it is thought by many that there are deep undercurrents of feeling, which ought to be provided for in some such way. There are signs of a great reaction at hand, which may be directed aright, or which may possibly give a temporary triumph to Romanism. Now we may grant that the means at our command appear very inadequate; they are but the "five loaves and the two fishes" among a great multitude; and yet let us reflect on the nature of those operations in which Divine Wisdom delights to display itself, and say whether all experience does not favor the idea that the greatest results may reasonably be expected from instrumentalities the most imperfect, if only the time be opportune, and the fields ripe to the harvest. It may be that God has already raised up the master-mind, which only awaits the encouragement and stimulus which one of these tracts may afford to revolutionize the religious thought of Europe. It is consoling to look back at great epochs in the history of Civilization and of Religion, and to observe how commonly it has been given to two or three contemporaries, laboring with kindred ideas, to shake the world. So now, if only "God wills it," (and we know that He always wills the enlightenment of men, and their conversion from error,) why should not the increase of knowledge, and the "running to and fro" of many, cause a revival of Divine Truth, and a blessed recurrence to those primitive elements of the Christian religion which it is our lot to preserve and to keep prominent before the eyes of all who have erred and are deceived? At all events, let us enable men to see that there is such a thing in the world as primitive Catholicity: that the question is not entirely between Luther and Calvin on the one side, and the Pope on the other: that we Anglicans have something better than is to be found

either in Rome or Geneva, and that we know, and love, and would fain impart our blessings; let us do this, and leave the rest to the Great Head of the Catholic Church. He who has inspired the ardent longing, and the prayer, that "His way may be known upon the earth," has given us, in those very aspirations, the earnest of a glorious result.

But we have a work to do at home. In Canada, and in Louisiana, there are many to whom the French publications of this Association would be of great utility. In Pennsylvania, and throughout the West, the German tracts soon to be provided may meet the wants of many thoughtful minds among Lutherans and Romanists also. But it is in South America* that a work may be done with the Spanish tracts, which it is our special duty to set on foot without delay. Every week, steamers and other vessels are leaving New York for South American and Mexican ports, and bearing to foreign parts where the Spanish language is spoken, multitudes of our young men, among whom are often pious youth of our own communion, and sometimes Clergymen and Laymen of high position in the Church. What opportunities are thus presented for doing good by means of these cheap and portable publications! True, it may be hard to find among the Mexican and South American Ecclesiastics, men of sufficient character and piety to encourage efforts of liberal distribution; and yet we are continually informed by our Missionary Boards and other agencies, that even in Brazil, and in Chili, as in other parts of the great Southern Peninsula, there is an awakening interest in matters of religion, a desire to receive and to read the Holy Scriptures, and to investigate the claims of the papacy. In New Grenada, the enlightened movements of the Government against the papacy have alarmed the Pope, and excited his ineffectual remonstrances. The appearance of one such bold and earnest work as "The Defense of the Authority of Governments against the Pretensions of the Roman Curia," from the press of Lima, in Peru, is enough to prove that there is life even in that corrupt, and, as it were, offcast branch of the Church. Its author, Don Francisco de Paula G. Vigil, has been styled "the Melancthon of South America," and it has been well said that his work (which of course has been condemned at Rome) is "deserving of attention, as showing that we have brethren, even in that distant land, who seek as England once sought to cast off papal corruptions without renouncing Catholic Truth; to ask for the old paths, and to walk therein: to exercise Christian liberty without breaking the

* See Church Review, Vol. VIII, p. 205, 1855.

unity of the Church." The offering of such a tract, as that of Cosin, on the English Church and Reformation, might be to such a character as a cup of cold water to a thirsty soul; it might refresh and strengthen him for works he does not as yet dream of, and nerve him to seek such further aid at our hands, in the labors of genuine reform, as it would indeed be "far more blessed to give than to receive."

But without pressing these considerations, which must suggest their own enforcement to every thoughtful and earnest mind, we would conclude this imperfect sketch of our views concerning this important effort, by directing attention to the very marked progress which has been made, since the Anglo-Continental Association began its work, towards the revival of neglected truths in Europe. We do not attribute this revival to the operations of the Association. Far more encouraging it is, to see in it the moving of a mighty Providence, which marks the period for such operations as peculiarly auspicious, and which calls for every exertion on our part, to make ourselves its servants and helpers under God. It is true that the obvious and direct results of the distribution of the publications to which we have directed attention, have not been inconsiderable. The correspondence of the Principal Secretary of the Association, the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, of Trinity College, Oxford, with several persons of learning and eminence in Europe, has not only proved the existence among them of a spirit to be enlightened and to rejoice in the information already afforded, but has called forth from divers foreign ecclesiastics the most earnest inquiries for further knowledge, and anxious applications for admission to the pale of the Anglican Communion. Several interesting letters from such parties have been already given to the public, in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, and widely circulated by our Church newspapers. It cannot be doubted that many more such instances are likely to encourage us, as soon as the seed which the Association is scattering shall have had time to penetrate into the soil of a wider field, and to strike deeper roots. But it is not in such immediate and exciting results, gratifying as they may be to popular feeling, that more reflecting minds will see the greatest encouragement to perseverance in the work. That must be found, as we have hinted, in a close and pious watching of the signs of the times. In 1851, it was thought a great thing that one such spirit as that of Hirscher could be found in Europe, to prepare the way for an era of free thought amongst the professed adherents of the Council of Trent. A little closer observation made it apparent that there were, both in France

and Italy, men of deep piety and profound learning, equally sensitive to the alarming condition of things in the Papal Communion, and equally desirous to discover the remedy, and to undertake the desired reforms. True, men bred under the oppressive restraints of Romanism, and living perpetually under the impending lash of its anathemas, are not naturally heroic; and timid half-efforts are all that can be expected, until such symptoms of wide-spread sympathy become the encouragement of some bolder spirit to break forth more resolutely, confiding in the repressed feeling of thousands, for the support of his open exertions. Now it must be evident to all who have watched the course of events since 1851, that there has been a great advance in the development of a free and hopeful spirit among the better classes of European Romanists. The promulgation of the New Dogma has, in fact, confounded thousands, who utterly refusing to subscribe to such a profane novelty, are not yet able to "define their position," or to decide where, in fact, they now stand. Unwilling to open their eyes to their condition they are nevertheless continually reminded by their Ultramontanist brethren, that they are in reality, already separated from "the unity of the Catholic Church," unless they heartily accept the definition of the pontiff: and, while they seek to fortify themselves against such consequences, they are unconsciously acquiring, for the first time in their lives, just views of the limits of papal authority, and of the principles of the primitive Church with respect to Catholic Unity. How hopeful, in such a point of view, is the appearance of the Abbé Prompsault's work—*du Siege de Pouvoir Ecclesiastique dans l'Eglise de Jesus Christ!* True, the Abbé, like the lamented Laborde, concedes far too much; but their Ultramontanist antagonists are continually pressing such writers with replies so extravagant, as naturally to stimulate further studies and bolder impeachments of papal pretensions. In such a game, Rome has nothing to hope for, and everything to lose: and while the Gallican principles which were supposed extinct, are daily finding new exponents and able defenders in France, it is noteworthy that these lend efficient support to such bold opponents of the new Dogma, as Thomas Braun, in Bavaria, and Father Morgaëz, in Spain; so that it is not only, in France, that witnesses are raised up against this last phase of papal corruption.

Now let it be remembered that as lately as in 1852, the Gallican party was regarded as extinct in France, and that in spite of all that has been done to crush and to extinguish its reviving embers since then, it is now sufficiently powerful

to be felt, watched and feared; and then let us reflect whether there is nothing in such a sign. It finds, indeed, no patronage from the Emperor, and it is worse than frowned upon by nearly all the Bishops of France, who owe their mitres to their base subserviency to the Court of Rome. And yet, it is strong enough to have multiplied its publications, and to have paralyzed the discipline of the Romish authorities, who know not how to tolerate Gallicans, nor yet how to enforce against them the anathemas of the late Bull. It is an extraordinary fact, that the Abbé Guettée, the most considerable living author of the French Church, and its learned Historiographer, should have had the boldness to identify himself with the Gallican cause, and by so doing to forfeit the applauses and honors which, he well knew, would have been his lot, had he been willing to prostitute his pen to the service of the Ultramontanist cause. And not less noteworthy is the fact that he has not hesitated, in some measure, to become the patron and protector of the *Observateur Catholique*, a Gallican publication, which is, of itself, one of the most interesting tokens of reviving Catholicity, in France.

This publication is now in its second year, and seems to enjoy a very liberal support. Its apparent success excited the fears of the Government, and inquiries were made of the chiefs of the post-office, as to the number of copies circulated throughout France. The Editors, in taking notice of this inquiry, boldly asserted that although a much larger number of copies of this publication went through the post-office than had been officially reported, yet a still greater number was circulated in France, by other means; *a large proportion of their subscribers being afraid to have it known that they are such.* If so, perhaps no index of the true character of this reviving Gallicanism could be so significant as this publication. It reflects the phase of Catholicity to which many are secretly prepared to commit themselves, who dare not so commit themselves individually, and openly, at present; at the same time, we have a right to infer that it presents a sort of average view of existing feelings and sentiments. Many who sustain the publication, may be prepared to go further; many may be timid, and hardly up to its mark. But, be this as it may, it is a very important evidence of the fact, that revived Gallicanism cannot be altogether such as it was in 1682. The Pope has gone so much further in one way, that if Gallicanism revives, it must go as far in the other direction. And this seems to be foreseen by the conductors of the *Observateur Catholique*, who already appear to represent the spirit of Cassander, rather than that of Bossuet, in their disposition to reduce all that is Ro-

mish in their creed, to its very lowest terms, and to make the best of all that is good even in Continental Protestantism. While they desire to hold their ground as professors of the Faith, as defined at Trent, they, nevertheless treat the Symbol of Pius the Fourth *non-naturally*, in spite of themselves, refining upon Bossuet's Exposition, almost as much as Bossuet refined upon the Tridentine Catechism. They occupy, in short, an untenable position, and must yet learn the truth of what De Maistre has told them, that Gallicanism reduced to logical consistency, is Anglicanism. Meanwhile, it is a great thing to observe that the new developments of Romanism are so frightful, that these new Gallicans are no longer disposed to start at the bugbears which have, heretofore, operated to restrain them within their arbitrarily chosen bounds. With all their enthusiasm for the memory of Bossuet, they show clearly that they are not so much afraid of Jansenism as he was, for they openly welcome as defenders of the common cause, the Jansenist Bishops of Holland, who have lately set forth such a noble pastoral, in opposition to the New Dogma. At the same time, and this is the point which has led us more especially to speak of this interesting periodical, its tone and bearing with reference to the Anglican Church, is so far in advance of anything that has yet proceeded from any considerable organ of professed Roman Catholics, that it must be regarded as almost providentially raised up, just at this time, as a sort of counterpart to the operations of the Association. It has not scrupled to review the publications of the Association in a spirit of candor and commendation, admitting that false impressions have been disseminated in France, with respect to the Anglican Church, as if she had no claims to consideration apart from those of the Protestant sects. It has also advertised all the publications of the Association, and has shown every disposition to discuss with friendliness and with frankness, the great principles on which the Church of England refuses subscription to the Council of Trent. Such an auxiliary could not have been looked for, at the period when the work of the Association was undertaken. It will prepare the ear and the mind of thousands, at least to receive what is to be said on the side of Anglo-Catholicity; and at a time, when so many are looking for relief from their present intolerable bondage, what more could be required? Let us use our opportunity in the spirit of faith and of prayer, and we may cheerfully leave the rest with God.

These suggestions must be regarded as an appeal to those who are ready to receive it, for coöperation and support. The work is one which cannot be presented effectually to the

popular mind ; it can hope to enlist only the far-sighted, and the large-hearted.* Popular sympathy goes instinctively with the hand that bestows a loaf on the passing beggar, but it leaves uncheered the more considerate philanthropy of the man who fences, and ploughs, and harrows, and scatters the seed from which the poor of another winter must be fed. The movement thus humbly begun, is designed to leaven the literature of Europe, and to prepare the way for what God may be ready to do for another generation. It does not propose immediate results ; it undertakes the cure of evils which have grown with centuries, and which cannot be eradicated in a day. If it shall be encouraged and sustained, and enabled to enlarge itself, however, its inevitable result will be, to make the Church and her Literature felt in every part of the enlightened world. It will invest with a new character, every respectable Anglican Clergyman, who travels in Europe ; forcing him to be a representative of her genuine theology and literature, and not a mere traveling idler. It will make way for the publication of the best works of our great standard divines, such as Pearson, and Bingham, and Bull, in all the modern languages. It will bring the Universities of England into contact and conflict with those of Germany and France. In short, we think we are not enthusiastic, when we say, that under the blessing of God, this quiet spirit of holy aggression, which has grown up naturally, and gone forth when and where it was called for, may prove in its action abroad, and in its reaction upon the Communion from which it has sprung, the most important movement of the times. It will be second to none other, certainly, if it breaks up the isolation, and consequent inactivity of the Anglican Church, as a member of the Catholic body ; and if it proves the channel by which its revived life, overflowing and passing into the life of other members of that body, is also to receive back into itself the enlarged spirit of Christian love, which shall enable it to feel habitually, as well as to profess daily, that there is yet, in the earth, One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is the Spouse of Christ, and against which the gates of Hell are never to prevail.

* The publications of the Association are for sale at half-price to subscribers, by D. Dana, 381 Broadway, who is also authorized to receive subscriptions.

The Association has just issued a tract in the Italian Language, called the *Life of the B. Virgin Mary*. It is simply the few facts concerning her, which are stated in *Holy Scripture*, with an Introduction ; and it is designed to contrast the simple truth, with the enormous mass of fable which Romanism now circulates as such, especially in Italy.

ART. V.—MISS BEECHER'S "COMMON SENSE APPLIED TO RELIGION."

Common Sense applied to Religion: or, The Bible and the People. By CATHARINE E. BEECHER. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1857.

THE reader of this work will learn from it, among other things, that Beecherism has taken a new lease upon public notice; and that no point in Theology may be considered so well established as to be beyond cavil or dispute. The work opens with a dedication quite *ad captandum* in its tone, "To the People as the safest and truest interpreters of the Bible, and to Woman as the Heaven-appointed educator of mind." The "People" and "Woman" will evince a rare insensibility to compliments, if they fail to acknowledge Miss Beecher's flattering estimate of their mission and capabilities by an early and patient notice of the message she has felt constrained to deliver.

On other grounds than this, however, Miss Beecher's book is likely to secure general, and, in some quarters, serious attention. It attacks openly and with an air of grave earnestness, a fundamental doctrine of the Christian Religion, and therefore will win a prompt audience from the already large and still growing numbers of avowed infidels. While, on the other hand, claiming to receive with sincerity all that part of Religion which it does not deny, it professes to reconcile contradictions, remove difficulties, and by a new and Common Sense process to preserve whatever is valuable and true in the Christian System, by eliminating from it the complex admixtures of traditional error: and, therefore, can hardly fail to be greeted with a hearty welcome by that numerous class who, in these days, crave the adventure of incipient doubts and partial denials,—standing with one foot upon the sea of unbelief, but afraid or unwilling to withdraw the other from the main land of positive truth.

It declares the world of opinion to be in a transition state, and every department of it pregnant with revolutions, and reforms, and harmonies struggling to the birth. It advocates a Theol-

ogy progressive even to the reconstruction of its foundations. It considers the faculty of Common Sense as the great *organon* of Revelation, Philosophy, Morals, and Education, and the destined builder of a better era; while in the unchecked exercise of private judgment it discovers resources competent to the solution of every difficulty. It finds, moreover, cause for pointed censure in the slight veneration still paid by most educated minds to the decisions of Synods and Councils endorsed by the universal consent of Christendom, and patronizes as some faded relic to be handled tenderly for the sake of by-gone, but still memorable associations, the elaborate, well poised, and tenacious Divinity bequeathed to us by the piety and erudition of the Reformation. When we consider the present wide-spread instability of Religious sentiment, and the general disposition among several of the older sects to escape from or openly to sunder the restraints of Creeds and Confessions, we cannot doubt the temporary popularity and influence of a work which to such a temper and such views superadds maturity of thought and earnestness of purpose. There are many other minds, too, outside the sphere of Religion, to whom this work will be more or less attractive, from the fact that it discusses some of the profoundest questions of Metaphysics and Theology with an immediate reference to their bearing on methods of moral and intellectual training now in operation.

But independently of all these sources of interest it will, on another ground, be sure of a large circulation. For, besides treating upon the functions of reason, the laws of language, the mystery of evil, and kindred themes, it is also an Autobiography—a record of individual experience, and, as such, introduces us to the secrets of a private mental history, abounding in those trials and agonies, through which it is not unusual for certain minds to pass, in emancipating themselves from the grasp of uncongenial dogmas. A title for this book, quite as appropriate as that which it bears, would be, "*High Calvinism: its effects upon the growth and happiness of the mind of Miss Beecher.*" The importance of the book arises, not so much from its contents, whether in the form of speculation, argument, or practical results; as from the circumstance that it claims to be, and doubtless really is, a representative confession. In narrating Miss B's intellectual and spiritual exodus from Calvinism, it narrates substantially that of a vast multitude, who, having abandoned the old ground, are now feeding on the husks of rationalism, or

endeavoring to find rest and comfort in the cheerless negations of a creedless faith, unwilling to surrender the Christian name, and yet recreant to everything in doctrine and organization which that name includes and requires.

As such, this book must look for its bitterest assailants, among the dwindling ranks of those who still cling to the system whose general and inevitable decay it so mercilessly exposes. From our point of view, it is chiefly of moment only for the startling and positive confirmation it affords of what has frequently been urged in these pages in regard to the present tendency and approaching fate of distinctive Puritanism. It is with no feeling of joy, far less of triumph, that we find such unequivocal testimony at our service. Our heart saddens at the sight of the gaps and fissures, and the now revealed and attested rottenness of that once firm and compact structure. Deserted on the right and on the left, mutilated here and assailed there, and faulted everywhere, it seems to be living out its latter days with a strange and ominous rapidity. We mourn to think of the hope and zeal that will perish with it, and of the dark, tumultuous anarchy that will hold sway for a time over the scenes of its former power. Still, the ruin, vast as may be its immediate consequences, will, under God, bring with it a compensation: for it will teach with an impressiveness seldom paralleled, and upon a scale likely to arrest human attention, the disastrous folly of separating the Gospel from the Church of Christ, the life of Christianity from its Institutions, or any existing religious development, whether in the shape of reform or progress, from the continuous history of its visible organization.

It appears that Miss Beecher was led to prepare and publish this work, by the obstacles she encountered, and the failures she experienced in her efforts at Educational reform. She found the whole system of domestic and popular education resting on principles which she conceived to be utterly incompatible with reason, Scripture, and our mental constitution. She determined to do what she could personally and through a public organization to remedy the evil. In pursuance of this purpose she wrote, labored, and experimented with an energy and perseverance rarely equaled. After years of arduous, self-denying exertion—after enlisting the sympathy and aid of influential friends of both sexes—after giving the public the benefit of her studies, experiments, and predictions, she was compelled to the mortifying and painful acknowledgment that her plans had failed and her

work come to nought. Under the smart and chagrin of disappointment, she turned to inquire into the causes. With a natural partiality for her own devices, she discovered in them none of these causes; but found them all in tenets, prejudices, and traditions which she trusts to time and this work to demolish. After enumerating several minor influences hostile to her scheme, she declares the main impediment to its success to consist in what universal Christendom believes to be an essential doctrine of Revealed Religion and an evident fact of human consciousness, the doctrine, namely, that by nature we are all dead in "trespasses and sins."

"The real difficulty," she says, "at the root of all is the indifference to the training of the habits of childhood resulting from the long-established dogma of a misformed mind, whose propagated incapacity is not within the reach of educational training." p. 324.

It is, therefore, the design of this book to construct a new and better system of Christian Ethics, with a view to the needed reform in popular education. To this end, Miss Beecher labors to prove that the doctrine of native depravity, or original, birth-sin, is a fiction of Theology unsupported by the Word of God and opposed to the intuitive convictions of reason—that it was an invention of St. Augustine—unknown to the early Christians—that, once adopted, as a part of the Faith, it gradually fortified itself by tradition, custom, and prejudice—that it is now taught and received only in virtue of the power of prescription and the fear of ecclesiastical pains and penalties; and finally, that it is the fruitful source of stupendous evils in the moral discipline of mankind. Having demolished the hated dogma which so long marred her inward peace and, at last, caused the defeat of her cherished scheme of culture, she proceeds to elaborate the true view, as she terms it, of Human Nature. As preliminary to this, she examines the structure and powers of the mind regarded by her as consisting of Understanding, Susceptibilities, and Will: first, however, laying down as the basis of all reasoning, a series of axioms, or intuitions. Then comes Scriptural exegesis, and lastly the testimony of experience. By these processes, she arrives at the conclusion that every human being is born with a perfect mental constitution—that sin is to be found exclusively in voluntary action, and that by proper education, proper habits, proper social influence, and proper circumstances generally, that voluntary action may be so regulated as to be perfect: free, that is, from sin, "so far as

the nature of things will allow," and as exempt from flaw or defect as the constitution from which it proceeds.

To illustrate the Theological and Ethical bearing of this theory, one application of it will suffice, and that we shall give in the writer's own language :

"The end for which we are made is to 'glorify God' by obedience to those laws by which 'the most happiness with the least evil is to be secured to His vast eternal empire.' At the *first birth* of a child, it is impossible in the nature of things, for it to feel and act for the happiness of others till it has learned to know what gives pleasure and pain to *self*, and to understand that there are other beings who can thus suffer and enjoy: so that a child, by its very nature, is at first obliged to be *selfish* in the exercise of faculties which in reference to the *great whole*, are perfect. The *second birth* is the sudden or the gradual entrance into a life in which the will of the Creator is to control the self-will of the creature; while under the influence of love and gratitude to Him, and guided by faith in His teachings, *living chiefly for the great commonwealth*, takes the place of *living chiefly for self*. For this, the supernatural aid of the Holy Spirit is promised to all who seek it; and without this aid, success is hopeless. But the *grand instrumentality* is the right training of parents and teachers." p. 338.

This, according to Miss Beecher, fills up the meaning of those words of Scripture, "to be born again," to be "created anew," to be "made new creatures in Christ Jesus," to "pass from death unto life," "to be sanctified by the Holy Ghost!" This, too, is the theory of human nature and of its depravity, for which she argues and pleads! This is the theory which, in her view, underlies and conditions the future progress of mankind! This is the corner-stone of the improved Christian ethics out of which alone can be constructed a more wholesome and effective education! And this, too, is common sense—the intuitions of reason as applied to the interpretation of Divine Revelation and the solution of one of the deepest mysteries of human life!

There seems to be something extremely offensive to a portion of the Beecher family, in the received doctrine of *Original Sin*. It has been honored by them with two very elaborate attacks; the one professedly seeking to render it acceptable to reason, the other, declaring it a libel upon God, and an unjust disparagement of human nature. In "The Conflict of Ages," Rev. Edward Beecher undertakes to conciliate the statements of Scripture and the supposed demands of reason, by interposing the baseless conceit of Origen, that the fall occurred in a pre-existent state of the soul, where every element of personal responsibility was complete. In "Common Sense applied to Religion," Miss Catharine Beecher attempts to remove the difficulty by reviving, in all the apparent freshness of an original proposition, the condemned and exploded heresy of Pelagius. It is a pity that so much talent and dialectic skill

should be expended in stripping off the grave-clothes in which these old skeletons have slumbered for so many ages. And our pity changes to wonder when we remember that such drudgery is performed by the vaunted *doctrinaires* of Theological progress. Considering how much is said in this work about improvements in Theology, and about the valuable results, in the shape of doctrine and interpretation, to be secured by the application of the "laws and language of common sense," the reader might justly claim some better fruit of the new method, than a rehash of an old heresy.

The fact is, though truth is one and error is manifold, yet the latter in respect of the essentials of Christianity, seems to have exhausted its varieties, and condemned its disciples to the monotonous labor of repetition. This is certainly true of all false doctrine upon the nature of God, and the nature of man—the two great starting points of religious error. Active, ingenious, and erudite as the unbelief of our age has shown itself; boastful as it has been of new methods, new discoveries, and new resources in history, natural science, and philology, it has failed to produce a single strictly original error, concerning God or man. The only novelty about the foes it has marshaled, consists in the visors with which they have entered the field of battle, and many even of these have turned out to be thefts from the lost armor of forgotten heretics. It is the misfortune of Miss Beecher, and other would-be explorers in a fancied new world of thought, that they prosecute their labors under the fatal disadvantage of having been anticipated. We ought not, therefore, to blame her for what she cannot help. But, on the other hand, we hope she will not take it ill if we pronounce every one of her assumed originalities, whether of theory or practice, a battered, well-worn souvenir of some contest in theology or metaphysics, long ago set at rest.

The writer entertains a wise distrust as to the immediate success of her theory of a perfect mental and moral constitution of human nature, as applied to the practical work of education. To weaken or remove some objections to it, arising from habit, prejudice, or conviction, she reluctantly unveils to the public her own painful experience of the system she labors to overthrow. Experiences, when frankly and fully told, are always taking, because they are of the soul's life, and bear upon them its sorrow and its joy. Miss Beecher's is one of this sort. It is so full of point and significance, and at the same time so free from reserve, as to require little or no comment. She frequently declares that her whole religious discipline proceeded upon "a dreadful mistake somewhere," and, as the following

extracts will show, she leaves no room for doubt as to her belief where that mistake was, and in what it consisted.

"My *intellectual* character was a singular compound of the practical and the imaginative. I early formed a habit of reverie and castle building as my chief internal source of enjoyment. *Socially*, I was good natured and sympathizing. *Morally*, I had a strong sense of justice, but was not naturally so conscientious as some of the other children."

"Up to the age of sixteen, my conceptions on the subject of religion, were about these: that God made me and all things, and was very great, and good, and wise; that he knew all I thought and did; that because Adam and Eve disobeyed him *once* only, he drove them out of Eden, and then so arranged it that all their descendants would be born with wicked hearts, and that, though this did not seem either just or good, it was so; that I had such a wicked heart that I could not feel or act right in anything till I had a new one; that God only could give me a new heart; that if I died without it, I should go to a lake of fire and brimstone, and be burned alive in it forever; that Jesus Christ was very good and very sorry for us, and came to earth and suffered and died to save us from this dreadful doom; that *revivals*, were times when God the Holy Spirit, gave people new hearts; that, when revivals came, it was best to read the Bible, and pray, and go to meetings, but that at other times it was of little use."

Though she enjoyed every advantage of regular instruction, yet such was a summary of her religious convictions at sixteen. She confesses, indeed, that what she heard, was so dull and unintelligible, that it made little impression upon her. It will be observed, that her summary contains nothing to show whether she had ever been Baptized or not; nothing about duties arising out of Baptism, nothing to indicate that her religious training had the slightest reference to Baptism. That training instead of teaching her that she had been brought into a relation to God demanding the duties of faith, repentance, and obedience; that she was bound to renounce all sin, and that God had pledged Himself to help her do so; that by complying with the conditions growing out of that new relation, she could do acts acceptable to God and gradually grow up into the likeness of her Saviour—instead of teaching her such Christian *facts*, it seems to have turned her mind to inquiries about the Divine nature and attributes, God's relation to the universe, and especially to the origin of evil and its punishment; God's relation to the scheme of grace as determined by absolute decrees, followed up by questions about "natural ability," and "moral inability," and about *revivals*, as the stated occasions when the Holy Spirit gave people new hearts. We wonder not, that, as her character matured, she thought there was "a dreadful mistake somewhere;" and we wonder less that her subsequent *experience* should have been what it was, or that her convictions should finally have shaped themselves into the teachings of this book.

"By 'revival preaching,' she says, "I was taught to look at God as a great 'moral governor,' whose chief interest was, 'to sustain his law.' Then there seemed to be two kinds of right and wrong, the 'Common,' and the 'Evangelical.' According to this distinction, I could not feel or do anything that was right or acceptable to God, till my birth-gift of a depraved heart was renewed by a special divine interposition. The selection of the recipients of this favor, was regulated by a divine decree of 'election' without reference to any acts of a being who did nothing but evil, and only evil till this favor was bestowed. It was this view of the case that had the chief influence in leading to an entire neglect of all religious concerns. It was so nearly like a matter of mere chance, and there seemed so little adaptation of means to ends, that, to one so hopeful, and at the same time so practical, there was very little motive of any kind to lead a religious life."

From sixteen to twenty she was occasionally thoughtful, but generally indifferent, now rendered serious by the death of a tender and beloved mother, and now distressed that successive "revivals" should pass by and leave her unconverted: deeming it her *misfortune*, not her fault, that she was not renewed. At length came upon her the great affliction of her life—the death of the one to whom she was betrothed. This sent her back with a heart softened by grief, and an understanding bowed by the stern dispensation of Providence, to "religious reading, prayer, and mental conflict." Shut up in profound seclusion, she spent week after week upon the writings of Edwards and Dwight.

"I hoped for nothing, cared for nothing, but to become a Christian, yet no one could tell me intelligibly how to do it, while it was clear that all expected nothing from my efforts, and that all was dependent on a divine efflatus that was to change the birth-gift of a depraved heart. And yet I was told the fault was all my own, and that it was my obstinate *unwillingness* to do what was required that alone made it needful for God to interfere."

So passed several dark and dreary months. But again the same result followed and her trials ended as before, in the secret conviction that "*there must be a dreadful mistake somewhere.*" Thus her inner life rolled on through the vicissitudes and labors of years, she at one time declaring that the only doctrine of Revelation which gave her earnestness of purpose and impelled her to exertion for the spiritual good of others, was that of *the eternal and irremediable loss of the Soul*—a doctrine which, as she says, neither reason nor Revelation would suffer her to escape—at another, confessing that "the prayers, hymns, and sermons conformed to the *theory* of religion" in which she had been trained: and "*especially the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ,*" excited within her, "feelings of disgust and abhorrence."

These items of *experience* foreshadow and prepare us for the conclusions to which she finally arrived, and for the proof

and diffusion of which this work is published: conclusions which though unavowed, she practically acted upon for years in the work of education, and which, consistently enough in a person not "naturally so conscientious as some," did not prevent her from passing before the public as a sincere professor of what was known as "the Orthodox Faith." These conclusions were, that "every child is born into the world with a nature free from all taint of evil;" and that "the distinctive feature of the regenerated soul, is the *all-controlling purpose of acting right* by obeying all the laws of the Creator, as discovered by the light of Nature, or by His Revealed Word."

Though, as Miss Beecher avows, she does not expect any "striking or immediate result" from her work, yet she evidently regards this as a most favorable juncture for its appearance, and for reasons which she gives in the shape of testimony deemed by her entirely unimpeachable. It will be read with interest by those who are wont to think that the Protestant Episcopal Church has a work assigned her in this country, whose gravity and importance, it is impossible to exaggerate: the work, namely, of guarding and transmitting the Faith, the Order, and the Institutions of Christianity.

"It is the hope of the author," says Miss Beecher, "to do something to promote a *renewed discussion* of these subjects, under more favorable auspices than have heretofore existed. The circumstances that favor and indicate such a renewal are, in the first place, a gradual change that has been going on the last thirty years in the theological world. One striking indication of this change is the almost universal neglect of 'indoctrinating preaching' among the younger clergy in those sects where, forty years ago, it was deemed indispensable to success. An equal or greater change is apparent among the laity. The strong Calvinistic doctrines that used to be so reverently received are either simply tolerated or quietly rejected. This is particularly the case with mothers and teachers, both in the family and in the secular and Sunday schools."

This, of course, will be no news to many of our readers, and we quote it only because of the source whence it comes. The general abandonment of all definite, systematic, doctrinal instruction in favor of the topics and issues of philanthropy and reform is a fact of which no ordinary observer in New England can be ignorant. And yet, as our pages in previous years will show, the plain inferences from this fact have been uniformly and pertinaciously denied by those whom they chiefly affected.

Having disposed of Miss B's experience and testimony, we now proceed to a more direct consideration of the leading point in her book, viz: the alledged connection between the prevailing doctrine of original sin and the general inefficiency

if not positive neglect of early Christian training. Her handling of this doctrine is a curiosity, as well for its logic as for its Scriptural exegesis. As between Christians we do not consider the doctrine open for debate. If there be anything in the whole range of Theology which the Church may be deemed to have settled by its universal and continuous sanction, it is this. All forms and kinds of evidence combine with singular unanimity for its confirmation. From Genesis to Revelation, God's Word presents an unvarying witness, its teaching growing clearer and clearer as it approaches the advent of the remedy. History finds it impossible to take but one view. Wherever facts have obliged it to fall back upon a theory of human nature, it has never been able to discover but one with which those facts would harmonize. Individual experience echoes that of the race as found in its annals since time began. While reason, whether proceeding deductively or inductively—from principles to facts or from facts to principles—has never been able to escape the unpleasant conclusion, that every soul is born with a nature inclined to evil by reason of a transmitted corruption. Effects prove not only the existence of a cause, but the nature of the effects proves the nature of the cause. In this case the effects are uniformly, universally, and continuously evil; therefore the cause must be evil. What always and under all circumstances when left to itself works wrong, must be wrong. The derangement must be in the principle, not merely in its operation. It cannot be accidental or circumstantial—and if removed at all it must be by the application of a remedy deeper and mightier than itself. It could be only a radical, internal evil of this sort that would relieve the language of Scripture, in respect to our natural estate, from the charge of exaggeration. It was an evil felt to be at the very core of our moral being—and such only that drew from St. Paul that cry of agony, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" It was to a disorder no less than one reaching to the very sources of life, that the fathers, following in the wake of Scripture, gave such names as these; *mali tradux*, a transmitted or inherited evil; *malum domesticum*, an evil within the soul's household; *infusum et coagulum delictorum contagium*, the infused and concentrated contagion of all offenses, also *peccati contagium ex origine*, a sinful taint from the beginning; and lastly, *naturæ vitium*, the vice or defect of nature. These brief phrases sufficiently embody the spirit of patristic testimony.

Now to all these proofs, which together rise to the certainty of a demonstration, Miss B. opposes assertion, hypothesis,

some practical difficulties in education, and, above all, her own *intuition* of Divine justice. Her formula is, God could not do so and so; therefore, He has not done so and so; forgetting that it is hardly within her capacity to measure and definitively settle the possibilities of God's action: and next, that Original Sin—the subject of the argument—is said to be original in reference to man, the second cause, and in no respect in reference to God, the first cause. All sin, both original and actual, according to the terms of its definition, is the result of rebellion against God's law, and therefore, whatever its consequences, can cast no imputation upon the Divine justice. Our nature before the fall was good, and so far as it is the work of God, it is good still. Its substance is good; its faculties of rational action are good; and so far, God is their creator and preserver. But the sin which is in them, and of them, is the product of the abused freedom of Adam, whose corruption and disorder became those of the race, because he was the root and federal head of the whole family of man. But these are the common-places of Theology, and they need not here be enlarged upon.

There is a strong family likeness among all the assailants of this doctrine. It shows itself nowhere more prominently than in their style of argument. They treat the Scripture as a subordinate element in the discussion, adjusting its testimony to a preconceived theory, and interpreting its explicit, doctrinal language, so as to square with the assumed necessities of rational conviction. They argue all points as though the light were in themselves, and the obscurity were in the Word of God. They illuminate Revelation, not Revelation them. They reveal Revelation, not receive it. And then, they are so amiably oblivious of a fact which, to the wise, always teaches humility and distrust—the fact, namely, that their method of getting rid of one difficulty drives them into others far more formidable. This work leaves no room for doubt as to the family to which its author belongs. It is none other than that "Happy Family," who agree only in a joint assault upon the old dogmatic statements of Christianity, while engaged in a perpetual internal quarrel about what are and what are not the *intuitions* of reason.

Miss B's method is essentially the same as that of Francis Newman and Theodore Parker. She begins with axioms—intuitive convictions of the understanding and the conscience. On this she builds a philosophy of thought, duty, and life. Before this philosophy, as the supreme tribunal, she cites the Word of God for trial and judgment. And the sentence in this case is, that it teaches nothing contrary to the theory of a

perfect mental and moral organization, and gives no countenance to the doctrine of hereditary depravity. Theodore Parker erects a like tribunal, and makes a like citation, the only difference consisting in a slightly enlarged list of axioms; the result is, that we have no Revelation at all, in the ordinary sense: what we call so, being only the religious consciousness of the best and purest minds of the race cast into the shape of a written record. Francis Newman gives another stretch to the intuitional authority of reason, and from the same tribunal of criticism, gives sentence that there is not only no Revelation in fact, but that there *can be none* in a literal, written form. We will not say of Miss B., *gnosceatur a sociis*, in any other sense than in respect to her method of reasoning upon the themes of Revealed Religion. She gives ample evidence of her attachment to all of the Christian scheme which she does not reject. And yet, curiously enough, she announces her intention to devote a distinct branch of a forthcoming volume to an argument in favor of the necessity and probability of a Revelation, while expressing her "disgust and abhorrence at the Atoning Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST," and her contempt and dislike for the "dogma" of the birth-sin of human nature. Take away the Fall of Man, and Redemption purchased by the Sacrifice of CHRIST—take away, in other words, the necessity and the gift of Redemption, and the great mass of dying souls would care little for an argument from Miss B., or anybody else, to prove the existence of that which, by its very nature, was worthless as a remedy, and therefore a delusion and a cheat.

We come now to the practical side of the book before us, the importance of early training, the general neglect of such training, and the causes of this neglect. With much here urged upon the first point, we cordially agree. The Chapter on Habit, its nature, formation and influence, contains many valuable suggestions. Much of it is doubtless the fruit of long and careful observation in the discipline of young minds. Its only fault is that which is common to the whole work, attributing to nature more than belongs to it, and denying to Divine agency its proper place in the regeneration and development of moral character. What is said of right habits in themselves, the facility with which they may be formed, if the attempt be early begun; their subsequent power in securing the ends of virtue, and in embracing the whole moral action of the soul, as well as in modifying and perfecting the proportions and combinations of its constitutional powers, is true, but so far as the ultimate end of culture is concerned, it is

true only on the presumption of right relations subsisting between nature and grace. Habit is an auxiliary to Christian character, but not its source. Its office is to mature something already begun. It is an instrument to be employed in the service of a principle anterior to and nobler than itself. If religiously good, if acting in conformity to a Divine rule, it arises out of and blends with the energies of a supernatural order. Thus defined and affiliated, its value and importance can hardly be overrated.

As to the neglect of Christian nurture, the source of right moral habits, there can be no question as to its lamentable prevalence. The evidence is everywhere painfully abundant. No Christian duty is more generally disregarded, or, where attempted, more imperfectly done. The generation now entering upon responsible life is a many-tongued witness to the fact. Look where we will, the evil stares us in the face. We see it in our religion; we feel it in society, in business, in politics. It is thrust upon us by the disorders of family government, and the diminished authority of law. Even the ordinary, staple virtues which are often found unallied with any great purity of life or elevation of purpose, as honesty in secular dealings, fidelity to contracts, reverence for truth as between man and man, respect for the decrees of judiciaries, a high sense of personal honor, even these are rapidly perishing from the hearts of the busy masses.

The causes for this state of things are various, and will be as variously rated as there are different schools of opinion. Miss Beecher attributes this sad decay in Christian nurture to the influence of the birth-sin doctrine, and to what she believes to be the consequent attitude of the whole Church upon the subject of early training. She asserts, that "The whole energies of the Church, in its distinctive character, are organized to remedy the evil *after the mind is educated wrong*, while little is attempted by the agency of organization to secure its *right education*," and that this misdirection of ecclesiastical energy is owing to the prevailing view of the native depravity of the human mind. She is, no doubt, well informed upon everything pertaining to the several Denominations. And yet it would not be strange if her zeal in the defense and propagation of a favorite theory should have led her to overstate some of their troubles and failures. For this reason, we think it fair to abate somewhat from her declarations of fact, as well as from her argumentative inferences. We do not believe that in any one of the Christian bodies of the land, there is such a total misemployment of energy in religious training as she rep-

resents. The work they appear to be doing is done very inefficiently. Much time and strength, we know, are wasted by them on plans partially or radically defective, but not, in our opinion, to the extent she claims. The duty of early nurture is generally recognized, though its importance to personal religion is variously estimated. Views upon this are toned and modified by what is held in regard to the elements, conditions, and tests of individual conversion.

But admitting the case to be as bad as Miss B. describes it, her mode of accounting for it is fallacious and unsatisfactory. She is in error as to the true causes. She names, indeed, but one, and that a wrong one. Her autobiography shows, it seems to us, that her early training was a failure, not because of the orthodox view of human nature, not because of the received idea of "a propagated incapacity," but because of a one-sided and defective apprehension of the remedy. It was produced, not by the true view of human nature, but by the distorted view of the scheme revealed for the healing of its malady. There was a sundering of things which God had joined together. The first Adam was made to appear in subjective effect more prominently than the second Adam. Federal headship was presented in all its universality on the side of ruin, while Federal headship on the side of redemption was presented under limitations at once partial and dispiriting. The gulf opened by the birth-sin was disclosed in all its depth of terror and abasement, while the means of escape were shut up within the grasp of an absolute decree, one of whose lessons to man was that only an elect few would be the subjects of the saving grace it controlled and dispensed. That, verily, is a paralyzing as well as gloomy Theology, which rises on the one side out of the doctrine of "total depravity," and on the other out of the doctrines of "election" and "limited atonement;" true in its estimate of human impotence, but untrue in its estimate of the fullness and freeness of redeeming grace. Here theologically was "the dreadful mistake" which so haunted the mind of Miss B., and which, singularly enough, her acute and thoughtful intellect failed to discover and expose. Right views of the mission and offices of Christ—right views of the atonement, and the means of applying its benefits—right views of the Church in its relations to the individual soul, would have relieved her of this "dreadful mistake," and harmonized, to her conception, the Divine economy with the birth-facts of human nature. Whatever disasters, then, to our nurture, this work attributes to "the prevailing notion of original sin," we regard as due to an erroneous dividing of

the Word of God, and a defective apprehension as well as use of His redemptive scheme.

But the work of Christian nurture has been crippled by other causes than this. Prominent among these is the "Revival" method of recruiting the Church. Though now in comparative disgrace, it was some years since held in high esteem by the several Denominations of the country. It was generally regarded by them as the most effective instrumentality for the conversion of souls. The Church's future was made to depend on the use which believers made of it. By its power, congregations were born anew in a day. It brought with it new tests of Christian character, and new forms of Christian experience. For a time, it put literally a new face upon much of the Christianity of the land. It created Pentecostal days at will, and inspired many of its chosen and successful laborers with the feeling that their gifts were not only special, but only less than apostolic and miraculous. It had its trial upon a large scale, both in respect of time and souls. It brought forth fruit other than that which was immediately gathered, an after crop so full of all manner of tares as first to diminish the confidence, and then to chill the zeal of its advocates. It is now the common opinion in quarters where it once obtained most favor, that, as a movement, it was abnormal and extreme, and that as a standard means for the spread of religion, it was impossible in itself, and fraught with serious dangers to Christian faith and order.

For the present, it is our purpose to deal with only one of its evils. Before doing this, however, we would say that while condemning the technical "Revival" system, and recording our estimate of its pernicious consequences to one of the most solemn and momentous interests of the Christian world, we would avow our full conviction that God's Spirit does at times accompany the means of grace with unwonted power, with such power as to bring the careless to repentance, and to renew and invigorate, as by special interposition, the waning spiritual life of his people. In saying this, we say only what every Prayer Book Churchman will cordially assent to, and what the work of many a Lenten season fully confirms.

Of the Revival scheme, it is not the worst evil that it makes piety to consist in fervid exercises of feeling, nor that it multiplies false conversions and spurious experiences, ending in an unscriptural, disordered type of religion; nor yet, that it breeds neglect of the ordinary means of grace, stimulating by the special until the regular becomes distasteful; but that it

turns Christian ministers and Christian parents away from that essential and commanding duty of a living Church, the training of children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Here is its most fatal result. In this form, many Com-munions are to-day reaping its bitter fruits. They abandoned a great law of God's spiritual kingdom for an invention of their own. They exchanged organic life for a life that was exceptional, and therefore, in its continuous action, artificial. They forsook the covenant basis of growth, and gave up the permanent power of discipline, for the methods and appli-ances of immediate and conscious conversion. And the result is the dark picture drawn by Miss B. of the present state of Christian nurture among them. Under such a policy, it was a simple necessity that Baptism should come to be esteemed worthless, neither giving nor assuring, and scarcely promising grace; that family training should be overlooked, and pasto-ral instruction of the young disregarded. The logic which dispensed with these was brief and plain. Why spread over years of watchful, unceasing labor, what some approaching "Revival" would accomplish in a day or week? Why toil on slowly, with here a little and there a little, word upon word, and precept upon precept, when the task could be as well done, if not better, by the concentrated energy of such a season when Bible, and sermon, and prayer, and hymn, and anxious seat would be clothed with a Divine power? So rea-soned the parent by his fireside, and so reasoned the pastor in his study. And so, too, pretty much ceased the parent's and the pastor's proper work, and with them all reverent and faith-ful use of the Sacraments.

From the Revival theory as a cause of decaying energy in Christian nurture, the transition is easy to another cause whose power it has contributed not a little to advance. We refer to the theory and practice of popular education now in the as-cendant. These, though effects of theological and political tendencies that began to work during the last generation, de-serve to be regarded now as one of the causes of the lessened attention to Christian nurture. They have, for some time past, been efficient auxiliaries in promoting the state of things out of which they partially sprang. Indifference to creeds and confessions, and to the instruction founded upon them, ob-tained in the sphere of religion before it obtained in the di-rection and government of the Public School system. That system would never have drifted into its present isolation from all definite, doctrinal Christianity, if the prevailing religion of the country had been thoroughly grounded upon a dogmatic

platform. A completely secularized, irreligious, popular education, was the necessary offspring of an undoctinal, creedless Christianity. What Christians did not care to defend ecclesiastically, the masses were not likely to reverence when they were called to pass upon the question how much or how little of Christianity their School system should recognize. In this form, then, our School system has aided and abetted the decay of Christian nurture. It has promoted the undogmatic spirit of the time. It has said, and by its practice continues to say, that Christian morals are separable from Christian truth, and that the life of Christianity can be had without its doctrines and institutions. Now, it would be idle to occupy our space with an argument to prove that all sound and effective religious nurture must rest upon and be fed by definite convictions of truth. Training without doctrine, training without a creed, training without a platform and guide for the teacher and the taught, is an absurdity, a rope of sand, mere leaves and branches without a living root. But this is not the only sense in which our popular education has damaged the cause of religious training. It appears to be what it is not, and to do what it does not. It claims the dignity and prerogatives of a discipline coextensive with the whole nature of man, while in fact its province is confined almost entirely to the intellectual side of that nature. The indiscriminating and the careless—and these are always the majority—fail to see this as they ought. The system is called education. It means to them more than it means in itself. They hear the word, and instinctively associate with it an ethical element. They take it for granted that there can be no education which does not train the will and affections as well as the brain. Thus the very name becomes a deception, while the thing itself is even worse in the consequences to which, under these circumstances, it may lead. The moral nature is uncared for, no direct effort being made in its behalf, under the supposition that it is already under the guardianship of what wears the title and assumes the task of a system of education. In this way, religious nurture is thrust one side in the popular estimate, its appropriate work being indirectly, or at least nominally assumed elsewhere, and yet where assumed, methodically neglected. Such, according to our view, are the causes of that sore evil over which our author mourns, and in which the wise cannot but see a sad omen for the future of Christendom.

In conclusion, we shall invite our readers' attention to a brief comparison of the several systems of Christian nurture which have, from time to time, been the subjects of discussion and

trial. These schemes are four in number. We shall treat of them briefly and in general terms, our object being to state and range them side by side, not to argue for or against either. Of their value and adaptation there are three reliable tests—viz : the word of God, our own nature, and actual experience.

I. The first of these systems of Christian nurture is that presented in the work before us. It has had various names according to the modifications it has undergone, or rather according to the sources of the errors it has successively embodied. It may as it now stands be styled indifferently, Pelagian, Socinian, or Unitarian, the first referring to a theory of human nature running up to a theory of the Godhead, the second and third to a theory of the Godhead running down into one of human nature. Error at either point logically develops into error at the other. This system of nurture claims for man a perfect and sinless organization at birth. It affirms his natural power to please God in virtue of that organization. It regards all sin as originating in conscious volition, and that but for influences and circumstances extraneous to the will its action would be as perfect as would be possible, in our present grade of intelligence and moral capacity. Its hope lies in a harmonious and comprehensive culture, which, while it develops from within, will remove obstacles from without. It accepts as necessary auxiliaries the agency of the Holy Spirit, the truth, example, and offices of Christ, together with such ecclesiastical institutions as existing emergencies in life and society may require. As might be presumed from its view of our natural state and its estimate of the character of sin, it looks upon Calvary merely as the scene of the world's grandest martyrdom, and upon the atonement as a figure of speech—a convenient phrase for setting forth the agency of truth and example in freeing humanity from the guilt and dominion of transgression.

The advocates of this system differ somewhat in the statement of details ; and each, doubtless, would see something to dissent from in our own ; but we believe we have given the substance accurately ; and the amount of it all is that reason accepts Revelation as a supplement to itself, Christ as a guide, and the spirit as an indwelling, divine influence persuading to the right and thus bracing the native power of the will. Of course it is only by courtesy that such a scheme can be called Christian, or the nurture it gives distinctively religious. If a spiritual discipline resting on such principles be all we need—or in itself true, then the Church has been all wrong from the beginning, and its holiest children have shaped themselves

upon an exaggerated ideal, and bequeathed a type of experience more lovely and exalted than their faith demanded:—then, too, must the best natures who have adorned our race be convicted of having displayed an artificial agony in their warfare with sin and in their terror at the consequences of guilt; and, following upon these, the Scriptures themselves must be rewritten, the Church reorganized, and the experience of mankind reversed,—things none of which are at all likely.

II. The second system of Christian nurture is that of Calvinism. This abases human nature to the last degree and correspondingly exalts the Divine sovereignty. It represents us as coming into the world with a nature inherently corrupt, bringing with it a birth-sin derived from Adam, and utterly impotent to do any acts well pleasing to God. It receives all that Revelation offers—its peculiarity consisting in the manner in which it combines and methodizes what it there receives. It gives a prominent place to Baptism, regarding the Baptized as brought into a divine covenant, and as thereby enabled to partake of all the benefits of redemption. It treats them relatively and presumptively as children of God, members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven. And yet, while teaching the Baptismal basis of nurture, it makes the grace of Baptism and all its results contingent upon election. Grace may or may not go with it, those only receive it who are the elect, for it is only the elect who shall be saved, and it is only to such as shall be saved that grace is given; for once given it is irresistible and cannot fail of its end. Thus the Calvinistic system tends to neutralize the motive power of the divine promises. Not content to leave the secret counsels of God where they belong, it places them between the individual soul and the means of redemption. Mysteries of God's will are not allowed to remain in the background, but are thrust forward into the van of Revealed truth, and made to wield a practical influence due only to the doctrines which more immediately concern the soul's commencement and progress in the divine life. In this way it cripples both the work of nature and the work of grace. It plants the germ of discouragement in the soil of Christian hope. It leaves room for doubt, and thereby tempts to inaction, where it should use the language of assurance and certainty. It seems inevitable that in the average of mankind human exertion, whether that of pastor, parent, or child, should languish under a nurture which so insists upon the universality and virulence of the disease and, in the same breath, upon the mysterious limitations of the cure. To nerve souls for the great contest, to keep their eye

fixed upon the crown of life, to animate them with confidence in the unceasing warfare with the world, the flesh, and the devil, to inspire them with the conviction that the daily dying is the path to immortality, they must be made to see themselves through the plan of God's saving mercy, and to measure their ruin in the first Adam, not so much by itself, as by the fulness and freeness of their restoration in the second. It is against this nurture of high Calvinism that Miss Beecher enters her solemn protest in the form of personal experience and theoretical argument. To it she traces the influences which have so dwarfed and enfeebled much of the religious training of the day. And from it she here proclaims her own hard wrought emancipation, exchanging, alas! Calvinistic bondage for rationalistic license. In this she does not stand alone. She represents an immense constituency. Her words upon these matters are to-day virtually the words of uncounted thousands east and west whose fathers rejoiced in the old paths of New England.

III. The meagre and inefficient nurture connected with, if not, as our author contends, arising out of strong Calvinistic doctrine, induced, a few years since, serious thought as to the remedy. The subject was agitated by various Ministerial Associations in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Leading minds were more or less anxiously engaged in discussing it. The most noteworthy scheme was that proposed by Rev. Dr. Bushnell, who made a special examination of the subject under an appointment from the Association to which he belonged. This scheme was endorsed and published by the "Massachusetts Sabbath School Society," though the publication of it was subsequently suspended on account of the divided state of feeling in regard to its merits. It declared that Preaching, Revivals, and all the means of sudden, conscious conversion, had been unduly magnified. It declared that the hope of the Church was in early Christian training, that there was a divinely instituted connexion between the religion of parents and that of their children, that moral character was transmissible, that it was largely formed by influences antecedent to any exercise of the will and of which the subject was more or less unconscious. It claimed that nurture was essentially organic, not individual, in its sources—that it arose out of an internal as well as external relationship to others, and not out of exercises proceeding upon the conscious and personal appropriation of the truth and institutions of Christianity. It represented, in effect, that spiritual life was transmitted from parent to child

by a law analogous to that which regulated the transmission of physical life. It placed the organic element of spiritual life in the natural bond existing between parent and child. This theory of Dr. Bushnell said little of the agency of positive institutions in Christian training—for the reason that it aimed to set forth more particularly the inherent connexion and causation on which depended the transmission of moral life. It did not deny that agency—though assigning it a position of inferior, contingent influence. The logical effect of this view was to reduce the supernatural in the work of Christian nurture almost to zero; and Baptism with the Covenant it embodies to the level of a merely visible, sacramental exhibition of the operations of a natural law, to whose antecedent and independent virtue it gave the seal of a special and public attestation. The merit of this scheme consisted in its revival of the organic as opposed to the exclusively individual character of Christian training. Its fault consisted in finding this organic power in the natural relation between parent and child; and not where it really and properly is, viz: in the supernatural relation between the child and the Church—a relation begun and sealed in Holy Baptism. It confined the organic to the family, instead of extending it to the household of Christ—the one divine and eternal embodiment of the redemptive relation assumed by the Second Adam when He took upon Himself the seed of Abraham.

It will be observed that of these three systems the first and the third agree in the common feature of *naturalism*—though arriving at it by very different processes; while the second gives to the *supernatural*—the essentially and exclusively *Christian*—its due prominence: but abates its normal influence as the alone power of regeneration, by making its dispensation contingent upon a decree as secret as it is absolute.

IV. We come now to the Church System of nurture, which we believe to be sanctioned by Scripture, right reason, and Catholic usage. As an outward thing it appears initially in Holy Baptism, progressively in the Catechism and in Confirmation, and in respect of fulness of privilege finally in the Holy Eucharist. It represents spiritual life as like Christianity itself, consisting of Evangelical, Moral, and Sacramental elements. It treats that life, as having its source in God, as coming to man as a free and unmerited gift, and as advancing gradually toward perfection by the diligent use of all the appointed means of grace. It regards that life as so

given to the soul as that if the will coöperate, it will grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength, revealing itself more and more as the slowly maturing *habit* of a sanctified nature. It lays the foundation of Christian nurture in something that God actually gives, not in a presumption or promise of something to be given. It treats the Sacrament whereby He acts for and upon the infant soul as a sign, channel, and pledge—as representing, conveying, and sealing some thing—and as, therefore, vital as well as formal. Out of the Baptismal vow it develops personal Christianity—thus in the very genesis of the new life combining together while keeping distinct the organic and the individual. The vow itself is individual, the Sacrament which authenticates the vow is organic. The validity of the Sacrament depends upon the organic fact of its right administration; whereas the efficacy of the Sacrament depends, in infants, on its validity, and, in adults, on acts which the recipient is alone competent to perform—the acts namely of faith and repentance.

This system says to the child so soon as he becomes capable of voluntary action, by no act of your own you came into the world an inheritor of death; so, too, by no act of your own you have been made an inheritor of life. Whatever you were in virtue of your birth according to the flesh, you are now in title, in privilege, in relationship, and moral capacity the subject of a second birth which came supernaturally by water and the Spirit. This second birth, the work of God's sovereign grace, and possible only through the atoning merits of Christ, has restored every condition of personal responsibility. Though the infection of your evil nature still remains, yet you have been so quickened and endowed that you can and ought to do works well-pleasing to God. The power to believe and repent is yours, and yours will be the guilt of its neglect or abuse. You are addressed as a Christian, you are treated as a Christian, and yours is the ability to be a Christian, and as such you will be judged. God has done what He could for you, and if you will do what you can for yourself, all will be well. You have been redeemed, and it is now left for you to say whether that redemption shall be annulled in its influence, or carried forward into personal, experimental holiness. Everything you *believe* is connected with something you are to *do* and something you are to *pray for*. "What you have you are bound to pray that you may get, what you *are* you pray to *be*, and by praying continually become. That which clear revelations, visible providences,

authentic Sacraments assure you that you have been made, you are commanded, encouraged, every way obliged to realize."*

Such is the general tone and drift of the Church System. Its merits are manifold and conspicuous. It takes human nature as it is with all its difficulties, and without pausing to see what philosophy says about them; looks to a supernatural and divine power for relief. It admits the disease and casts itself upon God for the remedy. It sees life in the second Adam as plainly as it sees death in the first, and it recognizes a way by which that life can be made to counterwork this death anterior to any exercise of our own voluntary power. It makes discipline, nurture, moral growth begin before belief or volition. The new mould, the heavenly type into which life is to be run, is set independently of any conscious act of the subject. The organic precedes the individual, and creates the conditions under which the individual goes into action. And so the labors of parents, sponsors, teachers and pastors, in behalf of the unfolding soul, have a secure basis whereon to rest. God has gone before them, and they build on what he has done untrammelled by the possible contingencies of his secret counsels. Christian nurture thus originated and conditioned, carries with it the most abundant encouragements to faithful action:—encouragements not more adapted to the immediate subjects of this nurture, than to those who work in their behalf as representatives of the training functions of the Church. Its language is that of hope and assurance; it speaks to the soul not only of divine promises, but of a covenant gift of moral power, and by that gift measures individual responsibility. If it magnifies the Sacrament, it correspondingly magnifies the personal, subjective conditions of its final efficacy; if it takes an exalted view of what God has done for us, it takes just as exalted a view of what we are bound to do for ourselves. Early and profound as is the influence it assigns to acts of a federal, organic character, not less is that which it attributes to the revived, regenerated freedom of the individual will. It so uses Holy Baptism as to guard it against profanation by finding in it a depth and compass of meaning which can alone preserve its sacredness, while it prevents the reverence which is its due from degenerating into superstition or idolatry, by the stress which it lays on the answer of a good conscience toward God—an answer possible only on the supposition of the personal acts of faith and repentance.

* Coleridge's Scriptural Character of the Church.

We have not space to consider objections to this system. The central and important one is, that it not only verges toward, but ultimately ends in the *opus operatum* principle—thereby in substance, resolving religion into a gift mechanically imparted and mechanically continued. This objection, it seems to us, is fully met, first, by the vitality which God has lodged in his Sacramental dispensations, and, second, by the large and unceasing demand made by this system of nurture upon personal agency in carrying out the conditions of the Baptismal Covenant, and in bringing to perfection the free and unmerited gift of regeneration considered as the cause, not the effect, the beginning, not the attainment of spiritual life. In this system, and this only, will Miss Beecher and those who think with her, find the main desiderata after which they seek in the great task of Christian education. Here, and here only, will they find a solid foundation, continuous growth, orderly maturing, and final conformity through the instrumentality of right spiritual habits to the law of God, as set forth in the image of Jesus Christ. Here, and here only, will they find in harmony, the facts of a fallen nature and the demands of Divine Revelation. Here, and here only, will they behold the Church in its true relations to the nurture of individual souls—wielding authority enough to preserve the unity and power of discipline, and granting liberty enough to secure the development of a devout, manly, and well balanced piety. It will be a fortunate result of their present errors, if, by them, they shall at last be brought to feel the necessity of such a refuge.

BOOK NOTICES.

OLD CHURCHES, MINISTERS, AND FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA. By BISHOP MEADE. In two Volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 490, 495.

We have evinced our own deep interest in these "Old Churches and Ministers" of Virginia by the labor and expense which we have formerly incurred in sketching several of these old Church edifices, and in tracing the early history of a number of the most ancient parishes. If, as has been said, the Baptism of Pocahontas is, for moral sublimity, unequalled in the history of the modern Church, so the whole history of the Church in that State, where first on these Western shores, the Cross was planted, is the property of us all. The almost utter failure of the early Church in Virginia, with all its *prestige* of wealth and rank, and with the rich treasures of faith, and prayer, and self sacrifice, and consistency of principle, amid which the foundations of that Church were laid,—this failure, we say, opens up grave questions and involves grave principles not to be met by superficial and pert assertions. Even as late as A. D. 1811, the Church in Virginia had no representation in the General Convention, although Bishop Madison had been at the head of that Diocese for twenty years; and the Church was reported to be "in danger of total ruin." The loose morals and the equally loose Churchmanship which had long disgraced the Diocese; the inefficiency, the timidity, and other natural disqualifications of its first Bishop for such a post of difficulty, when infidelity was stalking boldly over the land; the moral cowardice of her sons, which saw her princely endowments trampled upon and perverted, without such a remonstrance as the sacrilege deserved; and the overshadowed and halting condition of the Church, even now—these, and such as these, are facts which meet us in the history of the Church in Virginia. Mr. Anderson's History of the Colonial Churches of England, now before us, will give us an opportunity for a full examination of our early Colonial Church History, and we therefore dismiss the general subject here.

Bishop Meade's connection with some of the oldest families in Virginia, and his long protracted ministry—his Episcopate numbering nearly thirty years—have given him peculiar opportunities for gathering these sketches of old Churches, old Ministers and old Families of his native State. Old Vestry books, old family records and papers, inscriptions on monuments, &c., &c., have thus been fortunately sought out and rescued from the devouring tooth of time; and these full volumes sufficiently attest the Bishop's diligent research and unwearied labor. Many of these names, also, have a national reputation; and their record will be read beyond the limits of their native State. The Bishop gives the most satisfactory proof, that WASHINGTON was a truly religious man, and a communicant in the Church. He rebuts also the calumny, that, on one occasion, WASHINGTON was guilty of profanity. With a sketch of the early and disastrous history of the Virginia Church, the Bishop also notices the indications and the instrumentalities of a brighter day even now dawning upon her, over which multitudes of hearts will rejoice all over the country.

We trust that these volumes, full of so much that is self sacrificing and heroic, and of so much that is painful and mortifying, will strike a chord in the breasts of thousands of the noble sons of Virginia that has not heretofore been touched; and that it will lead them to rally with fresh zeal around a cause hallowed by such sacred associations of the past, and fraught with such glorious promises for the future.

MARRIED OR SINGLE! By the author of "Hope Leslie," "Redwood," "Home," &c., &c. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 261, 284. New Haven: E. Downes.

"Married or Single!" is not a religious novel, and was not designed to be. The author says, "it might seem natural and decorous, that one approaching the limit of human life should—if writing at all—write a book strictly religious, but the novel (and to that guild we belong) does not seem to us the legitimate vehicle of strictly religious teaching. Secular affairs should be permeated by the spirit of the altar and the temple, but not brought within the temple's holy precincts." And this explanation, false as it is in theory, we give in the outset in view of the criticism which we shall hereafter make upon the work. Her object in writing it, is, the "raising the single women of our country to the comparatively honorable level they occupy in England—anything to drive away the smile already fading from the lips of all but the vulgar at the name of old maid." But Miss Sedgewick's well-written story has, we fear, no such power; snobism and vulgarity must for a long time, rule the masses even of the fashionable among us. The absence of any one permanent element of true culture operating upon society; the constant upheaving of our social elements leveling all social distinctions; the absence of any recognized test of "respectability;" and worst of all, the want of power to elevate and refine in the popular religionism of the day; all this is enough to prevent the realization of the author's ideal. As a mere work of art, Miss Sedgewick has not been successful in throwing any special charm around a life of single-blessedness. Her imagination does not begin to approach in moral beauty realities which exist as facts in society. Still, she has in several respects written a good book. She has exposed, skillfully and boldly, many of the wants and defects of our social life. She has probed thoroughly the gangrene festering at the very heart of much that passes as "genteel society." She has, for example, exposed the mercenary baseness, the legalized prostitution which really characterizes so much of modern match-making, fruitful as it is in domestic misery and social vice; and so far she has done a good thing. She has punctured a bubble and shown up a sham. She has, at least, done something to snub the vulgar, cheer the mortified, and to teach some of our young girls—that is, if we have any young girls now-a-days—that the chief end of woman is not to get married. In all this, the work is worthy of the ripe genius and culture which sit so gracefully upon the author in the mellow evening twilight of her declining years. The story lacks plot, and the plan lacks unity; yet the well-assorted marriage of Eleanor Herbert and the Rev. Mr. Esterly; the ill-assorted match which was so near coming off between Grace Herbert and Horace Copley, a high-bred, elegant young man, so eligible in the eyes of ambitious mammas, but so thoroughly rotten and unprincipled in heart and life; the grossness of social vice more than winked at in what calls itself aristocracy, and, in depicting which, Miss Sedgewick's pen has not gone beyond the limits of truth;—all this, the author has described with the skill and power of her unquestionable genius. But what then? Has she, in her portrait of Grace Herbert, so noble and true-hearted, and who was married, too, at last, given the true type of "single" woman? Not at all; here is the radical defect in the *morale* of her story. The only true type of woman, "married or single," is the Christian woman; and Miss Sedgewick would have thrown a more radiant beauty and a diviner power around her ideal, if she had set the Cross upon the coronet. Here is the only true basis of true and lofty culture, and of true happiness, in man or woman, but most of all in woman. And when the Church as a living Body begins to fulfill its mission in our country, then, and never till then, will woman begin fully to realize and rejoice in her true position; for then, like an angel of Mercy, a true sister of Charity, she will be seen doing her duty in that state of life to which Providence may have called her—and that, whether she be "married or single." The English woman is, we admit, of a nobler type than the American; yet it is only because she has

been educated in a truly Christian school ; because there, rather than with us, she is still found last at the Cross and earliest at the Sepulchre of her Lord.

And, besides, Miss Sedgewick in her idea of Matrimony evidently looks upon that holy Ordinance from a merely worldly point of view ; the result, doubtless, of her Unitarian habits of thought and feeling ; rather than as a divine institution, a deep mystery, (our Homiles call it a Sacrament,) and holy in the positive blessing wherewith God doth sanctify it. Indeed, there is a cold rationalism pervading the entire work, naturally enough to be looked for in the popular novels of the day, but to be pointed out and marked when flowing from such a pen as this, professing to describe Society "permeated by the spirit of the Altar and the Temple." The work itself is a forcible illustration of the inherent powerlessness of Unitarianism to meet the spiritual wants of humanity, whether organic or individual.

THE NORTH-WEST COAST; or Three Years Residence in Washington Territory.

By JAMES G. SWAN. With numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 435. New Haven: E. Downes.

The three years of Mr. Swan's residence in Washington, terminated in 1855, and the information which he gives on some important points is as late as the present year. This Territory, numbering in all now a population of only about fifteen thousand, is, by nature, one of the finest countries in the world ; its climate is far milder than that of the same latitude east of the Mountains ; though mountainous to a great extent, it has an abundance of prairies and valleys, with a soil of inexhaustible fertility ; its forests are the noblest in the world ; its mineral resources are rich and varied ; its harbors are the safest on the Pacific coast ; its navigable Bays and Rivers are numerous, and stocked with every variety of fish ; and the best whaling "grounds" in the Pacific are off its coast. The two or three concluding chapters of the volume, on the conduct of our Government in treating with the Indians, and on the history, character and policy of the Hudson Bay Company, are specially valuable. A considerable part of the volume is taken up with an account of the frontier life of the author, fishing, hunting, traveling, &c., and mostly in the neighborhood of Shoal-Water Bay ; and with the incidents of his experience in that new country. The author, however, is better at telling a story, than in playing the philosopher ; and he ought to have known that the theories of Nott, and Gliddon, and Agassiz, on the origin of the Indian races, are as foreign to Science and Reason as they are to Revelation. But the book is both readable and valuable.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH MONTHLY. August, 1857.

We are surprised to see in this No. of the "Church Monthly" a second defense of our "Common School System," *as a system* ; and an intimation that the Editor "has a heap (!) more to say on the subject." He charges, that the attempt to combine the teaching of a positive Christianity (or what we regard as such) with the intellectual culture of our children, has its source "in a radically sectarian spirit." We say, we are surprised at such a charge as this from such a source. We would expect to meet it in Greeley's Tribune, or to hear it from Theodore Parker, or the ultra men of the Taylor School, or from George Combe, or from any of the German neologists. But, come whence it may, we assure the Editor that it is wretched philosophy and worse theology. It is a root error which branches out and reaches the whole circle of Truth. That wrong-headed man, George Combe, states this question forcibly, but we have no room to quote him. The Old School Presbyterians of our country have already taken positive ground in view of the Infidel tendency of our Common School System, *as such*. There are some thoughts upon the general subject in our present No. in the Article on Miss Beecher's late book, to which we ask the reader's attention. We give, also, an extract from a late speech of Mr. Gladstone, M. P., which is worth reading in this connection :

"One other purpose—and a more noble purpose of classical literature—I cannot help alluding to. We live in times when there is a very heavy strain on religion—when the understanding of man, I will not say because it is more vigorous, but because it is more restless and sceptical than before, is more than ever disposed, I will not say professedly, but is disposed to question how far all our civilization and all our eternal blessings are due to Christianity, or to an indefinite something different from Christianity, or different from Christianity as understood in former times. They let slip the great gift of revelation, and say we can get on very well without it. Now, to those who are under the pressure of that temptation—and I must confess my belief that it is most formidable, seeing that we live at a time when it is nearly universal—is it possible that any experience can be more salutary to us than that presented to us in the histories of the Greek and Roman people! These histories say to us on the one hand and on the other, in various tones, but taking them in combination they undoubtedly say, that with the powers of the mind developed in a degree which we have no reason ever to expect to be surpassed, and with regret I have some reason to ask whether we can expect their results ever to be equalled—we see the human faculties carried to a point rarely if ever to be attained—we see the social organization not less wonderful than the qualities of the individual man, but the Divine light was gone, and that gone, to what did they all come! It was a course of progressive moral decline. As ages went on, and as the works of genius accumulated, and as the highest point of possible accomplishment in art was attained, the heart of man became more and more corrupt, and the basest vices were everywhere installed side by side with those wonderful accomplishments of human intellect and genius. I would ask, is it possible to see vices more awfully and clearly developed than when we turn back to the histories of Greece and Rome! And when we see that all their lofty intellectual attainments could not teach the secret of human happiness and could not stop the folly of the human heart—when we see that man became more and more the victim of his own vices until he became a crumbling mass of pollution—do we not learn a lesson of deep practical import! We learn that it is not only in the education of the intellectual faculties, but, above all, in the precious treasures of the Gospel, that we are to look for those influences which are to guide us safely through life."

Perhaps we ought to say, that we appreciate fully the difficulties in the way of interfering with the practical working of our "Common School System." But do not let us, as Christian teachers, intimate that our Faith rises to nothing higher and truer. On the contrary, let us show that we know how to grasp the radical wants of human nature, in all their breadth and depth; and that we know, also, where, and where alone, those wants can be met. It is not in high intellectual culture. It is not in any possible degree of æsthetic refinement. It is not in any attainable powers of the human Reason, or the human Understanding. All true philosophy, and all past history, show this. This whole question, of course, turns upon another, which underlies all modern speculations in Religion, the character of man by nature.

THE PROFESSOR. A TALK. By CURRIER BELL, Author of "Jane Eyre," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp 330. New Haven: E. Downes.

A melancholy interest of more than ordinary intensity hangs around the name of Charlotte Brontë. "Jane Eyre" came upon the world with the dazzling splendor of a meteor, and yet luminous with the fixed and steady light of a star of the first magnitude. Almost as soon as the author's name had become a household word, the cord that bound her to a sad yet chequered life was snapped, and she had gone. Her life, the history of which has lately appeared, is doubtless familiar to our readers. We are glad to see that her biographer, Mrs. Gaskell, has felt compelled to publish a recantation of the scandalous

story concerning the brother, Branwell Bronte; though, if done at all, it is a pity it were not done more graciously.

Charlotte Bronte was a true and truthful woman. Here is what she thought of Miss Martineau, one of the satellites of the modern Liberal School. She writes:

"Feb. 11th, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Have you read Miss Martineau's and Mr. Atkinson's new work, 'Letters on the Nature and Development of Man?' If you have not, it would be worth your while to do so.

"Of the impression this book has made on me, I will not now say much. It is the first exposition of avowed atheism and materialism I have ever read; the first unequivocal declaration of disbelief in the existence of a God or a future life I have ever seen. In judging of such exposition and declaration, one would wish entirely to put aside the sort of instinctive horror they awaken, and to consider them in an impartial spirit and collected mood. This I find it difficult to do. The strangest thing is, that we are called on to rejoice over this hopeless blank—to receive the bitter bereavement as great gain—to welcome this unutterable desolation as a state of pleasant freedom. Who *could* do this if he would! Who *would* do it if he could!

"Sincerely, for my own part, do I wish to find and know the Truth, but if this be Truth, well may she guard herself with mysteries, and cover herself with a veil. If this be Truth, the man or woman who beholds her can but curse the day he or she was born. I said, however, I would not dwell on what I thought; I wish to hear, rather, what some other persons think—some one whose feelings are unapt to bias his judgment. Read the book, then, in an unprejudiced spirit, and candidly say what you think of it. I mean, of course, if you have time—not otherwise."

Her extreme retirement and almost utter seclusion from the world amid the seclusion of a Yorkshire parish, allowed her little practical acquaintance with the religious excitements of her age; yet here are the utterances of her sagacious mind upon certain sects and parties:

"People may talk of the danger which Protestants expose themselves to, in going to reside in Catholic countries, and thereby running the chance of changing their faith. My advice to all Protestants who are tempted to do anything so besotted as to turn Catholics is to walk over the sea to the Continent; to attend mass sedulously for a time; to note well the mummeries thereof, also the idiotic, mercenary aspect of all the priests, *then* if they are disposed to consider Papistry in other light than a most feeble, childish piece of humbug, let them turn Papists at once. I consider Methodism, Quakerism, and the extremes of High and Low Churchism foolish, but Roman Catholicism beats them all. At the same time, allow me to tell you, that there are some Catholics who are as good as any Christians can be to whom the Bible is a sealed book."

"The Professor," now before us, was the first written and the last published of all her works. It shows that keen insight into character, it has occasionally a terseness and power of expression, the bold dashes of portraiture, in which we read at a glance what pages could not so well describe, which mark, beyond question, genius of no ordinary character. How, that heartless mercenary snob, Mr. Crimsworth, and his proud and vulgar wife, live in the memory. How cleverly the portrait of Madame Reater and of her scholars is drawn. And we follow the Professor and his Frances to the last chapter, and are glad to see virtue, and truth, and industry, finally rewarded as they deserve. And yet the authoress would not have published this work had she lived; partly because it lacks the severe finish of which she was capable, and partly because she had used some of the same materials in another of her works.

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONVENTION of the Trustees of a proposed University for the Southern States, under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church; together with a Narrative and the Address of the Rt. Rev. JAMES H. OTEY, D. D., Bishop of Tennessee. Atlanta, Georgia. 1857. 8vo. pp. 40

On the 4th of July the Bishops and Trustees of the Southern Dioceses, interested in the proposed Southern University, assembled on Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tenn. Nine Dioceses were ably represented, and several days were spent in consideration and discussion of plans, localities, &c. It seems determined that the Institution shall not be started on a pecuniary basis of less than \$500,000, and that this principal is to remain intact. McMinnville, Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Columbia, Nashville, Knoxville and Athens in Tennessee, Corinth in Mississippi, Huntsville in Alabama and Atlanta in Georgia, were each presented as desirable points for the locality of the Institution; and a Committee was appointed for obtaining a Charter, and another on location. Healthfulness, accessibility, centrality, a supply of good water and mountain scenery were considered indispensable. After all, almost everything will depend on the men into whose hands the practical working of the Institution will finally fall. Such has been the experience of Northern Schools of learning. But the pamphlet before us shows that the University will be started on a most liberal scale, and that no reasonable amount of funds will be wanting. The Address of Bishop Otey shows most clearly the necessity, importance and entire practicability of such a University. We hope there will be in it a Theological Department for the training of young men specially for the Christian Ministry, and that such facilities will be offered without money and without price.

VIRGINIA ILLUSTRATED: Containing a Visit to the Virginian Canaan, and the Adventures of Porte Crayon and his Cousins. Illustrated from drawings by Porte Crayon. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 300. New Haven: E. Downes.

This "Virginian Canaan" is a wild, rough, mountainous, unbroken region, in the northwestern part of the State, with plenty of wolves, owls and trout; and the exploits of Porte Crayon and his comrades are laughably illustrated. His adventures with his lady cousins amid the mountainous, but more accessible scenery of the Alleghanies, are equally amusing. The story will, we hope, attract to the wild grandeur of our frontiers some of our pleasure seekers, in preference to the dissipation of our fashionable watering places; at least those of them who have enough of the love of nature and mental stamina left to relish such inspiring scenes.

THE STATE OF THE DEPARTED. An Address delivered at the funeral of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., on Friday, March 1, 1816, in Trinity Church, New York. And a Dissertation on the same subject, by Rt. Rev. JOHN HENRY HOBART, D. D. New York: Thomas N. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 94. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The Treatise of Bishop Hobart on the intermediate State, is the best popular work that we have on that subject, and ought to be in every parish library and within the reach of every Churchman in the country. There are some Clergymen, and Doctors of Divinity, too, who omit that part of the Creed which affirms Christ's descent into Hell; and there are many laymen who repeat it with mental reservation. Yet no clause of the Creed rests upon stronger testimony of Holy Writ.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, by EDWARD GIBBON. Abridged. Incorporating the researches of recent commentators. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 677. New Haven: E. Downes.

If we must have an abridgment of Gibbon, although we regret the necessity, it should be made by a most accurate and critical scholar. And such we believe the present compiler to be. We are glad to see that Dr. Smith omits entirely Gibbon's speculations and misstatements on the early spread of Christianity, as well as his sneers and inuendoes, which only betray his inveterate hostility to the Christian system.

TENT LIFE IN THE HOLY LAND. By WILLIAM C. PRIME, Author of "Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 498. New Haven: E. Downes.

This is, we think, a much cleverer work than "Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia," of which it is a continuation. Its tone is always reverent and its sketches of such places as Gethsemane, Calvary and Olivet, are minute and vivid. Its style, however, is more free and easy, and there is a good deal more of chivalric daring and adventure than in most books of this class. The author describes the frugality and hospitality of the monks; the most scrupulous honesty and fidelity of the Mussulman when you have once secured his pledge of protection; the degradation and hypocrisy, and the lying and stealing on the part of multitudes of the native Christians. On the whole, it is an attractive picture of life in the East.

BOAT LIFE IN EGYPT AND NUBIA. By WILLIAM C. PRIME, Author of "Tent Life in the Holy Land," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 498. New Haven: E. Downes.

These sketchy Notes of travel up the Nile, by so lively a writer as Mr. Prime, can hardly fail to attract even those who have no taste, or time, for the profound researches of Champollion, Young, Wilkinson, and others. The very brief historical sketch, and the Hints to travelers, in the Appendix, add to the value of the volume.

JERUSALEM AND OTHER POEMS, Juvenile and Miscellaneous, including "Life and Death," "Here and Hereafter," and "The Mission of the Gospel." With a brief Memoir of Mrs. Mary Brewster Park. By REV. ROSEWELL PARK, D. D., Member of the American Philosophical Society, and President of Racine College. New York: T. N. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 324.

There is much more of solid learning and ripe culture, and manly vigor in the author of these Poems than he has reputation for among those who do not know him well; and more than is necessary to give him a temporary popularity in these days of ginger-pop and small-beer literature. There is nothing positively startling or dazzling in his verse; he never storms and raves in the modern Byronic fashion; nor is he muddy and shallow like the attempted imitators of Wordsworth; but his verses are full of flowing harmony and tender and gentle sentiment, and the uniform correctness and smoothness of his measures show with what severity of taste he has reached such attainment in the divine art. His longest Poem, "Jerusalem," of more than fifty pages, indicates great breadth of reading and accuracy of learning, and fullness of appreciation; and several of his shorter Poems are also full of classic allusions and historical associations. In this respect, Dr. Park reminds us of the old English Poets of a century and a half and two centuries ago, whose pregnant lines often need a

clavis to render them intelligible. But these Poems will not be among the most popular in the volume. So Dr. A. C. Coxe owes his reputation as a Poet, not to those elaborated Epics which best mark his power and genius, but to those simple Ballads, those sparkling scintillations, thrown off at random. Sometimes, Dr. Park's muse indulges in a playful mood, as in the "Sagacious Hibernian," and "The Dissipated Student;" and, here and there, is a nimbleness of motion, an ease, grace, and boldness of tone which show the consciousness of power, and the ability to use it. "Christmas Eve," and "Here and Hereafter," have this march and tread of manly beauty. But the prominent characteristic of these Poems, and their crowning excellence, is their earnest, living, Christian Faith. Dr. Park has caught his inspiration, not alone on Parnassus' heights, but on Judea's sacred hills. The Cross and the Crown are seen in all. The volume is dedicated to the memory of the author's accomplished wife, and his three children, all now in Paradise; and it contains a beautiful Memoir of Mrs. Park, who died Oct. 23d, 1854. It will add to the author's reputation, and will leave pleasant memories in the hearts of all who linger over its pages.

BISHOP DOANE'S NINTH TRIENNIAL CHARGE. 1857.

From this characteristic Charge we take the following pregnant passage:

"Working children, working women, working men, working Deacons, working Priests, working Bishops; from these, working Parishes, working Dioceses, a WORKING CHURCH. Work, for God, in every Christian home, in deeds of piety, and charity. Work, in every parish, in the care of souls, and nurture of the young. Work, in schools, and colleges, and seminaries, for Christian education. Work, in nurseries, and infirmaries, and hospitals, in the care of the sick, the feeble, the aged, the widow, the orphan; Christ's poor, by every name. If these things were all so—and, I cannot see, that any of us owe, or can expect, that God will accept of, less—if these things were all so, what a hive, the Church would be! How the world would be foiled, with its own weapons; first, consecrated, and then, turned against itself: and, forced to exclaim, with the apostate, Julian, 'O, Galilean, Thou hast conquered!'"

BISHOP WHITTINGHAM'S FIFTH CHARGE TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF MARYLAND, 1857.

BISHOP BURGESS' ADDRESS to the Thirty Eighth Convention of the Diocese of Maine, 1857.

From these two communications to their Dioceses of two of our most learned and zealous Bishops, we quote their opinions upon the "Memorial" question.

Bishop Whittingham says: "In the settled ministrations of the Parish, my deliberate, firm conviction is, that the mind of the Church, with regard to worship, is only to be fulfilled by carrying out in practice that for which she makes provision, a Daily Morning and Evening Service in the house of God. I have not lived through the last thirty years without learning the objections, of all sorts and sizes, that are brought out, thick and fast, against a rule so variant from the prevailing custom, and so little accordant with the indolent and self-indulgent habits of the day. But in the same interval, my own experience and observation have satisfied me that the observance of the Church's rule is practicable in nearly, if not quite, all city, town, and village churches, and in a proportion of rural parishes, were there but a steadfast will, guided by clear views of duty."

* * * * *

"I will only say that if I have confined my observations on this occasion to the subject of worship, it is very far from being because I consider that of teaching as less important, or less needing a greatly increased degree of attention on our part. I have heard of persons so anxious to restore to its integrity and fullness the *worship* of the Church, as to disparage *preaching* on that account,

and more than intimate that we have too much of it. I have no sympathy with such. On the other hand, I feel strongly our want of largely increased and multiplied provisions for the instruction of our people. We want more preaching—plain, practical, pungent statement of Gospel truth and enforcement of Christian holiness; but we want also—and the want is greatly more prevalent and pressing—more exposition of the Scriptures, bringing them continuously and minutely, for explanation and application, before the people; and more catechetical teaching, both in lectures and in catechizing, to make the body of Christian doctrine *as a body*, both in its great outlines, connexions and coherences, and in its details, familiar to our hearers, and especially the young. Sick-beds and conferences with persons under serious convictions, make sad revelations of the shallowness of information on religious subjects but too generally prevailing. The press, it is to be feared, is doing more harm than good, on the whole, in that direction. The pulpit, as now used, lacks much of the efficiency it needs, and ought to have.”

Bishop Burgess says: “The Church is everywhere well acquainted with the action which was taken by the House of Bishops at the General Convention, in recognition of the right of the Clergy, parochial or missionary, to divide the morning services, and to arrange, after the usual services, or on extraordinary occasions, other services from the Prayer Book and the Bible. I need hardly say that this action had my hearty concurrence; but I would add that it was never designed to suggest or recommend experimental deviations from the usages which have become established and almost hallowed. There should always be a special reason; and in our bracing climate, and with the attachment which is felt by our people for all the ritual of the Church, we shall have, I suspect, very little cause for desiring any change on the Lord’s Day, and within the walls of our churches, unless where three services may be intended. When we have to do with assemblies who have no acquaintance with the Common Prayer, we must bend to the necessity, and proceed with our best discretion. But I should be grieved if in established congregations, the standard of public devotion which has been upheld for three centuries should be lowered to meet the preference of those who love that service best in which there is least of worship. We cannot disguise from ourselves that such there are; and that they can never be satisfied while religion demands from them any effort or sacrifice. In yielding to the tastes of such, we must soon pause; because the service which, when it was long, they disliked, when it is short they despise.” * * * *

“All things concur to demonstrate that a considerable and growing portion of the people of this State can even now receive the Gospel from no other hands so cordially as from those of our own ministry. Few as we are, the value of our Church has been widely recognized. It devolves on us at once to urge the apostolic authority on which it rests, and to present the apostolic doctrine and charity written in the character of ourselves and of our congregations as in living epistles. May God but give us this grace; and all the rest we will leave to His disposal, assured that to labor in the love of Christ, wherever He may place us, is to gain the best of all successes and victories.”

These are timely words of true wisdom, and they will not be lost upon the Church.

BISHOP ALFRED LEE’S FOURTH TRIENNIAL CHARGE to the Clergy of the Diocese of Delaware. 1857.

Bishop Lee’s Counsels, it will be seen, are in a somewhat different vein from those quoted above. After speaking of ours, as “a busy age,” “an intelligent age,” “an age of competition,” &c., he says:

“In regard to the order of our Liturgical services and the manner of parochial ministration, the same reasonable and scriptural maxim should have a place. On the one hand we should not be hasty innovators, or recklessly disregard established usages and edifying arrangements sanctioned by the wisdom

of the past. On the other hand we should not be the mere slaves of an unbending routine, and forego on its account the real object of our ministry." * * * As an illustration of my meaning I take the daily service. It doubtless was, three centuries ago, a seasonable and edifying provision. The Scriptures were almost unknown. The Bible was no family treasure. The facilities for household devotion were limited. Many had leisure and inclination to attend regularly the morning and evening service of the Church, and it proved to them an exceeding privilege and blessing. How is it now! All have the Scriptures, and with few exceptions, all can read them. Helps to domestic worship are increased. The habits of a busy age render it impossible for the mass of the community to give their attendance. And could that attendance be obtained it would not unfrequently be at the sacrifice of family prayer. Is it the duty of a minister to spend an hour and a half or two hours every day in the performance of a task so little appreciated! " * * *

"Upon mature consideration I have therefore assented to the wishes of Clergymen, desiring to dispense on Communion Sundays with the order for Morning Prayer and the Litany, and have sanctioned the practice in my own parish. This course is to my mind warranted by the following reasons.

"1. It is consonant with the original design of the compilers of our Prayer-book. The Communion Service is, by eminence, *the Liturgy*. It was prepared before any of the other portions and is complete in itself. It contains all the parts of Liturgical service, and its beautiful propriety and adaptation are made more manifest by its distinct usage. The rubrics in our own Book evidently contemplate and provide for its being so employed.

"2. The Lord's Supper is thus invested with increased prominence and solemnity. Instead of being an appendage, it is elevated to be the great object before the congregation. Disciples of Jesus 'come together,' as of old, to 'break bread.'

"3. The edification of minister and people is greatly promoted by engaging in this celebration fresh and unwearied. Mercy is preferred to sacrifice.

"4. It will allow infirm members of the Church to unite in this precious and refreshing ordinance. And it will promote a more regular attendance of communicants generally.

"5. The non-communing portion of a congregation will be led to realize more the importance of this duty. And if, as I cannot but believe, holy impressions are often made upon those, not themselves participants, who witness this commemoration of the Redeemer's sacrificial death, this influence for good will be promoted by a more numerous attendance on their part."

As to the multiplication of Bibles, it is equally true that they are actually read less and less. Nor, does it seem to us, "the habits of a busy age" are a valid excuse for the omission of a "daily service." Such a service, however impracticable in strictly rural parishes, is becoming more frequent in all our large towns and cities, where multitudes might well exchange daily visiting and gossip for daily Prayer; and where the denominations, not unfrequently, keep up "Protracted Meetings," day and night, for weeks together. When we have more of the spirit of the Early Church, and more Bishops, and more Deacons, our Churches will be, more than now, "Houses of Prayer."

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES. The history of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, from the year 1708 to the present time. Compiled from original documents, the MSS., Records and Letters of the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and from other sources. By SAMUEL A. CLARK, Rector of St. John's Church. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. New York: Thomas N. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 203.

Had we not the full volumes of Anderson's Colonial Church History before us, and in process of editorial digestion, we would attempt a sketch of the early history of the Church in New Jersey; for which the Rev. Mr. Clark's work

furnishes valuable materials. For the history of St. John's Parish, Elizabethtown, of which the memorable Dr. Chandler was Rector for *thirty-eight* years, would be a good starting point, as it is rich in important events of general interest. Mr. Clark has done his work exceedingly well. The foundations of the Parish were laid as early as 1702, and we have in this volume the story of the labors, trials, and encouragements, of such true hearted men as Talbot, Keith, Brooke, Moore, Vaughan, Beach, and Chandler, all Missionaries of the Venerable Propagation Society. And then came the story of the Revolution, and of sectarian hate, when the Church was turned into a stable, and twice attempts were made to burn it, when the organ was demolished, and its pipes run into bullets, the very graves of the dead were desecrated, and its Rector driven from the country. We find here, also, several letters from Dr. Chandler which are new to us.

But, we beg to say to the author, that the Convention held in 1766, at Elizabethtown, was a meeting, not of the friends, but of the enemies of the Church; and its undoubted object was to defeat the attempts then making to secure an Episcopate for the Church in the Colonies; and that that object was defeated, and, to a great extent, by the efforts of those very men. But, thank God, the Church, though cast down, was not destroyed. And in Elizabethtown, and all over the State of New Jersey, as well as throughout the country, she is every year growing, and growing rapidly. All we need do, is, not to play our petty games of empiricism and radicalism, but emulate the loyalty, and zeal, and faith, of those heroic men, whose labors are recorded in the volume before us.

COUNSEL TO THE AWAKENED; OR THE PATHWAY OF SAFETY. By the Rev. ASHTON OXENDEN, Rector of Pluckley, Kent. With an Introduction by Rev. C. D. COOPER, Rector of St. Philip's Church, Philadelphia. First American, from the Second London Edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1857. 18mo. pp. 300.

The title to this book might suggest that its teaching is in accordance with the "Revival System" so called, which has so almost universally run out. It belongs to the St. Augustine School of theology, which always has existed in the Church, and always will. It is subjective in its character. It says little comparatively of Sacraments, yet it does not ignore them. Its tone of Churchmanship is affectionate and loyal, even if it is not of the most positive kind; and we are inclined to give the work a warm welcome, even if we think it might have been made in some respects more effective. When we see what crowds habitually throng our Churches only to turn their backs on our Altars, and deny our Blessed Lord, we have no heart to speak unkindly of such earnest faithful words as these, whose weight of importance we are all so soon to realize. It is a good book; and the earnest minded Pastor will be glad to circulate it. The American Editor, Mr. Cooper, has much improved the present edition.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA: being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M. Government, in the years 1849-1855. By HENRY BARTH, Ph. D., D. C. L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, &c. In three Volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857. 8vo. pp. 657. New Haven: E. Downes.

We have anticipated the appearance of this work with great eagerness, and this first installment is proof that we are not to be disappointed in its interest or value. Dr. Barth left Germany in the autumn of 1849, to survey Northern Central Africa, in company with Mr. Richardson and Dr. Overweg. Both his companions having fallen victims to exposure, Dr. Barth prosecuted his journey with wonderful perseverance, and returned to Europe about a year since. Reserving until the appearance of the future volumes, a sketch of the results of his researches, we give the following compiled statement of the objects and history of the expedition, and of the general course pursued.

It was of peculiar importance to England, for the extension of her commerce, to obtain more precise information concerning the interior of Sudan, especially concerning Wadai, Bagharmi and Boran, the present circumstances of the countries under the dominion of the Fellans, and concerning the western regions, as far as the Upper Niger. The English influence has long been established at Tripoli, and a British vice-consul had long been a resident at Mursuk, in the Fessan Oasis; at Kuka, too, a British agent had once been established. The object now was to explore the route through the Desert, and discover more perfectly the northern approaches to Central Sudan. Richardson was chosen to carry this plan into effect. He was already acquainted with Africa from personal observation, but utterly wanting in scientific knowledge.

From this choice it is evident that the English government had a view to the interests of commerce much more than to those of science; and their further proceedings fully confirm the adoption of this opinion.

August Peterman, who was living in London at this time, urged most strongly that the new expedition should be made advantageous to science, and that the imperfectly educated Englishman should be accompanied by an able German of learning and scientific attainments. The Prussian ambassador, Bunsen, obtained by his interference, that the two distinguished scholars, Overweg and Barth, then in Berlin, should join the expedition, and thus give it a scientific character. But England appropriated no money towards the arrangement; Germany supplied the men of science, and bore the expense also. The Geographical Society of Berlin granted a thousand dollars, the Physical Society of Königsberg £150, and the King of Prussia, who took the most lively interest in the enterprise, made a donation of a similar sum.

Barth came to Hausa, entered the Fellan kingdom of Sokkatu, and passed through Kaschna to Kano, the greatest commercial town in Central Africa, which he has described as the "London of Sudan," and of much more importance than even Timbuctoo. From thence he traveled to Kuka, on Lake Tschad, where he met Overweg, and where they found a most hospitable reception. Barth's means were completely exhausted there, but he found a friend in the Vizir of Bornu, who lent him \$100, with which he was enabled to pay Richardson's servants. While Overweg was examining Lake Tschad from Kuka, Barth pushed on south to Yola, in the Adamana country, and discovered, on the 18th June, two large sources of the Niger, the Benue and the Faro, shortly above their junction. He was turned out of Yola, because the people mistrusted him.

The death of his traveling companion obliged Barth to alter his plans. It had been his intention to penetrate as far as the shores of the Indian Ocean, in a southeasterly direction. He now determined to adopt a westerly course to reach Timbuctoo. He carried out his plan exactly. He left Kuka, and went by way of Sinder to Kaschna, where he remained until the 21st March, 1853, to Wurno (5th May) and to Sokatu, crossed the Niger at Sayi (13 deg. 10 min. north lat., 3 deg. 7 min. east long. from Greenwich) 148 miles northwest of Sokatu, and went thence to Libtako, a distance of three hundred and thirty-six miles, whence he proceeded two hundred and forty miles to Timbuctoo. On the 1st September he embarked on a tributary of the Niger, turned into the principal stream on the 4th, and thus in due time reached Cabra, the harbor of Timbuctoo.

For centuries, Timbuctoo has been a mart for the commerce between the upper parts of Negroland and Morocco and Tunia. The Portuguese traded with this town in the fifteenth century. It was here the first negroes were converted by the Mohammedans, and Timbuctoo became the promised land of the Moslem blacks. For nearly a century the town flourished and remained the central point of a widely extended kingdom. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it became tributary to the Emperor of Morocco, and its commerce was very considerable until the dominion of Morocco became enfeebled by the Moorish robbers and the lawless tribes of Sahara. From this time all intercourse with Timbuctoo was often interrupted for years together. Moorish chiefs and negro

princes battled for the possession of this commercial emporium, until at last it dwindled into a provincial town of Bambarra.

The Fellatahs made their appearance in the beginning of the present century, and forced the Moors, who, as late as the year 1810, played a very important part in the affairs of Timbuctoo, to abandon the place and retire across the Desert to the North. The population of Timbuctoo is made up of various races—of Sonrai negroes, (the majority,) Arabs of different tribes, Fellatahs, Tuariks of the Desert, and Bambarra and Mandingo negroes. The town, containing about 20,000 souls, is situated 18 deg. 3 min. 3 sec. N. lat., 1 deg. 45 min. 8 sec. W. lon., from Greenwich—it is in the form of a triangle, and is thickly built over with clay and stone houses.

Dr. Barth returned through Fessan and Tripoli, and to the great joy of the civilized world, which took such an anxious interest in his daring and adventurous enterprise, he reached Marseilles in safety.

Though a foreigner, the author writes good English; his work abounds in details; and of Timbuctoo and of the countries about Lake Tschad, the information is new. The upper sources of the Niger are clearly ascertained; and the famous Mountains of the Moon are found to be mere moonshine; or, rather, swamps, rivers, planes, and isolated mountains, occupy the place given to them on our maps. When the author comes to sum up his labors, we hope to return to him and to do him and his work more ample justice.

THE LIFE OF BISHOP GRISWOLD. By JOHN N. NORTON, M. A., Rector of Ascension Church, Frankfort, Ky. New York. Church Book Society, 1857. 18mo. pp. 86.

It is now time to forget mere words of encouragement in the duty of stern criticism upon the work which our Church Book Society is taking upon itself to do. Great things are justly expected of it, and thus far it is meeting the call resolutely, and as far as we know, satisfactorily. This "Life of Bishop Griswold" is of course a brief epitome of the man; but Mr. Norton has succeeded in sketching the prominent features of his character in an interesting manner, and the impression, left upon the youthful mind, of that sainted Prelate, is as attractive as it is truthful.

REV. LEWIS BURTON'S SERMON, before the 40th Annual Convention of the P. E. Church, in Ohio, at Piqua, June 4th, 1857.

REGISTER OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. JAMES, MARYLAND. 1857.

An effort is now being made to remove this vigorous College to a site in the neighborhood of Baltimore. We believe there is faith enough in this ancient portion of our Church, to do great things.

TESTIMONIAL TO THE PATRONS AND SUBSCRIBERS OF THE VERMONT EPISCOPAL INSTITUTE. 1857.

The aggregate of the means secured to the Corporation, according to the statement presented in the Report of the Trustees to the Convention of the Diocese, June 4th, 1857, is as follows, viz:

Legacy of Dr. Amherst Willoughby, interest of	- - - \$10,000.00
Total amount of subscriptions,	- - - 20,539.00
	\$30,539.00
Of these subscriptions the sums paid amount to	\$15,092.50
Leaving still due,	- - - 5,446.50

From the amount received, the real estate has been paid for in full. This property consists of a farm containing 100 acres, on Lake Champlain, adjoining the

Village of Burlington, commanding a view of great extent and beauty. It contains the Bishop's residence, a farm-house with barns and stable, and the site of the Theological Seminary and Church School in process of erection. The sum expended for it, including some outlay for the proposed building, was \$12,767.11

The assets remaining for the building were the following:

Cash in the hands of the Treasurer, - - - - -	\$2,335.39
Subscriptions not yet collected, - - - - -	5,446.50
	\$7,781.89

This sum, it is expected, will suffice to put the edifice under roof, but \$5,000 more will probably be required to finish the interior. It is to be of stone, 120 feet in length, 45 in breadth, with a tower extending 20 feet in front; and is designed to accommodate the resident Professor of Theology and his students, at one end, and the Principal of the School, with his pupils, at the other, together with a Chapel for Divine Service.

CATALOGUE OF MISS DRAPER'S SEMINARY. Hartford, Conn., 1856-7.

Miss Draper's Female Seminary still maintains its high reputation.

JOURNALS OF DIOCESAN CONVENTIONS.

By the kindness of the Secretaries of the several Diocesan Conventions, we have received Journals of nearly all the Conventions lately held, from which we shall make up our annual summary. We are satisfied that the Church in this Country, taken as a whole, was never increasing so rapidly as at the present time.

THE MARTYR OF THE PONGAS, being a Memoir of the Rev. HAMBLE JAMES LEACOCK, Leader of the West Indian Mission to Western Africa. By the Rev. HENRY CASWALL, D. D., Vicar of Figheldean, Wilts. Author of "America and the American Church," &c. New York: Thomas N. Stanford. 1857. 12mo. pp. 281.

The record of the lives of those who have devoted themselves to the cause of Christ and His Church is always interesting and instructive. Especially is this the case, where, as in this instance, we see the servant of God, after thirty years spent in the ministry, in lands favored with Christian light, at the age of three score, willingly obeying the last command of our ascended Saviour: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," and going forth to the pestilential clime of Western Africa to bear the glad tidings of salvation. As we contrast the zeal of the subject of this Memoir with our own ease and luxurious living; when we see him denying himself, and leaving friends and relations, to devote himself entirely to a most ignorant and savage people, we should at least be aroused to a more sincere determination to labor more assiduously than we do, and if we may not imitate him, to pray that many such laborers as he may be raised up for the great harvest now ready to be gathered in. In this view, this work of Dr. Caswall suggests reflections which must be of practical benefit to all who read the book.

Mr. Leacock was born at Barbados, on the 4th of February, 1795, and was educated at Codrington College, then simply a grammar school, where, without aiming to be a classical scholar, he became familiar with English literature and other branches of useful knowledge.

The same miserable policy which formerly kept the American Colonies without Bishops, prevailed also in the West Indies, till 1824, when Dr. Coleridge was consecrated Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. The following year, Mr. Leacock was licensed by the Bishop as a Catechist for his native parish of St. Lucy, and January 6, 1826, was ordained Deacon. In October of the same year, he was promoted to the Priesthood, strangely enough, without his ever having been confirmed, for we find him ten years later receiving this

Apostolic rite at the hands of the Bishop of Kentucky. Soon after his ordination, he was sent by Bishop Coleridge to St. Vincent, and from thence to Nevis, where he was appointed Rural Dean, and became Rector of St. Paul's Church. About the year 1832, the state of the colored population in the West Indies began to be so unsettled, that it was generally supposed that the islands would soon cease to be tenable by persons of European origin. As the result of an acquaintance formed in Kentucky by his brother, a clergyman of Jamaica, in a visit to the United States in 1832, the two Leacocks removed to Lexington in 1835. It was here began his acquaintance with Dr. Caswall, then Professor in the Theological Seminary at Lexington; with Dr. Coit, who was at the head of the Transylvania University, and Dr. Cooke, the distinguished Professor in the medical school. In 1836, a new Parish, called St. Paul's, was started at Lexington, under the Rectorship of Mr. Leacock. His stay here was brief. We find him afterwards laboring with Bishop Otey in Tennessee; in 1839, in Louisville, and in 1843, Rector of St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where he continued till 1847, when it became necessary for him to revisit Barbados. At the earnest request of his old parishioners, he resumed his former position at Nevis, where, and at Barbados, he ministered with great success till the Summer of 1854. While at Nevis, he strikingly manifested his Christian courage, by publicly exposing the infamous practice of Obeah, which was spreading terror throughout the island.

In 1851, a Society was founded in connection with the Propagation Society, called the "West Indian Church Association for the Furtherance of the Gospel in Western Africa." To this Society Mr. Leacock offered his services as its first Missionary in 1855, and with the approbation of the Bishop of Sierra Leone, his offer was accepted, and he was sent forth on his labor of love.

After some three months spent in England in making preparations for his work, he embarked for Sierra Leone, October 24, 1855, accompanied by a young colored man named Duport, educated at the Mission House connected with Codrington College. He landed at Freetown, November 10, and while diligently looking about for a practicable field of labor, a way seemed providentially opened to him at Fallangia, a village of some five hundred and thirty inhabitants, on a branch of the River Pongas, about 140 miles north of Sierra Leone. Through a merchant trading with the Pongas, he addressed a letter to a native African chief, bearing the English name of Richard Wilkinson. The old chief invited him to visit him, and on his arrival, received him cordially, and with great feeling, "rising from his chair, broke forth with that incomparable song of praise, the 'Te Deum Laudamus,' repeating it with great solemnity and accuracy." We quote, in the language of the chief, the explanation of this strange and unexpected greeting in a heathen land: "Sir, this requires explanation. In my youth, I was sent to your country, and placed under the tuition of a respectable clergyman, and through him I imbibed the first principles of Christianity. I returned to my native country in 1813, and fell into many of its ungodly practices. In this state I continued till 1835, when it pleased God to visit me with severe illness, from which I with difficulty recovered. From that time, I resolved that 'I and my house would serve the Lord'; and I earnestly prayed that God would send a Missionary to this Pongas country, whom I might see before I died. You are, Sir, an answer to my prayers for twenty years. You are the first minister of the Gospel I have beheld since 1835. And now I know that God hears prayer, and that a blessing is come to my house."

Wilkinson generously offered Mr. Leacock the freedom of his own house, and there religious services were first held, on Sunday, December 23, 1855. He also lent him his steady influence and support, gathering for instruction the natives, nursed him in sickness, and gave him a beautiful site of ground for his residence; in fact, furthered in every way the objects of the Mission. On the 14th January, Mr. Leacock opened a school with twenty children, and begun his mission with every prospect of success. He had, however, barely time to inaugurate his work, when attacked by the African fever, and in less than a

year from the time of his embarkation, he entered upon his rest. He died at Sierra Leone, August 20, 1856.

His faithful assistant, Duport, subsequently admitted to Holy Orders, remained to pursue the work thus auspiciously begun. From a letter written by him three weeks after Mr. Leacock's death, we learn that his congregation had increased to upwards of one hundred attentive hearers, with a day school numbering thirty-two, an attendance of twenty-two adults at the Sunday school, and that the Mission was making rapid progress, and producing a lasting impression on the minds of the people. We could with pleasure and profit to our readers linger longer on this part of the narrative, but we must rather refer them to the book itself. Thus in nine months, in spite of difficulties which would have appalled any man but one who was truly in earnest and full of faith, he accomplished more than in many cases has been effected in years. Surely the "Martyr" left not his home and comforts in vain.

We rejoice for this valuable addition to our stores of religious biography.

THE OLYNTHIAC AND OTHER PUBLIC ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES. Translated with Notes, &c., by CHARLES RANN KENNEDY. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 320, 418. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. New Haven: E. Downes.

Not only as an exact and vivid translation of the great Orator, but as a most valuable contribution to Grecian History, these neat volumes of Prof. Kennedy will receive the attention, not only of scholars, but of the intelligent reading public.

A HISTORY OF ROME FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE. With Chapters on the History of Literature and Art. By HENRY G. LIDDELL, D. D., Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford. Illustrated with numerous Woodcuts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 768. New Haven: E. Downes.

The thoroughness and completeness of this History have given to it, already a high reputation in England, and we commend it especially as a good text book in our High Schools and Colleges.

A CHILD'S HISTORY OF GREECE. By JOHN BONNER. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 315, 292. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: E. Downes.

This work is uniform with Mr. Bonner's Histories of Rome, and of the United States. He has the rare gift of making such studies popular.

HISTORY OF KING PHILIP, Sovereign Chief of the Wampanoags. Including the Early History of the settlers of New England. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 410. New Haven: E. Downes.

Mr. Abbott has, as usual, thrown all the charms of his graphic skill around the history of this famous Indian Chieftain.

EDWARD HOWARD; OR PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY. By M. E. J. New York: G. P. E. S. S. U. & Church Book Society. 1857. 12mo. pp. 175.

This little work comes very near to our ideal of the point to be aimed at by the Church Book Society in its doctrinal teachings. It bases the educational theory on the Grace of God given through Means of God's own appointment; and it recognizes the work of Christian Nurture in all its depth and breadth. It is attractively written, and will unveil to multitudes of Christian parents those loose and radical notions of practical Christianity with which they are thoroughly but unconsciously imbued, and hence will be as useful to them as to their children.

THE LIFE OF THE RT. REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut. 18mo. pp. 107.

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT REVEREND RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, D. D., Bishop of Virginia. 18mo. pp. 95.

THE LIFE OF THE RT. REV. JOHN HENRY HOBART, D. D., Bishop of New York. 18mo. pp. 96.

THE LIFE OF BISHOP CHASE. 18mo. pp. 99.

These Lives of Bishops of the Church, just issued by the Church Book Society, and written by the Rev. Mr. Norton, are each worthy of the commendation which we have given to the Life of Bishop Griswold, above.

WINGS AND STINGS. A Tale for the Young. By A. L. O. E. New York: G. P. E. S. S. U. & Church Book Society. 1857. 18mo. pp. 180.

This little volume seems to us hardly worth placing on the list of the Society's publications. Every work adopted should have sterling merit of some sort, either literary or Christian; and there is no excuse for publishing any other.

We are glad to know that our Church Book Society has more than a name to live. Its sales are already very large, and are constantly increasing. We should be sorry to believe that there is, amongst us, a bitterness of party hatred which *cannot* and *will not* be appeased by the concessions which have been made, because it would prove that spirit to be as unprincipled as it is unreasonable. True men, who love CHRIST and His Church better than they love their own cliques and the leadership of cliques, will rally around the common standard, heart and hand.

REV. A. TEN BROECK'S SERMON, before the Convention of Indiana in Trinity Church, Fort Wayne, Ind., June 3, 1857: The Christian Child, his Adoption, Nurture and Training.

A most plain and faithful presentation of a subject which lies at the very foundation of all Church life, Church work and Church growth. The Sermon is worth a score of theories from grumblers and castle-builders.

CORRESPONDENCE between the Rt. Rev. C. P. McILVAINE, D. D., D. C. L., Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio, and the Rev. JAMES A. BOLLES, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Cleveland. With an explanatory Pastoral Letter to the members of the Parish of Trinity Church. Cleveland, Ohio. 1857. 8vo. pp. 43.

It is not always that a correspondence, we will not say controversy, which began so needlessly, has terminated so happily. One of those licensed and habitual mischief-makers, an anonymous newspaper correspondent, had assailed the "Third Annual Report and Letter of Dr. Bolles," and, through that, the Christian character and standing of the Pastor himself. Hence this "Correspondence;" in which it appears that men who are supposed to differ from each other, and who do differ in the use of terms, are yet in reality near enough together to work hand and heart for the Church, if they only have a mind to. The "Correspondence" is equally creditable to the Bishop and the Presbyter.

REV. DR. CRAIK'S SERMON, at the Convention of the Diocese of Kentucky, May 25, 1857, in St. Peter's Church, Paris, on "Christian Unity and Church Parties."

The Unity which Dr. Craik pleads for, and as that for which the SAVIOUR prayed, is a unity manifested by the profession of the same Faith, by the acknowledgment of the same Ministry, and by the use of the same Sacraments. At one here, he claims that there *is* room for a large exercise of individuality and freedom. We are glad to see so Catholic a Sermon published with such unanimity by the members of the Convention of the Diocese of Kentucky. There is a great deal more of real unity in the Church than the drill-masters of party are willing to admit.

NASHOTAH MISSION.

This Theological Seminary for the Northwest is quietly but earnestly doing its work. At its opening in October, nearly fifty students are expected. The offerings of the Church have during the past year sustained nearly forty young men and their teachers. These young men are all preparing for the holy ministry. On Trinity Sunday, '58, ten are expecting to graduate. Three graduated the last Trinity Sunday. The whole number of graduates is now thirty-six.

CATALOGUE OF THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL. 1857.

Enrolled as Teachers and Students of this School, are the names of eight Professors, and twenty-one young men, from five Dioceses. The spacious edifice of the late Dr. Jarvis, affords, at present, ample accommodations, and there is no charge for rooms or tuition. Aid also to meet other expenses is extended to those who need it. The thoroughness of the instruction, the devout and working habits of the students, and the whole tone of the Institution, all give promise that "Berkeley Divinity School" is to make, as it is already making, itself felt in the theological education not only of Connecticut but of the whole Church. It has great and increasing facilities for doing a work worthy of our oldest Diocese, whose pious and conservative influence was so strongly felt in the early organization of the American Church.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL. August, 1857. London.

This Missionary Monthly Periodical, of about the size of our own "Spirit of Missions," increases in value. It contains able papers, discussions, reviews, Annual Reports, &c., on the Missionary work. The August No. has a communication from Calcutta on Mr. Williams' Essay on Hinduism, and which also alludes to the growing habits of speculation in a certain quarter in the English Church, and to their disastrous effect on the Missionary work among the Hindus. Metaphysical hair-splitting, abstract speculations, doubts, cavils, are the besetting sins of the educated Hindu. The writer closes with this pregnant remark, which has a pretty wide application: "While we, a mere handful, are seeking to propagate Christianity in its integrity abroad, the Church at home is suffering skepticism to eat away its *historical* basis—the Canon of Holy Scripture." The writer also records the remark of a shrewd Christian native: "I never see anything urged against the Bible in the present day, that may not be found in the deistical writers of the last century." Emphatically is this true of the speculations and cavils of the Arnold School, Maurice, Stanley, Kingsley, &c., &c.

HARPER'S STORY BOOKS. No. 32. MINIGO; or the Fairy of Cairnstone Abbey. No. 33. JASPER; or the spoiled Child recovered. No. 34. CONGO; or Jasper's Experience in command.

APOLOGY FOR THE COMMON ENGLISH BIBLE. And a Review of the extraordinary changes made in it by the Managers of the American Bible Society. Third Edition. Baltimore. 1857. 12mo. pp. 76.

The Rev. Dr. A. C. Coxe, in following up this examination into the intermeddlings with, and alterations of, the Bible by the American Bible Society, has most clearly and undeniably proved, that changes have been made, serious in themselves, and constituting a precedent of the most dangerous character. This is the simple fact. It only remains to see what course the Bible Society will now determine to pursue. It is understood that a large amount of funds is held by that Society on condition of fidelity in this very matter now under discussion. Dr. Coxe has carried with him the conservative sentiment of the country, while the radicals, far and near, are barking at his heels.

BISHOP H. W. LEE'S PRIMARY CHARGE; on Sanctification. In St. John's Church, Keokuk, Iowa, May 27, 1857.

REV. DR. BOLLES' Sermon, in Trinity Church, Cleveland, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1857. "The Daily Worship of God in His Temple."

REV. HENRY HOLLAND'S Sermon before the Synod convened to elect a Bishop of Canada West, July 8, 1857, at London, C. W. "Christ's Prerogative in the Choice of His Servants."

This Sermon brings up a great principle, as to the true, Scriptural and primitive method in the election of Bishops. We intend to discuss that question in the Church Review.

REV. EDMUND LEAF'S Sermon on "Christain Oneness," before the 73d Annual Convention of Pennsylvania, in St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, May 27, 1857.

A most excellent Sermon, in the right tone and temper.

REV. J. J. RIDLEY'S Address before the LaFayette Female Institute, Kentucky, June 19, 1857.

AN UNFINISHED SERMON OF THE LATE REV. CHARLES TOMES, of Nashville, Tennessee. Intended to be preached June 12, 1857.

A complete sketch of the life of this most useful Clergyman we are endeavoring to procure for our pages.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Abbott, C. S.	McIlvaine,	June 28,	Rosse Chapel, Gambier, Ohio.
Alexander, William,	Potter, A.	Aug. 16,	Atonement, Philadelphia, Pa.
Broadnax, W. M. A.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Butler, Wm. C.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Baldy, Hurly,	Potter, A.	July 26,	Christ, Danville, Pa.
Bishop, Addis Emmitt,	DeLancey,	Aug. 28,	St. Paul's, Waterloo, W. N. Y.
Burton, Gideon J.	Potter, A.	Sept. 8,	St. Peter's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Cowley, Edward,	Eastburn,	June 11,	St. Anne's, Lowell, Mass.
Christian, Wm. D.	Kemper,	June 7,	St. Sylvanus, Delafield, Wis.
Coley, Chas. H.	Elliott,	June 27,	St. Paul's, Augusta, Ga.
Currie, C. G.	McIlvaine,	June 28,	Rosse Chapel, Gambier, Ohio.
Converse, Geo. S.	Potter, H.	Aug. 16,	St. George's, Newburgh, N. Y.
DeCosta, Benjamin F.	Chase,	Aug. 30,	Trinity, Claremont, N. H.
Fulton, William,	McIlvaine,	June 28,	Rosse Chapel, Gambier, Ohio.
Gongler, J. W.	Potter, A.	July 26,	Christ, Danville, Pa.
Green, J. Mercier,	Davis,	July 20,	Church of the Cross, Bluffton, S. C.
Githens, Wm. Louis,	Upfold,	Aug. 5,	St. Paul's, LaPorte, Ind.
Gifford, Benj. R.	Lee, H. W.	Aug. 28,	Trinity, Davenport, Iowa.
Johnson, Wm. Allen,	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Jones, Joseph R.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Kenney, James E.	Potter, H.	Aug. 17,	St. Anna's, Fishkill Landing, N. Y.
Lewis, Robert W.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Leverett, Wm. C.	Clark,	Aug. 22,	Trinity, Newport, R. I.
Martin, Thomas M.	Lee, A.	July 12,	St. Thomas, Newark, Del.
Mason, Richard R.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Mowbray,	Otey,	July 5,	Lookout Mountain, Tenn.
Perinchief, Octavius,	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Rich, Wm. Alexander,	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Robinson, W. Callyhan,	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Roberts, Stephen C.	Atkinson,	July 26,	St. Stephen's, Oxford, N. C.
Robinson, Joseph B.	Williams,	Sept. 11,	St. Michael's, Litchfield, Conn.
Scarborough, John,	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Synnot, Stephen H.	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
Spalding, John F.	Burgess,	July 8,	St. Stephen's, Portland, Maine.
Southgate, John B.	Burgess,	July 8,	St. Stephen's, Portland, Maine.
Tennant, John C.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
Wadleigh, Abraham Jr.	Potter, H.	June 28,	Trinity, New York City.
West, John Read,	Whitehouse,	July 19,	Christ, Jubilee College, Ill.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Bonte, J. H. C.	McIlvaine,	June 28,	Rosse Chapel, Gambier, Ohio.
" Duncan, T.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
" Egar, John H.	Kemper,	June 10,	Grace, Madison, Wis.
" Early, W. Townsend,	Williams,	July 8,	Christ, Tashua, Conn.
" Fairbanks, J. Newton,	Potter, H.	July 28,	St. John's Chapel, Boquet, N. Y.
" Harlow, Edward H.	Meade,	July 10,	Chapel Theo. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
" Hatton, W. H. D.	Lee, A.	July 26,	Christ, Delaware City, Del.
" Holman, Francis R.	Hawks,	Aug. 30,	St. John's, Weston, Mo.
" Jenkins, P. G.	Davis,	June 21,	St. Paul's, Somerville, S. C.
" Knickerbacker, D. B.	Kemper,	July 12,	Gethsemane, Minneapolis, Min. Ter.
" Menaeos, Anastasius,	Cobbs,	—	St. John's, Montgomery, Ala.
" Penniman, J. A.	Eastburn,	July 21,	Grace, Boston, Mass.
" Peet, Robert B.	Potter, A.	July 17,	St. Paul's, Montrose, Pa.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Calvary,	Hopkins,	June 18,	Jericho, Vt.
Christ,	Whitehouse,	June 28,	Joliet, Ill.
Christ,	Whittingham,	June 18,	Prince George and Charles Co., Md.
Christ,	Doane,	Sept. 17,	Woodbury, N. J.
Church of the Cross,	Davis,	July 19,	Bluffton, S. C.
Church of the Redeemer,	Kemper,	Aug. 16,	Superior, Wis.
Grace,	Doane,	July 16,	Orange, N. J.
Grace,	Potter, H.	Aug. 4,	Norfolk, N. Y.
Grace,	DeLancey,	Aug. 12,	Lockport, W. N. Y.
Grace,	Meade,	Aug. 22,	Berryville, Va.
Hope Church,	Lee, H. W.	Sept. 8,	Fort Madison, Iowa.
St. Andrew's,	Otey,	Aug. 9,	Riverside, Tenn.
St. John's Chapel,	Whittingham,	Aug. 6,	Beltsville, Md.
St. Luke's,	McCookry,	June 25,	Ypsilanti, Mich.
St. Paul's,	McCookry,	Aug. 20,	Marquette, Mich.
St. Paul's,	Whitehouse,	July 5,	Alton, Ill.
St. Paul's,	Davis,	June 20,	Somerville, S. C.
St. Paul's,	Lee, H. W.	July 19,	Des Moines, Iowa.
St. Paul's,	Potter, A.	July 17,	Montrose, Pa.
St. Paul's Chapel,	Potter, H.	July 21,	Windham, N. Y.
St. Peter's,	Whitehouse,	July 1,	Sycamore, Ill.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Utica, N. Y., September 15, the Rev. PIERRE ALEXIS PROAL, D. D.

Dr. Proal was born at Newark, N. J., in the year 1796. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Hobart at the French Church du St. Esprit, in New York, on the 18th day of September, 1818. His first parish was that of St. John's Church, Johnstown, where he remained for a short time, when he took charge of St. George's Church, Schenectady. Here he resided until 1836, when he was called to the Rectorship of Trinity Church, Utica, which position he retained until the Spring of the present year, when, on account of continued illness, he resigned. Dr. Proal was one of the most prominent of the clergy of the Diocese of Western New York, and from the time of its organization, held the post of Secretary of the Convention, and Deputy to the General Convention.

During the Episcopate of Bishop Hobart, Dr. Proal was his warm and intimate friend, heartily embraced his views in reference to Church principles and polity, and never departed from them. He was an earnest and uncompromising Churchman, and amidst all the theological excitements and prejudices of his times, remained constant and true to the principles of our branch of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church. As a preacher, he was earnest and forcible,

and never from views of expediency or policy kept back what he regarded as the truth.

Often has our departed friend expressed the wish, if it were the will of Providence, to die in the midst of active duties. But from the commencement of his sickness, he regarded his recovery as doubtful, and though a severe trial to his feelings, yet he yielded to a sense of duty to his parish, and resigned.

For a long time he has, with child-like resignation, been awaiting the approach of death. He felt that he had no more to do with this world, and, like St. Paul, though willing, for the sake of others and the Church, to remain in the body, yet he realized that to depart hence and be with the Lord was far better for him.

DIED, at White Sulphur Springs, in August last, the Rev. ROBERT WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH, Rector of St. John's Parish, Caroline County, Maryland.

We take from the *Monitor* this tribute to his memory: "Mr. Goldsborough was, without any exception, the most perfect combination of the saintly Christian and the polished gentleman with which it has been our fortune to meet. Born in that class of society, and in a part of the country where self-indulgence is the besetting sin, he was eminent for self-denial. Of a feeble constitution, and laboring, to a very unusual degree, under the infirmity of deafness, his capacity for usefulness would have seemed very limited; but at the expense, if we may so say, of no little self-denial, and chiefly by the saintly character of which that self-denial was the evidence, he has done more for the cause of Christ than many men of more intellectual ability, who possessed the perfect use of all senses, combined with much greater physical powers. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'"

DIED, at Nashville, Tenn., July 10, the Rev. CHARLES TOMES, Rector of the Church of the Advent, Nashville.

We make this brief record of the death of Mr. Tomes, as we hope to publish a full obituary in our January number.

DIED, in Orange, New Jersey, on the 6th of July, the Rev. JOHN L. BLAKE, D. D., aged 69.

Dr. Blake was born at Northwood, New Hampshire, in 1788. The son of a substantial farmer, he worked in the field with his father in the Summer, and went to the district school in the Winter. It was the custom of the time. But he was born in love with learning, and persevered in his efforts to educate himself, until after suitable preparation at Philip's Academy, Exeter, N. H., he entered Brown University, and graduated with honor in 1812. The next year he was licensed to preach by the Congregationalists; but there was not his place. His was a mind to seek foundations, and not to rest till they were found. He sought the ministry of the Church, and in 1815 was admitted Deacon by Bishop Griswold. His first labors were in Pawtucket, R. I., where he organized a parish, now one of the best in the Diocese. In 1820, he went to Concord, N. H., to have charge of the parishes there and at Hopkinton, and established in the former place a young ladies' school of much celebrity. He afterwards resided in Boston for several years, where he was connected with St. Matthew's Church, until obliged to relinquish his Rectorship on account of ill health. He then removed to New York, where he resided for a number of years. From New York, he removed with his family to Orange, about eleven years since, where he resided till the close of his life. The last thirty years of Dr. Blake's life were mostly spent in literary labors; at first upon works of education, which obtained a wide circulation, but latterly upon History, Biography, and Agriculture. But his great works were, "The Family Encyclopedia," and the "General Biographical Dictionary." The latter he re-wrote during the last five years of his life, making it the best book of the kind in use.

Dr. Blake was a devoted and faithful laborer in the Church of Christ, a warm-hearted and generous man. It is not too much to say that his whole life was spent in self-sacrificing labors for the good of others. Those who were on terms of intimacy with him, can testify to his kindly feelings, his agreeable social qualities, and his instructive and sage counsels. We lament his loss. A good man; a wise man; a safe counselor, has left us. But he has "ceased from his labors," and left us an example of industry, intelligence, uprightness, and virtue.

DIOCESE OF TEXAS.

At the late Convention of this Diocese, May 24, at Austin, a letter was read from Rev. A. C. Coxe, D. D., pledging \$1,500 per year for three years, and \$1,000 per year for two years more, towards the support of a Bishop for that Diocese, on the condition that the Diocese shall make up the salary to the amount of \$2,500; and that the Bishop shall be elected unanimously, or his election unanimously concurred in. The following gentlemen are pledged with Rev. Dr. Coxe to the above contribution: Rev. Drs. Hawks, Hobart and Bedell, of New York; Rev. Drs. Morton, Stevens, Howe and Wilmer, of Philadelphia; and Rev. Dr. Wyatt, of Baltimore. Rev. Dr. A. H. Vinton, of Boston, has declined the Episcopate of Texas. It appears that the Rev. Dr. Coxe, previously elected, had been consulted on the subject, and had peremptorily refused his name to be used. The present movement toward the raising of the salary is a very handsome one, and is a good sign of returning unity in the Church.

CHURCH IN KANSAS.

There are now six Clergy of the Church laboring in Kansas, as follows:

Leavenworth is under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Stone; Topeka, of the Rev. Mr. Callaway; Atchison, of the Rev. Mr. Stoudenmayer; Lecompton, of the Rev. Mr. Points; Tecumseh, of the Rev. Mr. Ellis; and Wyandott, of the Rev. Mr. Perinchief; Lawrence has given the Rev. Charles Reynolds, of Columbus, Ohio, a call.

BISHOP KIP.

We have received from the Standing Committee of the Diocese of California, a circular announcing that a majority of the Bishops and Standing Committees have signified their assent to the election of the Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D. D., as Bishop of the Diocese of California.

The Bishops consenting, are as follows: Brownell, Meade, Melvaine, Doane, Otey, Polk, DeLancey, Whittingham, Elliott, A. Lee, Johns, Eastburn, Chase, Cobbs, Freeman, Hawks, Burgess, Upfold, Green, Williams, Whitehouse, Atkinson, Scott, H. W. Lee, H. Potter.

The Standing Committees assenting are, of Connecticut, Michigan, Texas, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Delaware, Maine, Iowa, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Western New York, North Carolina, New Jersey, Ohio, South Carolina, Vermont.

PERVERTS RETURNING.

At the late Convention of Western New York, Bishop DeLancey stated that Mr. William J. Bakewell, formerly a clergyman in that Diocese, who removed to Pennsylvania, resigned the ministry, and joined the Roman Catholic Church, has written to him declaring his renunciation of the errors into which he was led, his desire to return to the Communion of the Church, and his renewed adhesion to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was admitted to the Communion at Geneseo, where he had formerly labored in the ministry.

Mr. Pierce Conolly, and Mr. Henry Major, both formerly Clergymen, and both also perverts to Rome, have returned to the true Fold from which they had wandered. The boasted Catholicity and Unity of Rome is, after all, a miserable sham; and so these men found it.

DECLINE OF POPERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Romish paper, the *Tablet*, in discoursing on the future of the Romish Church in the United States, says:

"Few insurance companies, we venture to assert, would take a risk on the national life of a creed which puts five hundred daily into the grave for one it wins over to its Communion. And yet this is what Catholicity is doing in these States while we write."

REV. MR. BRECK AND THE INDIAN MISSIONS.

We glean the following facts concerning the late troubles at the Chippewa Missions:

The withdrawal of the troops from Fort Ripley seems to have been the creation of an outbreak among the Chippewas, heretofore regarded as the most friendly Indians in the Territory. The Mission at Leech Lake has been broken up, and the Rev. Mr. Breck and his family compelled to leave the country.

Mr. Breck has two stations, one at Gull Lake, (called St. Columba,) about twenty miles from Fort Ripley, and fourteen from the Agency. This, in a very flourishing condition, was last year placed by Mr. B. under the care of Rev. E. S. Peake, while he himself went forward sixty miles, and at Leech Lake established a second mission—built houses, commenced farming, gardening, &c., and opened a school for Indian children, and had daily public worship in a chapel. He had already an important establishment.

Ever since the abandonment of Fort Ripley, however, the Indians about Mr. Breck have put on an air of insolence and bravado; the chief and the parents of the scholars professing friendliness, but declaring themselves unable to control or resist the "braves." They supply themselves with whiskey, and the sequel has been that in repeated visits drunken squads of Indians have demanded whatever they fancied in the Mission house—have shot down cattle in the yard, and poultry, and held feasts on them in sight—have threatened the life of the Missionary, and left him no alternative but to flee at night with his household, and such effects as were most valuable, towards Fort Ripley, where he now is.

Such is the sad story of Mr. Breck's Indian Mission. We would not, and do not lack faith in the power of the Gospel to convert the Indians, or any other portion of the human race. We honor the heroism of Mr. Breck, who has exhibited a self-denial, a zeal and perseverance, worthy of the best days of the Church. But with the history of the Indian race before us, and of the missionary labors of the Church of England in their behalf, and of all such missionary effort in later times, we now call upon Mr. Breck to pre-occupy the ground, and plant the Cross among the white population of the Northwest. Millions on millions are soon to occupy the vast field. Their souls are as valuable as the souls of red men; while, prospectively, the value of present effort is inestimable. Mr. Breck's labors have not been lost, nor has the money so freely given been thrown away; nor would it have been, if it had been cast into the lakes of the Northwest. But let us now have another Nashotah; somewhere on the headwaters of the Mississippi.

CONGREGATIONALISM DYING OUT.

The General Convention of Congregational Ministers and Churches of Vermont, in June, 1856, appointed a Committee to ascertain and report the facts respecting attendance on Public Worship in the State, and the "means of

reaching more effectually the mass of the people with the preached word." In June, 1857, this Committee made a report, from which we extract, as follows:

"From the above statement, it appears there are in Vermont at least 22,064 families, of which there is no *habitual attendant* on Evangelical worship, which would, allowing five persons to each, embrace 110,220 souls, a fraction more than one-third of the whole population. The *average* attendance on Evangelical worship is 55,410, less than one-fifth of the population. In some localities there is a deficiency of seats, but as a whole, 'there is yet room' in our Evangelical Churches for all the people. Nor does it appear from the reports that distance is a very formidable obstacle to attendance, for the great body of neglecters is found in our most compact villages and districts. One village is reported thus: 'Two meeting-houses—one Evangelical; 115 families; average attendance upon Evangelical worship, 85; habitual neglecters, 475. Other instances of like character are found in various parts of the State.'

In New Hampshire, the Congregational Minister at Plymouth in that State recently stated: "From this place, northward, to the Canada line, a distance of 130 miles, there is but *one* Congregational pastor. Many churches formerly frequented, are vacant and still." The special causes of this rapid decline of Congregationalism, it is stated, are emigration to the West, and the intermeddling with Politics on the part of the Clergy.

The (Methodist) *Christian Advocate and Journal* says: "Our own cause suffers much from the same cause, especially in the northern tier of the New England States. Both the Ministry and the Churches find it hard to recruit, and some Conferences, once hopeful enough to divide, would find it convenient to unite again.

But what is the cause of all this decline? As to the decrease of population by emigration to the West, the population of Connecticut is steadily increasing, and never so rapidly as within the last ten years; being nearly twenty per centum. In Vermont, also, the increase in the population for the last ten years was over seven per cent., against four per cent. for the preceding decade. Besides, the *Church* in our whole country is gaining, and gaining rapidly. The Bishop of Connecticut stated in his late Address to the Convention, that within the last *thirty-seven* years, "the number of the Clergy has increased from 85 to 126. The number of attendants on the worship of the Church, and the number of communicants has, perhaps, increased in a still greater ratio." Doubtless the Church has gained, by avoiding the political excitements of the day. The victim of unsparing abuse, in the pulpit and the press, from those who thus find their weapons acting with such deadly power upon themselves, taunted with moral cowardice and sinister motives, her course is yet justifiable, on the ground both of Scriptural precedent and sound wisdom. She believes the Gospel to be the only true source of Reform, and to be in itself something besides a mere system of Empiricism. But the Church prospers mainly because she is God's own appointed way to save and bless the world.

BOSTON INFIDELITY.

A new newspaper has recently been started in Boston, with the following as its motto: "Devoted to the Interests of all Classes—The Organ of no Party, Clique, or Sect, but thoroughly Human in Principle and Effort." That is a fair expression of the Anti-Church sentiment of the day. It prates about "our common Christianity," snubs "Episcopal bigotry," and "High Churchism," and publishes its lavender Newspaper on Sunday mornings.

NEW LITURGICAL MOVEMENT.

The Liturgy Committee of the "German Reformed Church," met in Lancaster, Penn., Aug. 25th. This Committee, which was raised six or seven years ago, by the Eastern and Western Synods, with the acquiescence of all the Classes, consists of twelve members, six or seven of whom, we understand, have

performed most of the labor of the great work which has been in progress for the past seven years. The members present at the session just closed, were Rev. P. Schaff, D. D., Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D., Rev. D. Zacharias, D. D., Rev. D. Heiner, D. D., Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Prof. T. O. Porter, and Rev. H. Harbaugh.

The committee had hoped to finish their work this session, but they found it would be necessary to meet once more, and hold a session of eight or ten days, which will take place early in October in Philadelphia, when their labors will be completed. Much of the work is already printed, and the whole is confidently expected to pass through the press during the next sitting of the Committee. It will make a book of from 300 to 400 pages, and is printed in the highest style of the typographic art, by Messrs. Lindsay & Blakiston, of Philadelphia.

NEGLECT OF INFANT BAPTISM AMONG THE DENOMINATIONS.

The (Jan.) *Princeton Review* (Presbyterian) has an important Article on the "Neglect of Infant Baptism" among the Non-Episcopal religious bodies in this country, with full tables of statistics. It appears, that during the last year, (1856,) there were among old school Presbyterians, 233,755 members, and 11,921 infants baptized; or *nineteen and six-tenths* members to each baptism, and *fifty one* baptisms to every one thousand members. Among the Reformed Dutch, there were 40,413 members, and 2,754 baptisms; or *fourteen and seven-tenths* members to every baptism, and *sixty-eight* baptisms to every *thousand* members. Among the New School Presbyterians, there were 138,760 members, and 3,394 baptisms; or *forty-one* members to every baptism, and *twenty-four* baptisms to every *thousand* members. Among the New England Congregationalists, there were 172,614 members, and 2,791 baptisms; or *sixty-one and eight-tenths* members to every baptism, and *sixteen* baptisms to every *thousand* members. The writer says, that in the Episcopal Church there were 116,735 members, and 20,048 baptisms; or *five and eight-tenths* members to every baptism, and 172 baptisms to every thousand members. The writer concludes from statistics before him, that among the Congregationalists, "Infant Baptism is, beyond a doubt, dying out."

The writer then examines into the causes of this growing neglect of Infant Baptism. He finds them, 1st, in the efforts of Anti-Pædobaptists to disseminate their sentiments. 2nd. In the neglect of pastors to give proper instructions; and says, "*There are comparatively few of their youth who understand the relation they bear to the Church.*" (We italicise this.) 3d. The improper administration of the ordinance. 4th. The "Church's failure to recognize baptized children as members after Baptism." 5th. The neglect of Family Worship. 6th. In the improper time and circumstances attending the administration; as "at week day services, or private prayer meetings." 7th. The influence of "New Measures;" concerning which he shows, by facts, that the "Revival System" (he avoids the name, but he means this) has led to the practical ignoring of this Sacrament.

We ask careful attention to the above statements. Even among ourselves, this same leaven of Anti-Pædobaptism, in all its essential qualities, is, and to an extent we fear little realized, active and potent. And the causes specified above are, with scarcely an exception, precisely those which we have now to contend against.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF BISHOP BLOMFIELD.

The Rt. Rev. CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D. D., late Bishop of London, died at Fulham, at ten minutes after five on Wednesday night, Aug. 5th. The late Bishop was born at Bury, St. Edmund's, May 29th, 1786. Having been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was third wrangler and senior medalist in 1808, and subsequently a fellow of his college. After taking Orders he became successively Archdeacon of Colchester and Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, and was consecrated Bishop of Chester, in 1824, from which see he was translated to that of London, in 1828. He was known to the world of letters by editions of "*Æschylus*" and "*Callimachus*;" he was also author of a "*Manual of Family Prayers*;" "*Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles*;" "*Sermons at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate*," &c. He was one of the original supporters of the New Poor-law, and had a principal hand in establishing the Ecclesiastical Commission.

The two great deeds of Bishop Blomfield's Episcopate, are unquestionably the erection of the Bethnal-green churches, and the creation of the Colonial Episcopate. The first movement has resulted up to the present time in the erection, and more or less complete endowment, of no less than seventy-eight new churches in and near London, at a cost of more than half a million; independently of seven new churches, the entire erection and endowment of which by seven separate individuals, (one being the Bishop himself,) is wholly attributable to the impulse derived from the appeal made to the public on the first formation of the Metropolitan Churches' Fund. Miss Burdett Coutts sent him a blank check for one of these Churches. *He filled it with two hundred thousand dollars.* She paid it.

The Bishop's other great work, the creation, as it may almost be called, of the Colonial Episcopate, did not take place until the year 1840. At that time there were just five Bishops of the English Church throughout the vast colonial empire subject to the English Crown. At the present time there are, we believe, no less than twenty-five, independently of six more now in course of foundation. And this result is due, under God's blessing, entirely to the energy and activity of Bishop Blomfield, exerted, as it was, just at the opportune time, when people's minds had become prepared for this great and much-needed reform, and when the principles to which the Bishop appealed, were being universally discussed and developed, in consequence of the great Church movement then in progress, to which we have already referred.

Since the year 1850, he has been the advocate for restoration of Convocation. On the whole, his Episcopate may be said to have been a vigorous and effective one, and the Church has undoubtedly lost one of her most useful Bishops.

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE, WEST AFRICA.

The Rt. Rev. JOHN WILLIS WEEKS, D. D., Bishop of Sierra Leone, died on the morning of the 25th of March, having only returned to Sierra Leone on the 17th of that month, from visiting the stations of the Yoruba mission of the Church Missionary Society. He was consecrated in 1855.

THE NEW BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

The Rev. John Bowen, LL. D., Rector of Orton Longueville, near Peterborough, has, on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, been appointed to the vacant See of Sierra Leone. He was presented to the Rectory of Orton Longueville in 1853, by the Marquis of Huntley. It is, we believe, not improbable

that another West African Bishopric will be constituted of some portion of the interior of that vastly-extending mission-field.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF PERTH, AUSTRALIA.

The Venerable M. B. Hale, D. D., Archdeacon of Adelaide, was consecrated to the newly-erected Bishopric of Perth, in Western Australia, on Saturday, July 26th, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace. The consecrating Prelates were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Ripon.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

On Friday, June 12th, the Lord Bishop of Norwich elect, Dr. John Thomas Pelham, was consecrated at his late parish church of Marylebone, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace was assisted by the Lord Bishops of London, Manchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Ripon, and attended by his chaplain, the Rev. John Thomas, D. C. L.; Dr. Travers Twiss, vicar-general; F. H. Dyke, Esq., registrar; and Felix Knyvett, Esq., secretary and apparitor-general. The sermon was preached by the Rev. H. Venn, before a crowded congregation.

SCOTLAND.—NEW BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.

The election of a Bishop for the diocese of Aberdeen, has been decided by thirteen voting for Dr. Suther, and nine for Mr. Cheyne. A motion that reporters be admitted, was lost by fifteen to nine. Dr. Suther is a native of Scotland, and in Scottish orders. He is a son of P. Suther, Esq., M. D., Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals and Fleets, and was born in Edinburgh in 1814. He was educated at King's College, in the University of Windsor, Nova Scotia; took the degree of B. A., in 1833; was ordained Deacon in March, 1837, by the late Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Priest, in December following, by the same Prelate. Dr. Suther served in Leith, for two years, as assistant to Dr. Russell, late Bishop of Glasgow, and was, for about sixteen years, incumbent of St. George's, York-place, Edinburgh, and chaplain at Edinburgh Castle. He was elected to the incumbency of St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, in 1855. The degree of D. C. L. was conferred on him in 1854, by Windsor University.

CONVOCATION.

Convocation (of course for the Province of Canterbury) assembled July 10th, to receive Reports from its Committees. The most important were, those on the Home and Foreign Missions of the Church, and that to the Lower House on the coöperation of the Laity. The Missionary Report to the Lower House is too long to be given here; it was presented by Archdeacon Bickersteth, and is full of facts, and principles, and suggestions of great importance. The Report to the Upper House, we must also omit for want of room. It was presented by the Bishop of Oxford, and the Bishop of London seconded its adoption.

The Report to the Lower House by Dr. Wordsworth, on Lay-coöperation, touches serious and sore evils, and most difficult to remedy. For who are the Laity of the Church of England? By whom shall elections be made? What shall be their prerogatives? By what precedents are these questions to be answered?

The object of the present meeting was not discussion; and amidst the deep feeling which the important papers presented had evidently inspired, Convocation was prorogued till the 25th of August. But a careful examination of the Reports presented, as above, shows that an immense advance in behalf of the Church, has already been made. Nothing but folly and madness can lead Churchmen to imperil now, a cause on which so much depends. And in view of the issue which is sure to come between the Church and the State, Convocation should lose no time in adopting some plan to secure for itself a large infusion of the Lay element. It will need its aid by-and-by.

THE QUEEN AND CONVOCATION.

On Saturday, June 20th, the Queen held a Court, to receive the Address of Convocation, given in our last No. The Archbishop was accompanied by a large deputation. To the Address Her Majesty returned the following answer:

I receive with much gratification your renewed assurance of loyal and affectionate attachment to my throne and person, and I thank you for your expression of sympathy with my deep sorrow for the recent loss of my beloved aunt, the late Duchess of Gloucester.

I heartily concur in your feelings of gratitude to Almighty God, for the many and great blessings which He has bestowed on my family, and on this nation, and I sincerely pray, that your zealous endeavors to increase the efficiency of the Church, to extend its ministrations, and to render them as conducive as possible to the advancement, throughout my dominions, of peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, will, by the divine blessing, tend to establish our national prosperity on the surest foundation, and to promote the permanent welfare and highest interests of all classes of my people.

PARLIAMENTARY.

In the House of Lords, on the 28th of May, Lord Dungannon, in reference to the services at Exeter Hall, asked the Bishop of London whether these meetings took place with his sanction, and whether they were in strict conformity with the practice and discipline of the Church. In reply, the Bishop of London said, I believe the request which was made to me, that two Right Rev. Prelates of the Church, two learned Deans, and several other Clergy should on successive Sunday evenings address the assembled people in Exeter Hall, is strictly in accordance with the Act which I hold in my hand, and which is entitled "An Act for the better securing of the liberty of religious worship," in which it is provided that among the cases in which such addresses may be made are meetings similar to those now taking place in Exeter Hall.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said he could not imagine that any greater reproach or disparagement could be cast upon the Church than to suppose it was incapable of accommodating itself to the changing necessities of the age.

On the same day, Lord Redesdale moved the second reading of Shepherd's Disabilities Removal Bill; designed to remove the disabilities under which the Scotch Clergy labor. The Earl of Shaftesbury said, that by the Act of 1792, a minister ordained by the Episcopal Church of Scotland could not hold any benefice in England. The reason for that prohibition was that Clergymen ordained by the Episcopal Church of Scotland, did not subscribe to the three articles set forth in the 38th canon, one of which was the admission of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. If a *privilegium* were granted to Mr. Shepherd, he would hold a benefice in England without being required to recognize the royal supremacy. After some further discussion the Bill was read a second time.

In the House of Commons, on the 12th of June, the new Oaths Bill passed through Committee. Sir F. Thesiger moved an amendment to add at the end of the oath, after the word "realm," the words, "and I do make this promise, renunciation, abjuration and declaration, heartily, willingly, and truly, on the true faith of a Christian." After a long discussion the numbers were—for the amendment, 201; against it, 341. The Bill was lost in the House of Lords by a vote of 173 to 139, or a majority of 34. This is the fifth time that the House of Lords have defeated a similar Bill.

On the 30th of June, in the House of Commons, Lord R. Grosvenor gave notice of his intention to move on the first vacant day, which would probably be Tuesday, July 28th, that an address be presented to the Queen, praying her Majesty to be graciously pleased to appoint a commission for the purpose of considering whether the Liturgy of the Church of England be not capable of such modification in its arrangement of the services as to render it more profitable than it now is for the religious instruction and edification of the people. Mr. B. Hope gave notice of his intention to move the previous question.

Such movements as this must open the eyes of English Churchmen to their duties and dangers. The Church robbed of her property in Canada! Convocation virtually gagged! and now a project for tampering with the Prayer Book! And all this at the hands of the bitterest enemies which the Church has, or can have! Church rates, due to the Church as justly as the title by which any person holds his estate, are sure to follow at no distant day. On the 28th of July, Lord Grosvenor postponed his motion on account of indisposition, for the remainder of the session. He introduced a petition in its favor from 180 Clergymen. Had the project been pushed, an effort would have been made to go back to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

On the 23d of June, in the House of Lords, the Divorce Bill was passed, allowing persons divorced for adultery to marry, and of course making solemnization of their marriage a legal obligation on the part of the Clergy. It passed by a vote of 46 to 25, or a majority of 21. On the question that the Bill do pass, the Bishops of Bangor, London, Ripon, St. Asaph, and Worcester voted in the majority; and the Bishops of Chichester, Durham, Exeter, Llandaff, Oxford, Rochester and Salisbury in the minority. The Bill was fought vigorously at every step; but a high premium on the worst social crime was voted, and five Bishops had a hand in it.

On the 21st of Aug. the Bill was read a third time and passed in the House of Commons, but in a greatly modified form, nine thousand Clergy having protested against it. So far as the Clergy are concerned there, the bill as it stands enacts that after the lapse of the period allowed for appeal, and supposing the decree of dissolution to stand fast, "it shall be lawful for the respective parties to marry again, as if the prior marriage had been dissolved by death," provided that no "Clergyman in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland shall be compelled to solemnize marriage of any person whose former marriage may have been dissolved on the ground of his or her adultery, or be liable to any suit, penalty or censure, for solemnizing or refusing to solemnize the marriage of any such person." The following clause, however, (56,) provides that, although a minister may refuse to solemnize such marriage himself, he must, nevertheless, permit any other minister to the establishment, officiating in the Diocese, to perform the marriage service in the parochial Church or Chapel. In this form it went back to the House of Lords, where it passed by a vote of 37 to 32—a majority of five. Thus the consciences of the Clergy are, it seems, in the hands of Parliament!

Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of August, until Friday, Nov. 6th.

CHURCH SYNOD IN CANADA WEST.

The First Synod of Canada met on the 23d of June, at Toronto. About 130 Clergymen and 150 Laymen, with the Bishop at their head, formed the assembly. The occasion was one of intense interest, as being the first act of independent authority exercised by the Church in that flourishing Colony. Two Clergymen of the Church of the United States were allowed by way of compliment to take seats. The royal assent has been given to the Canada Church Bill of the local Legislature, and the connection hitherto existing between Church and State in the Colony, is dissolved *in toto*. By virtue of this act the Canadian Church has power to hold her own Synods, to elect and appoint her own Bishops, and to make such Rules, Ordinances and Canons as in her wisdom she may think necessary.

BISHOP OF THE NEW CANADIAN DIOCESE.

On the 8th of July, the Clergy and Laity of the newly-formed Diocese in Canada West, met at London, C. W., for the purpose of electing their Bishop. On the first ballot, the votes stood, of the Clergy, for the Rev. B. Cronyn, D. D., Rector of London, 22; and for the Rev. A. N. Bethune, D. D., Archdeacon of York, 20. Of the Laity, the votes stood, for Rev. Dr. Cronyn, 22; for Rev. Dr. Bethune, 10. Subsequently, the following motion was unanimously adopted: That the Lord Bishop be requested to submit to her Majesty, for her approval, the name of the Rev. B. Cronyn, D. D., as the unanimous choice of the Synod of this new Diocese, for the office of Bishop.

The Venerable Archdeacon of York, so favorably known as a conservative Churchman, was defeated under the senseless party cry of "Puseyism." And what seems to us a very strange proceeding and not quite consistent with the pretensions put forth, this Clerical majority of one vote was as we see publicly stated, secured by *the Rev. Dr. Cronyn voting for himself*. A band of Orangemen were jubilant in the evening over the result, with their drums and fifes, their bonfire and their beer. The minority, however, yielded at once with the grace and dignity of good Churchmen. The Rev. Dr. Cronyn is a native of Ireland, about 54 years of age, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. This election of a Bishop forms a new era in the history of British Colonial Church Missions, and inaugurates, we trust, a glorious future. Its moral power on the English Church at home must be very great. We hope the Synodical movement, which has been branded as a *High Church* measure, will no longer meet with such determined opposition, at least upon this ground.

MUTINY IN BRITISH INDIA.

In the early part of May, an insurrection broke out among the native troops of India, of the most serious character. It is said that at Calcutta, there was a deep laid plot or conspiracy—for which some have suffered the penalty of death—to seize on Fort William, and massacre all the Europeans, &c. But it was providentially frustrated. At Meerut, a cavalry regiment openly mutinied: some 70 or 80 of the ringleaders were tried and sentenced to many years imprisonment; with hard work in irons. At Delhi, three native regiments joined the insurgents, the fort, in consequence, with its arsenal, ammunition, and treasury, was seized; nearly the whole European community, civil and military,—men, women, and children,—have been cruelly massacred! and, to crown all, the heir-apparent of the titular Emperor of Delhi, the lineal successor of the great Mogul, has been proclaimed by the triumphant mutineers as Emperor of India! It appears, that, in all, about fifty-seven regiments are in a state of mutiny. But this is not all; the populace generally is known to be more or less disaffected. At this distance, it is difficult to judge how extensive this up-rising was.

We find this insurrection attributed to several causes; such as to miserable mismanagement on the part of British authorities; to Persian and Chinese instigation; and to Mohammedan jealousy and restlessness. Whether Great Britain, a mere speck on the map, can continue to coerce 160 millions of men, with 30,000 British troops, or whether she can long retain her India possessions, is, perhaps, doubtful. And yet, the want of systematic plan and concert on the part of the natives, and the general improvement of the country under British rule, may prevent any such fatal result at present. Sir Colin Campbell, of Crimean reputation, is now in command of the Indian army, and has just been sent out with twenty thousand British troops.

In respect to the religious bearing of this movement, the following from the (London) *Union*, has some truth in it, though it is in the ordinary captious, querulous and disloyal tone of that paper.

"It may be true that we have found Hindoo peasants indolent and cunning—Hindoo priests degraded by a subtle superstition—and Hindoo princes blood-thirsty

and avaricious. But what have we done to elevate the moral and social degradation of those whom we have made absolutely dependent upon us? Or what trouble have we taken to refute or enlighten, or even to understand, the 'subtle philosophy which underlies the system of religion whose practical exhibition we are content to despise? We have scarcely made even a profession of evangelizing India. The few and irregular societarian efforts at the conversion of India to Christianity, have long furnished a subject for the satirist; while our Indian Missionary Church has almost wholly failed in its missionary capacity, from the inability of its clergy to cope with the mysterious philosophy which they make no effort to understand."

In view of the perilous state of affairs in India, several of the English Bishops have authorized special prayers to be used in their dioceses; as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Oxford, Salisbury and London.

MURDER OF MISSIONARIES.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Propagation Society, July 17th, a letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, announcing the violent deaths, during the late mutiny, of the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Sandys, of the Delhi Missions; whereupon the following Resolutions were then unanimously adopted:—

I. That the Society has heard with the profoundest sorrow of the massacre of the Rev. M. J. JENNINGS, the Secretary and chief promoter of the Delhi Mission, of the Rev. A. R. HUBBARD, one of the first Missionaries; and of Mr. DANIEL CORRIE SANDYS, a zealous and active Catechist, preparing for ordination in the Mission; and desires to offer to their surviving relatives and friends the expression of its hearty sympathy with them in their affliction and bereavement.

2. That although the Delhi Mission, so blessed of God in its commencement, seems to be annihilated for the present, by the death or dispersion of its Missionaries and Lay-teachers, the Society is resolved—God being its helper—to plant again the Cross of Christ in that city, and to look in faith for more abundant fruits of the Gospel from the ground which has been watered by the blood of those devoted soldiers of Christ.

3. That the special prayers and offerings of the whole Christian community, and the personal services of clergymen who may be moved to take the place of those who have fallen, be hereby invited, to enable the Society to reestablish with increased strength, and on a broader foundation, the Mission which has been for the moment quenched in blood.

ORNAMENTS IN CHURCHES.—THE KNIGHTSBRIDGE CASE.

In this long pending suit judgment was finally rendered on Saturday, March 21st, by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We take from the *Clerical Journal* the following summary of the points decided. There were present, The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Wensleydale, Sir J. Pattison, Sir W. H. Maule, and Mr. Pemberton Leigh.

"Mr. Pemberton Leigh read the judgment of the Committee from a printed document. It was very elaborate, entering fully into the ancient usage of ornaments, &c., in the Church, both previous and anterior to the Reformation, and also to the law, usage, and custom adopted at and since the Reformation, as well as the opinions of the ancient reformers as to the propriety of the use of crosses, altars, &c., and occupied one hour and twenty minutes in reading. The judge took the objectionable articles *seriatim*, and first as regarded St. Barnabas. First, as regarded the cross as an ornament of worship, their Lordships were of opinion that the cross, as distinguished from a crucifix, had been long in use as an ornament of the Church, and that when the cross was used merely as an emblem of faith, and not as an object of superstitious reverence, it was still allowable. Considering the cross on the chancel screen, at St. Barnabas, in the former

light, their Lordships advised her Majesty to reverse the judgment of the courts below, and to allow its continuance. With regard to the stone altar, their Lordships were of opinion that it must be removed and substituted with a movable table of wood, according to the ordinary meaning of the term table, so as to allow of its being moved from time to time, according to the requirements of the celebration of divine service. Their Lordships considered that the wooden cross attached to the table of St. Paul, was inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the regulations, and they recommended that the decree of the court below in reference to it should be affirmed. They advised the reversal of the sentence with reference to the credence table, believing it was authorized by the Rubric and Prayer-Book. Their Lordships saw no reason to interfere for the reversal of the sentence below with regard to the covering of the communion table, during divine service; but they affirmed the sentence requiring the table to be covered with a fair white linen cloth, without embroidery or lace attached to it. As the judgments of the courts below had been materially altered, their lordships decreed that so much of the sentence in those courts as awarded costs against the appellants should be reversed, and that, in those cases as well as in the present, each party should pay their own costs. The judgment had received the entire concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the present Bishop of London.

The following ornaments for the interior of a Church, are, therefore, in future legal or illegal:—

ILLEGAL AND UNAUTHORIZED.

Stone altars, or anything upon them, whether cross or otherwise, which may prevent them from being covered with the fair white linen cloth.
Lace or embroidery upon the fair white linen cloth.

LEGAL AND AUTHORIZED.

Chancel-screens.
Cross on screens.
Credence tables.
Various altar-cloths.
Candlesticks and candles on altar.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ABOLITION OF CHURCH RATES.

This old hobby of Dissent, &c., is again up in the British Cabinet. A deputation consisting of members and friends of the Established Church, had an interview with Viscount Palmerston on Wednesday last, and offered the following representation with reference to projected legislation on Church-rates:—By a return laid before parliament in February of this year, it is shown that the loss of revenue to the Church by the abolition of Church-rates may be estimated at about £350,000 per annum. The returns recently laid before Parliament prove as many as 9,672 parishes have sent in replies to the questions transmitted to them. The replies may be divided into the following classes:—Parishes in which the Church-rate has been granted, 8,280; parishes in which there is a provision by Church estates and otherwise, 544; parishes which have given dubious replies, 440; parishes which have refused Church-rates, 408. It appears, therefore, that parishes which grant the rate amount to more than 95 per cent. of the whole.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The English papers inform us, that on the 12th of June, a meeting was held at Lambeth Palace, *by permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, to receive from the deputation recently sent to Berlin a report of their proceedings in preparation for the proposed conference in that capital next September. The meeting took place in the guard-room, the walls of which are surrounded by portraits of the successive Archbishops of Canterbury for several centuries. The chair was taken by the Archbishop. Among those present were Lord Cal-

thorpe, Count Bernstorff, the Bishops of London, Ripon, St. David's, Manchester, Rupert's Land, Bishop Carr, the Dean of Canterbury, Sir C. E. Eardley, Sir H. Verney, M. P., General Sir J. Rowland Eustace, Major General Alexander, General M'Innes, Hon. W. Ashley, Hon. F. Maude, J. Briscoe, Esq., M. P., C. Cowan, Esq., M. P., F. Crossley, Esq., M. P., A. Haldane, Esq., T. Bignold, Esq., Dr. Crawford, Major Straith, Professor Martin, of Aberdeen, Professor Hoppus, Rev. W. Niven, Rev. H. Venn, Rev. J. S. Jenkinson, Rev. R. H. Herschel, Rev. T. R. Brook, Rev. J. Jordan, Rev. Mesac Thomas, Rev. G. Mansfield, Rev. Hugh Allen, Rev. Robert Frost, Rev. B. Maitland, Rev. W. M. Bunting, &c. The Bishop of Ripon opened the proceedings by reading 1 Cor. xiii, and by prayer. The Most Rev. Chairman observed that in the programme of the proceedings it was announced that some introductory observations would be made by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He trusted that no introductory remarks were necessary to show that Christians might meet together to consider subjects of common interest and connected with their common faith, &c., &c. The members of the deputation then gave an account of their visit. After which, at the request of the Primate, the Rev. W. M. Bunting, Wesleyan Minister, then offered prayer, and his Grace terminated the proceedings by pronouncing the benediction.

Such a meeting, in such a place, is worthy of note. The past history of this "Evangelical Alliance," the bitter and growing hatred to the Church openly manifested by its leading spirits, the rapidly increasing Deism in the party, among men hitherto reported orthodox, and the exultant tone of the infidel party over these developments, are enough, we might suppose, to put loyal Christian men on their guard. It is not *unity in belief*, which this movement has in view, but a *unity in unbelief*, a *unity in a virtual denial of the Faith*.

But is there a tendency to unity, among those who have seceded from the Church, and who plead the necessity of a more liberal basis of Christian unity? In the United States, at least, as facts abundantly show, the tendency is all the other way. We see already here, three rival and opposition Presbyterian "Churches" arrayed against each other. We see Congregational and Presbyterian bodies refusing, "for conscience' sake," to recognize each other by appointing representative delegations to each other. And yet, these are the men who just now are canting most loudly about *unity*, while they are driving an entering wedge of schism into the heart of the old Mother Church of England. There are, doubtless, many sincere and honest men engaged in this plan. It is at least a witness against schism on the part of men who were its originators. But there can be no solid unity on such a shadowy foundation.

Besides the ignoring of all positive doctrine by this "Evangelical Alliance," a plan is on foot to make the Meeting at Berlin an engine with which to attack American Slavery. Whereupon, the Rev. Robert Baird, now in Germany, thus writes home, "If American Slavery is to come in, then I shall insist upon it that three or four other subjects shall come in,—one of which shall be the preparation of a 'memorial' to the Queen of England, and appointment of a deputation to Lord Palmerston, 'On the enormous injury done to humanity by the conquest of India with its 150,000,000 of inhabitants, by the English, and the conversion of that great country into one vast garden for the production of opium, which they are engaged in forcing on China with its 350,000,000 of inhabitants, at the mouth of the cannon,—thus producing incalculable evil to 500,000,000 human beings, and hindering the spread of the gospel among one half of the human race.'"

ROMISH TROUBLES IN BELGIUM.

In Belgium, unlike Holland, Romanism assumes the most thoroughly ultramontane character. The recent political troubles there need a few words of explanation. Since 1830, by the National Constitution the administration of charity in Belgium has been completely secularized, and lodged in the hands of the civil authorities. The clergy and the religious congregations are made

legally incapable of receiving or distributing alms or donations for the poor. The growing boldness and ambition of the Romish party, however, forced upon the Chambers, at its May Session, a Bill, which finally passed by a majority of 80 to 41; and which contains two important enactments:—By the first, the Executive is enabled, of its own right, and without the intervention of the Legislature, to confer upon any religious congregation the important privileges of the "*personne civile*," with the right to hold and succeed to property, and to receive legacies or donations. By the second, individual benefactors, who may wish to dispose of their property in favor of the poor, or of charitable institutions, are empowered to nominate "special administrators" of the funds appropriated by them to such purposes or foundations. In other words, the object of the Bill evidently was, to bring into power again, the Jesuits and their party. The passage of this Bill created such a perfect fury of popular indignation, that the King prorogued the sittings of the Chamber, indefinitely. The Papal Nuncio was publicly insulted; and at Antwerp and Liege, the windows of the Jesuit College, and the Bishop's Palace were dashed out; while the cries of the populace in the streets, were indicative of the extremest rage.

The efforts of the Jesuit party to recover their old ground, in Germany and on the Continent, may be inferred from the Paris *Univers*, as follows:

"The Company of Jesus, that scare-crow of heresy, which the whole world thought crushed, covers all Germany with its laborious members. In Prussia, the Jesuits have establishments at Munster, Paderborn, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Bonn, Schrimm, Gorheim, &c. In Austria, the task of education has been confided to them, and several colleges and seminaries labor in the realization of the aim proposed by the Concordat. The colleges of Feldkirch, Karisbourg, and others, are only the first steps to new foundations. The Lazarists are directors of several colleges. The Fathers of the Order of Mercy, are numerous in Bavaria, and have obtained several establishments in Austria and Prussia, at Maria Haminckel, near Munster, at Coblenz, and Aix-la-Chapelle. The Franciscans have added the Convent of Dusseldorf to their former establishments, and have likewise established themselves at Mayence."

We are surprised to see that M. Guizot, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, takes ground in favor of this Belgian Bill; and says, that these apprehensions of Rome, are all imaginary; and that the pretensions to temporal power by the Pope, are abandoned. As a matter of fact, M. Guizot is simply mistaken, and has probably been imposed upon by some cunning Jesuit.

FRANCE.—TRIAL OF STATE PRISONERS.

The trial of the three Italians accused of an attempt to assassinate the emperor, took place on the 6th and 7th of August, and resulted in a verdict of guilty, with extenuating circumstances in favor of Bartolotti and Grilli. The court sentenced Tibaldi to transportation for life, and Bartolotti and Grilli to fifteen years' imprisonment. Both Mazzini and M. Rollin were implicated in this attempt on the life of the French Emperor.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH INFLUENCE AND OBJECTS IN CHINA.

The *Moniteur*, (Paris,) in announcing the appointment of Baron Gros, as French Commissioner Extraordinary to China, says:

"Lord Elgin has received an analogous mission with the same title from her Britannic Majesty, and the two Plenipotentiaries will lend each other mutual support in the negotiations confided to them, the success of which will, without any doubt, open a new field to Christian civilization, and to the commerce of all nations."

On this, an English writer remarks, that the last phrase is generally regarded as significant of the widely different basis of negotiation which circumstances mark out for the two commissioners, the more professed object of French

interference being that of "Christian civilization," or, in other words, the effective protection of her Catholic missions, while to us is handed over the more material obligation of looking after the interests of "the commerce of all nations."

The policy of the British Government in its foreign relations, its mercenary spirit, its disregard for, and not unfrequent sacrifice of the interests of that Church, are well illustrated in the above pregnant paragraph.

We learn also, on reliable authority, that the Papal Government has been occupied with a new organization of the Romish Dioceses in China; and that this measure is to be followed by the organization, on new bases, of all the Romish Missions in the extreme East. So it is then. The British Government stands guard and shakes the tree, and the Pope bags the fruit.

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

M. de Saulcy, a member of the French Institute, who has passed some time in Egypt, and is conversant with the archæology of that country, states in the *Courrier de Paris*, that an important discovery has lately been made in one of the tombs of Memphis, of a whole library of hieratic papyruses. This precious collection would most probably have been torn in bits by the lucky finders, and every fragment sold separately to the curiosity-hunting English who frequent that country, had not an Arab, an agent in the pay of the British Museum, fortunately been apprised of the matter, and bought up the whole lot in time. Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, has as yet only deciphered one of these curious manuscripts, which turns out to be neither more nor less than a complete history of the royal dynasties.

A "NEW BIBLE MOVEMENT" FROWNED UPON.

At the monthly meeting of the Christian Knowledge Society, held June 2nd, the Rev. Dr. Biber moved, pursuant to notice given at the last meeting, certain Resolutions in favor of a new version of the Bible.

The Rev. Dr. Hessay moved, and the Rev. C. Cator seconded, as an amendment:—That it is not expedient that the society should undertake the work contemplated in the resolutions and scheme submitted by the Rev. Dr. Biber, or that the proposed committee of inquiry should be appointed by the standing committee.

After considerable discussion, Dr. Biber having been heard in reply, the amendment proposed by Dr. Hessay was put from the chair, and adopted by a very large majority.

DR. DAVIDSON.

This gentleman's pamphlet in self-vindication being regarded by the authorities of the College as unsatisfactory, he has resigned the Professorship of Biblical Criticism at the Lancashire Independent College, owing to the offense given by his editorship of the second volume of the last edition of Mr. Hartwell Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*.

JOHN WILSON CROKER.

Known specially as a contributor to the *London Quarterly Review*, and for his edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson, died, Aug. 11th, at the age of 77 years

THE LAST CENSUS OF IRELAND.

Some interesting facts are developed by the new Census of Ireland, the publication of which is just completed. The statistics were gathered in 1851, but have been classified and arranged only after four years' labor. The preparation of the tables appears to have been completed with care and industry. The results of the work suggest melancholy considerations, for the actual population of that unhappy country has not only diminished in a large ratio since the period when the previous census was taken, (1841,) but the moral and physical condition of the Island has undergone a corresponding deterioration. The number of persons of all ages in Ireland on the 6th of June, 1841, was 8,175,124; and on the 30th of March, 1851, it was 6,552,886. The rate of diminution was 20.6 per cent. for males, and 19.1 per cent. for females.

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ART. I.—DR. PUSEY AND THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, *from the Council of Jerusalem, A. D. 51, to the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381 ; as to their Constitution, but also as to their objects and History.*
By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D. D., &c., &c., &c.

WE have placed the title of this work at the head of our Article, not because we intend to enter into any disquisition on it, or the topics of which it treats ; but because we have found in it certain prefatory remarks, which seem to us to demand some notice. We are not, we must say in the outset, among those who are peculiarly sensitive to the ordinary strictures of our English brethren. We can readily imagine, that in Church as well as State and other matters, they may find among us a vast many things which may strike them as altogether strange, out of the way, and inexplicable. And if the thought will occasionally occur that they would be much less perplexed and annoyed, if they would not so invariably make "the way they do at home" the single standard by which all men and things are judged, still, we are by no means disposed to complain. For this very insularity or nationality, is, in many respects, a noble thing, and has wrought some noble results. Moreover, we suppose, it lies at the root of that over-

weening estimate of ourselves, to the charge of which we are considered—as no doubt we are—peculiarly obnoxious. We only beg objectors to remember, that however much this disposition may have been exacerbated and increased by climate and other causes, we still in the line of our descent, came very honestly by it.

We ought also to express our sincere conviction, that the great body of the Clergy and Laity of the Mother Church, are animated by no other than the most fraternal feelings towards us. We have received, and are receiving too many proofs of this, to permit any reasonable man to question it. No doubt there are some among them who regard us as only a more orderly kind of Dissenters, because we are not “by law established;” others, who are willing to refer to us as a proof that Monarchy is not essential to the existence of the Episcopacy, and whose sympathies stop with that; others, still, who regard us with suspicion, because we are not merely a Church of England in America; and a few, who entertain the fear, once expressed to us by an English clergyman, with more *naiveté* than fact, that a repeal of all inhibitory laws against us, would set in motion a clerical exodus from America, which fleeing from the horrors of the voluntary system, would descend upon the shores of England, and, under the plea of “manifest destiny,” seize on everything available, from the living of Doddington down to the humblest curacy. Indeed, it must be confessed, that the superior facility of locomotion which in the intercourse of a few past years we have exhibited, and which in the interchange of hospitalities, has left us considerably on the debit side, may have given some ground for this last anticipation. We hope, however, it will not be forgotten, that temporary travel, and permanent removal, are two distinct things. Still, we cannot, as we have said, question the fraternal regard of the great body of English Churchmen; and we are sure, they cannot doubt our filial reverence towards the Mother Church, or our hearty recognition of the tie which binds us together as brethren.

It is therefore with unfeigned regret, that we find a *Regius* Professor in the University of Oxford, coming before the Church with statements concerning our ecclesiastical character and position, like those of which we are about to speak. If any heed is given to them either here or in England,—and while with some Dr. Pusey’s name is all powerful, and even with those, who, like ourselves, have no sympathy with his views, his learning and patient industry will always command a respectful hearing—they must result in needless distrust and

suspicion on the one side, and in a feeling of injury and misrepresentation on the other. But our first duty is to lay the strictures in question before our readers :

"Accordingly, until the unhappy precedent, made in very evil times by the Church of the United States, when struggling for life, the question of lay representation was consistently confined to bodies who rejected the Apostolic succession, the Continental reformers, and the dissenters in Great Britain.

"It must be said plainly, that the precedent set in the United States is radically wrong, and, in fact, is so far, the adoption of a principle belonging to bodies who reject the Apostolic succession and the whole principle of a deposit of faith, and of a commission, transmitted from the apostles and part of the mind of Christ. Yet, in so saying, I do not mean, (God forbid !) that she has thereby forfeited her claim to be a part of the Church. She has abandoned a bulwark of the faith, a function of the office inherited by her Bishops, not the faith itself, nor the Apostolic succession.

"Through our neglect she became what she became ; and we owe her therefore not sympathy only, but a respectful and humble sorrow. Still, while we own our own share in the sin, and that through God's mercy alone we have been preserved, it were thanklessness for our own mercies not to own, that she has undergone loss. Nestorianism and Eutychianism were not the produce of one generation only, nor are they extinct. The Athanasian Creed is at once the bulwark against those heresies, and the clearest exposition of the deepest truths on the very Being of God. It sets forth in clearest terms the Being of God Almighty in Himself, and in the relation which through us, His lowest creatures, He vouchsafed to form with his whole rational creation. On those truths the human mind must dwell, if it would think at all on God, its Author and its End, and on its redeeming Lord. Thoughts like those which the Athanasian Creed so wonderfully embodies, must come across every reflective mind. The soul must think in some way on every subject mentioned in that Creed, if it rises above the toils or pleasures of this earth to dwell upon its God. Yet error lies as near to the mind of man as truth. Error is manifold, truth one. And therefore there is the more danger lest the soul of man should go astray, where it would most need and long to think aright, where error would estrange it from its God and Saviour as He is. It was a loss, then, that, misunderstanding its solemn warnings to those who willfully part with the faith, the American Church allowed one of the clearest expositions of that faith silently to drop from them. They parted, not only with the Creed itself, but with the very confession that it 'ought thoroughly to be received and believed.' They did not mean to part with the faith from their heart, but they parted with its confession from their lips. In like way, they did not deny, but they ignored the value of absolution.

"They did not deny, but in both instances they suppressed the truth. It is plain, then, that in the future history of the Church, either we must

be the instrument of God in upholding their faith, or they, if we enter into closer relations with them, will lower ours. Not then in reproach, but in self-defense it was said, that a Church which had 'omitted the Athanasian Creed, and bracketed the Nicene,' was no model to be safely copied.

"The admission of laymen to a co-ordinate voice in Councils on the faith, is not an heretical act. Yet, it is an innovation upon that rule which the inspired Apostles left with the Church. To depart from their rule must needs be the commencement of a perilous course, the issue of which God alone knoweth, and from which may He preserve us."

These words—and their writer has almost universally the credit of carefully weighing what he says—involve some grave conclusions. Unless we are greatly mistaken, Dr. Pusey has made no secret of his conviction that the Church of England is in a sorely mutilated and crippled state; that she has parted with much of her Christian birthright; that she has *approached*, at least, a position where her claim to be considered an integral portion of the Catholic Church may be questioned; and, now, the further conclusion is announced, that we have fallen to such a lower depth, and come so much nearer to excluding ourselves from the Body of Christ, that not only is not our example a safe one to follow, but that even *closer* relations with us, will, unless our tone is thereby raised—and all the chances of course lie the other way—lower the tone of the Mother Church. It is easy to assert, that such a sentiment is uttered, "not in reproach, but in self-defense." That very conviction, if it be real, involves—whether justly or unjustly facts must decide—the very greatest possible reproach.

Nor can we avoid remarking, that the announcement of these views follows directly on a movement originated by the Bishop of Maryland,* in the last General Convention, which, if carried out, might bring about those "closer relations" which Dr. Pusey and others who are in the opposite extreme from him, unite in dreading. Had Dr. Pusey designed, so far as his name had influence, and his views carried weight, to put an *estoppel* to that movement, a more opportune season for the accomplishment of such a purpose, could scarcely have been selected.

But we pass on, to consider the charges on which we have been brought, not so much to trial, as to condemnation. They are four in number. We have "ignored the value of Absolution." We have "bracketed the Nicene Creed." We have "parted with the confession" of the faith "from our lips."

* Journal of 1856, pp. 202, 206.

We have admitted into our Synods and Councils Lay representatives. And in doing this, we are charged with departing from the position of our Mother Church, in particulars at least important, possibly something more. These are serious charges, taken in connection with the consequences which Dr. Pusey deduces from them. If we have anything to say, it surely becomes us to say it.

What proof, then, we ask, is there in our formularies, that our Church ignores any value which the Church of England attaches to Absolution? For, in taking up Dr. Pusey's first charge, we must ask our readers to remember, that this is the only question we are answering. We are not discussing the nature or value of Absolution. We are not inquiring whether Dr. Pusey's own views on these points are, or are not, the views of the English Church. The single topic now under examination—and we wish especially to insist upon the distinction herein involved—is, whether any such changes have been made in our American revision of the Book of Common Prayer, as warrant the conclusion, that our Church regards Absolution in any other light than that in which it is regarded by the Mother Church, or attaches to it any inferior value? The nature, value and effects of Absolution, the soundness or unsoundness of Dr. Pusey's own views, their agreement or disagreement with the standards of our Anglican Church, all plainly lie entirely outside of this line of inquiry, and are, therefore, not now under consideration. Having thus cleared the ground, and stated the question, we proceed to the testimony of our Prayer Book.

Nothing which supports Dr. Pusey's allegation can be gathered from the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. The Absolution, to be said by "the Priest alone," stands there, as it has stood in the English Book since 1552. Had our revision omitted it, it would only have followed, in this respect, the first Book of 1549. Nor does the transference from the Communion Office of the more solemn precatory form, as an option—a provision which we regard as unfortunate—afford any ground for his charge.

In the Office for the Holy Communion there is a change, on which we presume Dr. Pusey mainly rests his assertions. In the Exhortation to be ordinarily read, when warning is given "for the celebration of the Holy Communion," our revision omits to mention "the benefit of Absolution," as one of the things for which a person unable to "quiet his own conscience," is to apply to his Pastor, "or to some other Minister of God's Word." But can anything more be fairly argued from this, than that our Church has omitted to provide for the use of the

Absolution in private? Among us, one going to the Minister to "open his griefs," if by counsel and advice he attains to "the quieting of his conscience and the removing of all scruple and doubtfulness,"—and surely, unless this end were gained the Absolution would not be pronounced in private—comes to the public Office, joins in the General Confession, and in company with the faithful, listens to the proclamation of the pardoning mercy of God. What ignoring is there in all this of the *value* of Absolution? What even in the most stringent view of the case, is ignored, except the use of the *Absolution in private?* And if this is tantamount to *ignoring its value*, then for how many centuries was that value ignored by the Catholic Church? Let us proceed to the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. In this, we find in our revision two omissions: first, of the rubric which provides for a special Confession, and, next, of the indicative form of Absolution. Now as to the first of these omissions, it must be remembered that the rubric which orders the examination of the conscience, is retained. And, surely, so long as that examination is in any degree what it should be—and a minister who would not make it such, would neither be very likely to act under the omitted rubric, nor to act to any good purpose if he did—any great special sin can hardly escape the minister's knowledge, or fail to be made the subject of his remark and counsel. So that while the more general provision which is retained, thus necessarily includes the special one which is omitted, we cannot see that any conclusion favorable to Dr. Pusey's allegation, can be drawn from this omission. In regard to the omission of the indicative form of Absolution, two considerations must be borne in mind. As a general rule, a sick person properly prepared for either life or death, will receive at certain times the Holy Communion; in the Office for which, the Absolution will be used in that very form, which as his biographer informs us,* Bishop Bull, in his last illness, desired to have substituted for the indicative form; "thinking it came nearer to the precatory forms of Absolution mentioned by the Fathers, than any other." But even if this were not so, it is still true that the indicative form of Absolution is of mediæval origin—Brigham† says it was unknown till the twelfth century—while the prayer beginning "O most merciful God, who according to the multitude of Thy mercies," &c., is the *original Absolution*. Mr. Palmer shows this, and adds: ‡ "This ancient Absolution, or reconciliation of a peni-

* Nelson's Life of Bull, Sec. LXXIX.

† Book XIV, c. 2, Sec. 5.

‡ Origines Liturgicæ, Vol. II, p. 226.

tent near death, is not only found in the old formularies of the English Church, where it was used *long before the preceding indicative form was introduced*, but in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, A. D. 494; and for many centuries was commonly used in the Churches of the West." What, then, has our Church done in this matter, that warrants Dr. Pusey's charge? We have simply omitted a later and mediæval form, and by so doing, have restored to its proper position and rightful place that ancient precatory form, which was used for more than thirteen hundred years in the Western Church. And this is to ignore the value of Absolution! It does, indeed, remove all possible shadow of an idea that we have anything in common with the Mediæval and Romish doctrine of Absolution, but, we ask any candid person, can it be fairly said to do anything more?

One fact remains to be stated. Among the Offices in our American Book, is one—not found in the English—for the Visitation of Prisoners. In this Office there are two Rubrics which bear on our present inquiry. In the first, the Minister is directed, in connection with the examination of the prisoner's conscience, "to exhort him to a particular confession of the sin for which he is condemned;" and in the second, after confession, the Priest is ordered "to declare to him the pardoning mercy of God in the form which is used in the Communion Service." We confess ourselves unable to discover any evidence in this, that our Church "ignores" the value of Absolution."

Our readers can now see for themselves precisely in what points our Prayer Book varies from that of the Mother Church in this matter of the Absolution. And, it appears, the points of difference are two in number. First, our Offices do not recognize the use of the Absolution *in private*, where it may be had in public: and, secondly, they omit that indicative form of Absolution which only dates back to the twelfth century. But neither of these changes in any way involves an opinion as to the *value* of Absolution; neither denies that value, whatever it may be, and as we have already said, *we are not now inquiring what it is*; neither places us on any different ground as regards that value, from the Mother Church; and, unless the Catholic Church of Christ for many centuries ignored the value of Absolution, neither can afford any just foundation for such a charge as the one brought against us by Dr. Pusey. In a word, if Dr. Pusey's view of Absolution be the Mediæval and Romish one, then of course we differ from that, just so far as it differs from the standards of the English Church. If, on the other hand, his view be the Primitive and Scriptural

one of the English Church, then there is no shadow of evidence that we differ from either. And here, we are content to leave our issue with him on this topic.

The allegation next to be considered, is, that we have "bracketed the Nicene Creed." A question appears to have arisen as to the precise meaning of these words. It has been supposed, that by some confusion of ideas, Dr. Pusey intends to refer to the provision in the rubric preceding the Apostles' Creed, that "any Churches may omit the words, *He descended into Hell*, or may instead of them, use the words, *He went into the place of departed spirits*." We presume, however, that reference is made to those rubrical provisions, by which either the Apostles or the Nicene Creed may be used in the Morning and Evening Service, and also in the Office for the Holy Communion. Taking then, this, as Dr. Pusey's meaning, let us inquire how much can fairly be made of this "bracketing the Nicene Creed."

The facts in the case are as follows. At the informal and provisional Convention of 1785, two courses of action were adopted in reference to the Book of Common Prayer. Certain changes in the prayers, rendered necessary by the acknowledged Independence of the United States, were agreed upon. This was evidently a mere matter of necessity; it was only doing by an agreement of many, what individual clergymen had been doing for a long time—some, from the fourth of July, 1776, and all, from the third of September, 1783—substituting, namely, prayers for the authorities of the Republic, in place of those for the Royal Family and Parliament of Great Britain. But, besides this, that provisional Convention *proposed*—of course they could not establish—certain other changes, which were published in the "Proposed Book" in 1786.* Among these propositions, was one for the entire omission of the Nicene Creed. It met, however, with no favor; Bishop White, who is certainly a most competent witness, says, "the omission had been generally regretted;" it was not endorsed by the second provisional Convention, held in 1786, in which, as the same authority informs us, the Nicene Creed "was restored without debate or difficulty," with the rubrical provision noted above; all which action was confirmed by the consent of all Orders in the Convention of 1789, the first regularly constituted Synod of our Church.

Now, it is true, that as the rubrics stand, a clergyman can, if he will, so avail himself of their option, as to avoid the use of

* We think it admits of some doubt, whether these last named changes were proposed by the Convention, or only by a Committee.

the Nicene Creed, either in the Daily Service or the Communion Office. But, to reach such a result, could not have been the object of the framers of the rubrics. For when the proposition to omit the Nicene Creed had been made in terms, and was "generally regretted" and disliked, to suppose that a rubric *intended* to be tantamount to such an omission, was then presented to, and passed by the very persons who opposed omission, is to reflect not only upon the honesty and honor of the originators of the plan, but also upon the intelligence and common sense of those who suffered themselves to be gulled by it. The circumstances of the case, and the testimony of those concerned in it, alike show that the restitution was intended to be a *bona fide* one. While, as matter of fact, we have never known a clergyman, who supposed himself to be released by our rubric from the use of the Nicene Symbol, or who availed himself of the possible option, to exclude it from the Services. It is moreover fully accepted and acknowledged, in our eighth Article.

The historical details with which we have just been occupied, suggest the propriety of mentioning, in passing, certain facts which must be borne in mind, if we would fairly weigh and understand our American revision of the Book of Common Prayer. We may as well call attention to them here as at any other point; for though they will lead us for a moment from our direct line of remark, they have an important bearing on the topics just discussed, and those which are to follow.

The Convention of 1789, then, when they approached the final revision of the Prayer Book, had not alone in their hands the English Book. They had also before them, and they could not but take cognizance of the Proposed Book of 1786. Their action, therefore, was embarrassed and complicated. And to estimate the spirit which animated them, and the true character of their labors, we must take that Book as the exponent of the extreme of change to which some persons were disposed to go, and compare it with the results which were actually reached. We shall then see how conservative a spirit pervaded the body; and their work will be regarded in a very different light from that in which it would be viewed, had they simply taken the English Book and *originated* changes from it. Vastly greater changes had been proposed by the provisional Conventions preceding; Conventions which, moreover, were partial, both in regard to the number of Dioceses represented, and in their own incomplete constitution, as being made up of Presbyters and Laymen, without Bishops. While, as we have said above, this Convention of 1789 was the first

in which all Orders were represented. Viewed, therefore, in this way, our first full Synod does not appear to be so much engaged in originating changes, as in repressing a spirit of change. And when its labors—which we are not at all attempting to prove perfect and faultless—were completed, it closed them by renewing with an enlarged, distinct and solemn speciality of detail, a Declaration, which had previously been couched in vague and general terms; “that it was *far* from intending to depart from the Church of England, in any essential point of *doctrine, discipline, or worship*.” The change of expression, which becomes apparent on comparing this Declaration with the one put forth in connection with the Proposed Book, is very striking, and, under the circumstances, full of meaning. Nor are the words employed, those of men conscious of having made such vital changes as Dr. Pusey charges on them. It will be long before he will persuade us that the members of our first complete Synod were so dishonest as to take such words on their lips, when they knew them to be false; or so ignorant and stupid as to depart from the Mother Church to the extent which he alleges, without knowing it.

Dr. Pusey’s third allegation is, that we “have parted with the Confession” of the “faith from our lips;” and by this he means, that we have omitted from our formularies the Athanasian Creed. To say the least, this is a needlessly harsh way of putting the matter. And its harshness is not mitigated by the facts, that the Council of Ephesus, in its seventh canon, forbade any other Creed to be composed or used, than “that which was settled by the holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicæa, with the Holy Ghost;” and that the Athanasian Symbol is not used in the public Services of the Orthodox Greek Church. This last mentioned fact, it should be remembered, was distinctly had in view at the time the omission was decided on.* In reference to the whole subject, we adopt the language of the accomplished correspondent of the *Literary Churchman*. Indeed, did our limits permit, we should be glad to lay his entire letter before our readers.†

“The wise and good men who compiled our Prayer Book, whatever were their defects and failures, at least acted on a principle, and not blindly, in what they did. . . . They regarded that [Creed] *called* the Creed of Athanasius, however venerable and valuable, as a hymn, and not a creed; resting on precisely the same basis as the *Te Deum*, so far as respects the absolute necessity of its being incorporated in any office of daily prayer. Now while, for one, I bitterly deplore the practical

* Bishop White’s Memoirs, p. 149.

† Letter of A. C. C., in the *Literary Churchman*, of Oct. 17, 1857.

application of this principle, which has cost us so dearly in the matter of worship, I venture to affirm that the principle is a sound one; and that no private doctor, however venerable for learning and piety, has a right to speak so harshly of a great Church, in full communion with his own, as to tax her with 'lowering' the faith, simply because, in common with the Orthodox Church of the Greeks, she does not use the hymn *Quicumque vult* in her public worship. Let it be remembered that, at the same time and for kindred reasons, she omitted the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, not surely because she did not believe or value them, but because in adapting herself to her new work, she (unwisely, as I humbly conceive, but still with a legitimate exercise of judgment) thought best to present to the people among whom she was to labor, a Common Prayer, as far as possible from those things to which hereditary pride and long and painful prejudice had made them obstinately adverse.

"Now, in omitting the Athanasian Creed as a *hymn*, did she do so without adequate safeguards as to the profession of the faith contained in that hymn? On the contrary, in retaining the service for Trinity Sunday, with its Collect and Preface, in retaining the invocations in the Litany, and in giving greater prominence to the Nicene Creed, she regarded herself as sufficiently setting forth the great doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. But that was not enough—she took the precaution to assert in the preface to her Prayer Book, 'that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England, in any essential point of *doctrine, discipline, or worship*, or further than local circumstances require.'

"It is worthy of note, that as soon as possible after this 'the Bishops, Clergy and Laity,' in synod, added to the book an Office of Institution, in which not only is the soundest and most Catholic view of the sacerdotal office, and its connections with the episcopate, recognized and embodied, but also there are introduced three successive Collects—the first of which is addressed to the FATHER, the second to the SON, and the third to the HOLY GHOST. Does this look as if there had been any *lowering* of the Faith in the Triune God?"

To what is here said it must be also added, that a further proof of entire orthodoxy was given, when, in 1801, the Thirty Nine Articles were adopted; in which the omission of the Athanasian Creed, in the VIIIth Article, is more than counterbalanced by the adoption of the first five Articles, which reproduce, in its completeness of doctrinal statement, the Athanasian Symbol.

We have reached the last and principal *gravamen* of Dr. Pusey; the matter, namely, of Lay representation. The other three subjects are introduced as illustrations of the result of this ecclesiastical regulation, and warnings to English Churchmen, not to be attracted towards a system, the issues of

which are supposed to have been so disastrous.* The assertion is, that in recognizing the principle of Lay representation, we have departed from the usages of all bodies possessing Apostolical Succession, in all times and places. Now this clearly involves a double charge: first, a general one of departing from the usage of the Catholic Church; and secondly, a special one of departing from the usage of the Church of England.

In regard to both these charges, Dr. Pusey offers us the benefit of an excuse, under which we can consent to shelter neither ourselves, nor our fathers. Whether the idea were right or wrong, it was imagined that Lay representation in matters ecclesiastical, was a thing recognized both in the Early Church, and in the Church of England. The idea entertained, was, unquestionably, the one expressed in a letter of Dr. Bowden, published in 1792, with the approval of Bishop Seabury, that the principle of Lay representation was justified by Reason, Revelation, and Precedent. We cannot therefore accept Dr. Pusey's excuse—however kindly it may be intended—that evil times and untoward circumstances forced this principle upon us. Whatever is to be said for or against it, we went into it with our eyes open; while the communions around us—aside from the Romish Church—in which we see Lay representation ignored, so far from retaining the Succession, scout it as an antiquated shred of Popery.†

Into the general charge we shall not here enter. Not because we have nothing to say; but because our line of remark has led us rather to consider ourselves in relation to the Church of England, and to endeavor at least, to show that we have not in the matters charged so departed from her position as to justify any of her members in using such words as those of Dr. Pusey. For this reason, and because, moreover, our limits restrict us, we confine ourselves here to the questions: Did our Church inaugurate *a principle* unknown to the English Church, when she admitted laymen to a share in her Synods? And if she did not, then what was her action in the premises?

It was not supposed at the time, that any new principle was adopted. In the pamphlet above referred to, it is distinctly asserted that in recognizing the principle of Lay representation, we were only doing what the Church of England had already done under another form. And we believe the truth

* It is obvious to remark, that it does not at all follow that the matters previously charged, even if they were admitted as truly charged, are necessarily connected with Lay representation. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, is not an uncommon fallacy.

† As, for instance, the Presbyterians and Methodists.

of this position may be as nearly demonstrated, as anything can be, which depends on moral reasoning.

We go back, then, and take our stand on the declarations and arguments of Richard Hooker. In the Eighth Book of his *Polity*, he brings out and advocates the principle of a General Synod, in which both Clergy and Laity are represented. He holds that no laws, civil or ecclesiastical, can become "naturally" or "religiously" binding in England, without the united action of Clergy and Laity. And the General Synod in which this action is had, he finds in Parliament and Convocation sitting concurrently. "The Parliament of England," he says, "together with the Convocation thereto annexed, is that upon which the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend." For he will not grant that Parliament is a merely "temporal court," and Bramhall asserts the same thing.* Here, then, we have broadly stated the principle of Lay representation in matters ecclesiastical; and we see, moreover, in what way the principle took form, namely, in the joint action of Convocation as the Clerical, and Parliament as the Lay Synod of the Church of England. We are not concerned here to enquire whether the principle thus avowed by Hooker was inaugurated by our Mother Church at the Reformation; it is enough for our present purposes to show what has been shown. Still, we have no doubt, the arrangement was regarded as a return to the ancient customs of the nation, antedating the Papal usurpations. Bramhall, at least, clearly so regards it.†

The principle of Lay representation being thus proved to have been recognized in the Mother Church, and the mode of its working appearing to have been provided for, through the action of Parliament sitting as a Lay Synod, we must next briefly consider the history of this arrangement, its progress, changes and results. We shall then be prepared to state our conclusions.

When Hooker wrote, the whole English nation constituted, in the eye of the law, not merely one Commonwealth, but one Church. So he repeatedly says, "there is not a man of the Church of England, but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth; nor any member of the Commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England."‡ And this

* *Defense of Protestant's Ordination*, Sec. 6.

† *Just Vindication*, C. IV. Jackson, also, accounts the exclusion of the Laity, a piece of Romish treason. On *Christian Obedience*, C. I, § 8.

‡ *Ecl. Polity*, VIII, I, 2; compare also, I, 5. See also *Canons CXXXIX, and CXL, of 1603*.

view is confirmed by Stat. 35, Elizabeth, C. I, 1592.* But such a view of the case, almost immediately became unreal, and a fiction. People did, in various directions, desert the communion of the Church of England; and then an arrangement just to all parties, would have been to open Parliament to others besides members of the Church of England, and to take from it its character as a Lay Synod of that Church, and provide for Lay representation in some other way. No such course however was adopted. Two distinct lines of policy were consecutively pursued. Till 1688, the Act of Elizabeth above referred to, was continued in force; and it preserved to the Parliament its character as a Lay Synod of the Church. In 1688, that Act was repealed, and the Commonwealth and the Church ceased even in the eye of the law, to be identical. But, though this was so, the Test and Corporation Acts continued in force, and gave to Parliament some sort of claim to be still regarded in its old character of a Lay Synod. In 1828, however, these Acts were repealed; in 1829, Papists were admitted to Parliament; in 1833, the Reform Bill swept away the last vestige of the ancient character of Parliament as a Lay Synod, and though it has continued to act in this capacity, all the original conditions which gave it its character as a Lay Synod, have ceased to exist. And this is not all; for while the character of Parliament has thus vitally changed, the abeyance of the proper powers of Convocation has thrown all legislation for the Church into its hands; the hands of a body, which is in no sense made up of even *lay* representatives of the Church. Till 1688, then, the Commonwealth was hardly dealt with; and since 1688, a course of still greater injustice has been adopted with regard to the Church.

We are now prepared to consider the action of our own Church, in this matter of Lay representation. She has adopted no *principle*, which there was not abundant reason to believe, was received and acted on, in the Reformed Church of England. If the great authorities of that Church and the actual history of her ecclesiastical legislation,† can be relied on, she has only continued a principle acknowledged from the time of the Reformation. What she has done, has been simply to provide for it, a *new mode of application*, and a *new form of working*. We need not be surprised to find some

* Stephens' English Constitution, Vol. I, p. 304.

† For instance, have not the Canons of 1603, been repeatedly adjudged not to bind the Laity, because Parliament never sanctioned them? And has not Parliament repealed some of them, without any concurrent action of the Clergy in Convocation?

anomalies and some contradictions in the course of her labors, before a final result was reached. But, let us remember, these anomalies and contradictions are not the grounds on which the final result is to be considered, nor the tests by which it is to be tried. For instance, the fact that provisional Conventions sat in 1785 and 1786—without whose action by the way, the Mother Church would never have given us the Episcopacy—in which there were no Bishops, need not alarm us, so long as no *final action* was had, and no *authoritative* and *recognized conclusions* were reached, till the sitting of the fully constituted Synod of 1789. The fact that in 1785, it was *proposed* to make the Conventions of the Dioceses the Ecclesiastical Courts, and so to give the Laity a share in administering spiritual discipline, and the “power of the keys,” is nothing to the purpose, so long as the proposal was not adopted, and a totally opposite plan prevailed.

Neither were the provisions made by us for Lay representation, regarded as giving to the Laity any greater rights or powers than they possessed in the Mother Church. In a contemporaneous pamphlet, it was stated, that the power of the Laity represented either by Parliament or the Sovereign was greater in England than among us: and it was generally believed, that such was the case. The power of the King to annul the spiritual sentence of a Bishop’s Court, his power to restrain Convocation, the fact, that to all intents and purposes, the freedom of the election of Bishops was nullified in his favor, and the further fact that such enormous powers in matters ecclesiastical were in the hands of Parliament, where *laymen alone* could carry any measure they chose in the very teeth of the Episcopacy—a thing which in our Church could never occur—were cited as proofs that not only was the power of the Laity not increased among us, but that it was even abridged; and that thereby, things were restored to a more just balance and equality.

We claim, therefore, to have shown upon sufficient grounds, that not only did we not suppose any new principle unknown in the Church of England to have been adopted by us in 1789, but also that no new principle was adopted; and that all which was undertaken or done, was to provide, under the new circumstances in which we were placed, for the carrying out a principle inherited from the Mother Church. Now, undoubtedly, the form which that provision assumed, was determined—we will not say was forced upon us—by the circumstances in which we were placed. And while we are not disposed to magnify ourselves, we cannot but say freely and plain-

ly, that in comparing the modes of working out the principle adopted respectively by the Mother Church and our own, and especially taking into view their several results, we can hardly regard ourselves as losers. With us, an Episcopal election is a reality; the Laity do not interfere, and have no wish to interfere, in the administration of discipline; they cannot make, and they have never shown a wish to make, the slightest change in our established order, without the concurrent action of the Episcopate and the Presbyterate; no change can be effected without the sanction of the Episcopacy; and while the acting Lay Synod of the Church of England is to-day composed of Papists, Infidels, and representatives of every species of Dissent, none but laymen in full communion—and that by an act of their own origination—can sit in the Lower House of our highest Synod. While therefore we deny the charge of having introduced a new principle in our Lay representation, we do not shrink from a comparison of our system and its results, with that adopted in the Mother Church.

We ought to say, in conclusion, that we have not called the attention of our readers to the subjects just discussed, because we regard Dr. Pusey as a safe exponent of the doctrines of the Church of England, or even as representing a large body of her members. But charges like his, touch our position as a Church; they cast dishonor on the memories of men whose names, unknown as they may be to Dr. Pusey, we venerate and love; they give them and us, considering their and our professed intentions, only the choice between deep dishonesty, or still deeper ignorance; and doing this, no matter from whom they come, they compel us, either silently to acknowledge them, or plainly to deny them. We—in common with others—have denied them. We believe that our denial has been sustained. And we will merely add the expression of our regret, that one who has always, even amidst the insults of the Papal Aggression, deprecated harsh language towards the Tridentine Church, should have used expressions towards his brethren of the same “household of faith,” in which the semblance of apology only heightens the severity of reproach.

ART. II.—ST. PETER NEVER BISHOP OF ROME.

1. *Epistola Clementis Romani ad Corinthios*. Tubingae : 1842. 8vo., pp. 269.
2. *Epistolae Sancti Ignatii*. Tubingae : 1842. 8vo., pp. 269.
3. *Clementis Alexandrini Opera Græce et Latine Quae extant*. DANIEL HEINSIUS, Rec. etc. Lugduni Batavorum : 1616. Folio, pp. 580.
4. *Sancti Justinii Philosophi et Martyris Opera*. Parisiis : 1636. Folio, pp. 516.
5. *Sancti Irenaei Opera*. Ed. Erasmi. Basileae : 1534. pp. 335.
6. *Sancti Cypriani Opera*. Ed. Erasmi. Basileae : 1540. pp. 527.
7. *Firmitiani Lactantii Opera*. Lipsiae : 1842, 1844.
8. *Qu. Sept. Flor. Tertulliani Opera*. Lipsiae : 1839.

It will be recollected by some of our readers, that the late Rev. Dr. JAEVIS, in a series of Articles in the *Church Review*, in 1848–9, on the “Primacy of St. Peter,” stated incidentally, but distinctly, that “there is no proof that he (St. Peter) was ever Bishop of Rome.” This primary position in the Romish controversy, we are continually losing sight of. When, therefore, the Papists shall have proved, first, that there was a Primacy vested in St. Peter over the other Apostles ; next, that this Primacy amounted to an actual Supremacy ; then, that this Supremacy was to be perpetuated, in unbroken lineal succession ; and finally that this Succession was to be kept up in connection with some one particular See ;—neither of which fundamental points have they ever yet been able to prove—we say, that even then, they have only begun to approach the real difficulties of the subject. For it still would remain, to prove that St. Peter was ever Bishop of the Church of Rome. Those unstable souls among us, therefore, who, for whatever reason, are tempted to sunder their allegiance to our own true branch of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, should be made to understand, that there are still several serious questions to be met, before they can dare

attach themselves to the Roman Communion. To the following, which is designed as a popular, but yet pretty full historical argument on this question, we now invite the reader's attention. It will be borne in mind, that the monstrous corruptions and usurpations of the Modern Church of Rome, by which from her Trentine Council onward, she has forfeited her Catholic character, are not here mainly considered. That is another and distinct aspect of the whole question, which would still have to be attended to, even if our present argument could be shown to be a fallacy.

The authorities on which the Church of Rome relies, pretend not only that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome or Pope of Rome, but that he was so for a period of twenty-five years, and not only this, but that he was previously Bishop or Pope of Antioch for the space of seven years. Since these propositions are made the basis of sweeping claims and demands upon the Church, and yet since they are advanced by the Church of Rome as facts, and as historical facts too, we propose to make them the subject of investigation.

In respect to the Church of Antioch, we waive the examination here. We have carefully sifted every particle of evidence advanced, and have come to the conclusion, that whatever else St. Peter might have been, he certainly never was Bishop of the Church of Antioch. But there is no necessity of giving the details of this evidence here. We come at once to the main subject of our discussion, and to the proof that St. Peter was not the founder nor the first Bishop of the Church of Rome. We propose first to examine the testimony of the Earlier Fathers, and then the authority on which the Romanists mainly rest. The Sacred Scriptures, which are not silent as to the history of St. Peter, give us no reason to believe that St. Peter ever was at Rome at all ; but they do tell us that his appointed labors lay in another direction. The early Fathers, so far as they make any mention of St. Peter in connection with Rome, tell us that St. Peter, as well as St. Paul, preached the Gospel, and planted the Church at Rome ; and that both suffered martyrdom there, and at the same time. *The Fathers of the three First Centuries* always speak of these two Apostles as being closely connected, both in their labors and their sufferings at Rome ; and as both going there together, not long before their martyrdom, and in the time of the reign of Nero. But the writers of the *Fourth and succeeding Centuries*, while they often invalidate their own testimony, yet usually separate the two Apostles. They represent St. Peter as going to Rome alone, as early as the reign of Claudius

and for the purpose of withstanding Simon Magus, who was there doing great mischief by his magic. How this story of Simon Magus was exploded by the discovery of the monument to the Sabine Hercules Sanguis, dug up in A. D. 1574, and the subsequent rejection of the huge pile of Romish traditions, connected with it, we have no room here to show. These later writers, who grow more particular, the farther they are in time from the facts, also at length begin to associate a primacy with St. Peter, having made him to be for twenty-five years the Head of the Church at Rome, and indeed its first Bishop.

There is another introductory and important remark which we wish here to make. We are most carefully to distinguish between the Fathers as Witnesses of Facts, and as the Authors of mere Opinions.* For no sooner had Christianity begun to make conquests in the domain of Philosophy—a Philosophy, too, occupied with questions on the deepest mysteries of man—than speculations sprang up on every side, both foreign to, and subversive of, the simplicity of the Faith. Nor should we forget, that as early as A. D. 335, the orthodox ATHANASUS was deprived of his Office by a Council at Tyre, and banished to Gaul; while, in the same year, a numerous Council at Jerusalem admitted the Arians to the communion of the Church.† The opinions of many of the Fathers, so called, of that age, on the nature of the Church, its Ministry, &c., are equally unworthy of confidence.

The Fathers of the first Three Centuries appear to have attached importance to the history of St. Peter's and St. Paul's residence at Rome, mainly as it afforded them a convenient and unanswerable argument against the Heretics of their times. And as those Heretics rejected the authority of the Holy Scriptures, just as Heretics reject them now, so the orthodox confronted them, in the same manner as we confront them in these latter days; that is, by the testimony of those Churches which were instructed by the Apostles themselves. Hence the Church of Rome, having been taught by St. Paul, and very possibly by St. Peter also, was a fit example for their purpose, and they of course made the most they could of the traditionary account of the labors of both Apostles in that Church for this purpose. For we are never to forget the unfathomable gap which, in point of authority, separates the

* See Church Review, Vol. IV, No. 4, Art. I—"The Value of the Christian Fathers."

† See Murdock's Mosheim, Vol. I, p. 239.

strictly Apostolic from the *strictly post-Apostolic Age*. And many of the very strongest expressions of the post-Apostolic writers, especially of the third and fourth centuries, respecting individual Apostles, have really nothing at all to do with the service into which Romish writers now press them. One needs first to swallow Popery bodily before he can find a particle of it as early as the fourth century. He cannot find it in the three first Centuries, nor in the Holy Scriptures, even then. And we here re-affirm the position which we advanced years ago,* that if the Christian world is ever again to be restored to Unity, it will not be upon the basis of the so-called "Evangelical Alliance," a basis of *un-Primitive negotiations*; nor upon the Romish basis of *anti-Primitive affirmations*; but upon the basis of NICENE CHRISTIANITY; in other words, the Church must come back, in Doctrine, Ministry, Discipline, and Worship, to the model of the First Three Centuries; an age of martyrdom, of purity, and of glory. Besides this basis, there is no other possible. For it is the only true and fair expression of the Church, as she came forth from the hands of Apostolic and inspired men; and inspired for this very end to lay the "foundation" of the Church according to Christ's instructions.†

Let us now examine the testimony of the Early Fathers, as to the life and history of St. Peter.

In the latter part of the First Century, Clement, Bishop of Rome, speaks of St. Paul and St. Peter as persecuted and dying as Martyrs; but he does not say where, nor when.‡

In the middle of the Second Century, Justin Martyr speaks of Simon Magus, his magic, and his deification at Rome; but makes no mention of St. Peter's going to Rome to combat him. Nor does any other Father, until after the year A. D. 300.

About twenty years after Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, wrote his Five Books against the Heretics, in which he confutes them in the way before mentioned. The following extract will illustrate the method of his argument, and shows what he knew of St. Peter's being at Rome. He says:

"The doctrine preached, to all the world, by the Apostles, is now found in the Church; as all may see if they are willing to learn:—and we are able to name the persons whom the Apostles constituted the Bishops of Churches; and their successors down to our times; who have never taught or known any such doctrine as the heretics advance. Now if the Apostles had been acquainted with (certain) recondite

* See Church Review, Vol. VI, No. 3, Art. I—"Religion for the Republic."

† Acts i, 3.

‡ Ep. I, ad Cor. § 5.

mysteries, which they taught privately and only to such as were the most perfect, they would certainly have taught them to those men, to whom they committed the care of the Churches; for they required them to be very perfect, and blameless in all things, whom they made their successors and substitutes in Office; because if these conducted aright, great advantage would result; but if they should go wrong, immense evils would ensue.

"But as it would be tedious in the present work, to enumerate the successors in all the Churches, I will mention but one, viz, the greatest, most ancient, and well known by all, the Church founded and established at Rome, by the two most glorious Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. The faith of this Church was the result of Apostolic teaching, and the same was everywhere preached; and it has come down to us through the succession of Bishops:—and by this example, we confound all those who in any manner, either from selfish views and vain glory, or from blindness to truth, and erroneous belief, hold forth false doctrine. For with this Church, on account of its superior preëminence, every other Church, that is, those everywhere who are faithful, must agree; *because in it has ever been preserved, the doctrine derived immediately from the Apostles, and which was everywhere propagated.* The blessed Apostles, having founded and instructed this Church, committed the Episcopacy of it to Linus, who is mentioned by St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy. Anaclethus succeeded Linus, and after him, the third Bishop from the Apostles was Clement; who saw the Apostles themselves, and conferred with them, while their preaching and instructions were still sounding in his ears."

Irenæus thus enumerates the succeeding Bishops down to Eleutherius, "who" (he says) "is now the twelfth Bishop from the Apostles.*" In the preceding section, Irenæus tells us, that Matthew wrote his Gospel while St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching and founding the Church at Rome.

Here is full and explicit testimony that St. Paul and St. Peter unitedly preached and founded the Church at Rome; and that they constituted Linus the first Bishop there. The language excludes both St. Peter and St. Paul, and excludes both equally, from the Episcopal chair of Rome. "They committed the Episcopacy to Linus; who was the first Bishop, and Clement was the third, and Eleutherius the twelfth."

Contemporary with Irenæus, was Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth. In reply to a monitory letter from the Romish Church, of which Eusebius† has preserved an extract, Dionysius says: "By this, your excellent admonition, you have united in one, the planting by St. Peter and St. Paul of the Romans and Corinthians. For both of them coming to our

* Lib. III, Cap. 8.

† H. E. II, 25

Corinth, planted and instructed us; and in like manner going to Italy, together often teaching there, they suffered martyrdom at the same time." From this testimony, we may learn how and when St. Peter went to Rome; as well as what relation he sustained to the Church there. He and St. Paul came to Corinth together; and when they had regulated and instructed that Church, they went on together to Italy, and did the same things at Rome, as before at Corinth.

Now this, if true, must have been after the captivity of St. Paul at Rome, mentioned in the book of Acts. For St. Paul never went directly from Corinth to Rome, before that captivity. For he never was at Rome before he was carried there a prisoner in the year A. D. 62. But if released in the year A. D. 64, he might have visited Corinth afterwards with St. Peter; and then have traveled with him to Rome. To the Church of Rome, St. Peter and St. Paul, according to this testimony, sustained one and the same relation; and that was the same they had sustained to the Church of Corinth; viz: that of Apostolic teachers and founders—not that of ordinary Bishops. That is, St. Peter was no more the Bishop of Rome than St. Paul was; and neither of them any more the Bishop of Rome, than both were the Bishops of Corinth. Dionysius likewise here affirms, that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom "at the same time;" and probably at Rome, where they had taught. That Rome was the place, is proved by Caius, a Romish ecclesiastic of the third century, as quoted by Eusebius,* "I am able (says he) to show the trophies [the sepulchres] of the Apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or along the Via Ostia, you will find the trophies of those who established this Church."

The next Father, Clement of Alexandria, about A. D. 200, reports it as tradition, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, while St. Peter was preaching there.†

In the first part of the Third Century lived Tertullian, a fervid and learned writer. He assailed the Heretics with the same argument as Irenæus did.

"Run over (says he) the Apostolic Churches in which the chairs of Apostles still preside in their places, and in which the Autographs of their Epistles are still read. If you are near to Italy, you have Rome as witness for us. And how blessed a Church is that, on which Apostles poured out their whole doctrine, together with their blood!—where St. Peter equaled our Lord in his mode of suffering; and where St. Paul was crowned with the exit of John Baptist."‡

* H. E. II, 25.

† Euseb. H. E. VI, 14.

‡ D. Præscript. c. 36.

In another work he says: "Let us see what the Romans held forth; to whom St. Peter and St. Paul imparted the Gospel, sealed with their own blood."* Again he says: "Neither is there a disparity between those whom St. John baptized in the Jordan, and St. Peter in the Tiber."† He moreover testifies, that St. Peter suffered in the reign of Nero,‡ and that this Apostle ordained Clement, Bishop of Rome.§

In the middle of the Third Century, Cyprian of Carthage, writing to the Bishop of Rome,|| calls the Church of Rome the principal Church; and that where "St. Peter's chair" was, and "whose faith was derived from Apostolic teaching." Tertullian had used similar language as to the "chair" of St. Paul also.

In the end of the Third Century, or beginning of the Fourth, Lactantius¶ speaks of "St. Peter and St. Paul" as having wrought miracles and uttered predictions at Rome; and describes their prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem. And in his work, on the "Deaths of Persecutors," (ch. 2,) he says:

"During the reign of Nero, St. Peter came to Rome; and having wrought several miracles by the power of God, which rested on him, he converted many to righteousness, and erected a faithful and abiding temple for God. This became known to Nero; who, learning that multitudes, not only at Rome, but in all other places, were abandoning idolatry, and embracing the new religion,—and being hurried on to all sorts of cruelty, by his brutal tyranny, set himself, the first of all, to destroy this religion, and to persecute the servants of God. So he ordered St. Peter to be crucified, and St. Paul to be beheaded."

We have now detailed every important testimony which we can find in the genuine works of the Fathers, in the three first centuries. The witnesses agree very well. They make St. Peter and St. Paul to go from Corinth to Rome in company, during the reign of Nero; and, after preaching and strengthening the Church of Rome, and ordaining Linus to be its first Bishop, both suffering martyrdom, at Rome, on the same day, St. Peter being crucified, and St. Paul decapitated. THERE IS NO REPRESENTATION OF ST. PETER'S BEING ANY MORE BISHOP OF ROME, THAN ST. PAUL WAS; AND IRENEUS, IN PARTICULAR, EXPRESSLY MAKES LINUS THE FIRST BISHOP, AND TO BE ORDAINED BY THE TWO APOSTLES. This fact of itself, the absence of all proof of St. Peter's sole headship of the Church of Rome, and the positive proof to the contrary in the Writers of the first

* Adv. Marcion, L. IV, c. 5.
§ De Præscript. c. 32.

† De Baptismo.
|| Ep. 55, ad Cornelium.

‡ Scorpiace, c. 15.
¶ Instit. L. IV. c. 21.

Three Centuries, together with the clear testimony of the New Testament, which we shall presently notice, settles at once and forever this whole question. If St. Peter, near the close of his life, and after St. Paul had preached there for two whole years, visited Rome, preached there and suffered martyrdom there, his stay in that city must have been exceedingly short; for St. Paul, in an Epistle written near the close of his life, certainly shows that St. Peter was not there then.* Still, if he was there at all, this may help to explain the use which writers of a later age make of his name in connection with the Church in that city. But as to his possessing the headship of that Church, or being its first Bishop, the writers of the First Three Centuries know nothing of it. And surely writers later than the First Three Centuries are not to be trusted as witnesses of facts in Apostolic times; facts before unheard of; facts evidently made up to suit an emergency. At best, those writers are the authors of mere Opinions; and of opinions there was no lack either in variety, absurdity, and, as we have seen in the treatment of Athanasius, in impiety. There is no question that a certain *theory* of Church Unity began to be held and taught as early as the third century; and yet, even Cyprian rests the claims of the Church of Rome on its *secular* greatness; for he says: "plainly on account of its magnitude Rome ought to precede Carthage."† And the Romish Historian, Fleury, acknowledges that Unity was not attained by this theory; for it led to the great schism of the Oriental Churches. And that same theory, sensuous, worldly, unscriptural, impracticable, as it is, could not now, even if it were true, accept the Bishop of Rome as the centre of Unity; for the flagrant heresies of that Church render it impossible. But the theory itself is a false one.

We now come to Eusebius, who wrote about A. D. 325. The work which we now have bearing his name was not his, but is in the words of George *Syncellus*, a Chronographer of the Eighth or Ninth Century. The original Greek of Eusebius unfortunately has been lost. The work of his, which we now have, invaluable as it is, abounds in inconsistencies and contradictions, as we might easily show, and as the Romanists acknowledge. In his *Chronicon*, occurs the following passage, which is the only testimony that we need examine, as it is that on which later writers mainly rely.

He says:

"Anno secundo Claudii, Petrus Apostolus, cum primum

* 2 Tim. iv, 10, 11.

† Cyprian's Ep. ad Corn., p. 70.

Antiochenam fundasset ecclesiam, Romam pergit; ibique vigintiquinque annos cathedram tenet episcopalem." This might be deemed conclusive evidence on the question, but it is so in appearance only. It proves too much, and will not sustain the weight sought to be imposed upon it. In other words, it possesses in itself the elements of its own overthrow—*mole ruit sud*. And this is not difficult of demonstration. It is asserted above, that St. Peter went to Rome in the second year of Claudius. Now, this is utterly disproved by the fact that earlier authors do not place his journey to Rome earlier than the reign of Nero, and by the additional fact, that we find him two years later a prisoner at Jerusalem, at the instance of Herod Agrippa, (Acts xii.) Nay, more, we again find him still at Jerusalem at the Apostolic Council, held, as is generally chronicled, in the year 52, (Acts xv.) It is, therefore, simply impossible that St. Peter could have preached the Gospel and established his "chair" at Rome in the second year of Claudius; unless, indeed, he could have been at two places,—Jerusalem and Rome,—at one and the same time.

We are aware that some modern Romanist authorities disprove of this awkward *alibi* by telling us that St. Peter visited Rome twice—on the first occasion, in the second year of Claudius; which we have seen is disproved by his being found several years after that date in Jerusalem; on the second, under Nero,—year not specified. "By this double sojourn of St. Peter at Rome," says the historian Doellenger, "the ancient account may be explained, according to which he occupied the Episcopal See of Rome twenty-five years." Nothing is more easy, in order to maintain a groundless theory, than to suppose, and even to say, that St. Peter visited Rome on two occasions. But since the basis of the theory is overthrown, we must reject the superstructure so ingeniously and industriously reared upon it.

But let us, for a moment, compare this testimony of Eusebius with other testimony supplied to us by Eusebius himself. He states, as we have just seen, that St. Peter established his Episcopate at Rome in the second year of the Emperor Claudius, and was Bishop there for twenty-five years—that is to say, from the year 42 to 67. Now, he elsewhere informs us of the labors of some of the Apostles, as well as of the field of their laboring, and, in this number of the Apostles, St. Peter is included by name. He says,—“The holy Apostles and Disciples of our Lord and Saviour being scattered over all the world, preached the Gospel. To Thomas, as it has been handed down to us by those who preceded us, Parthia was allotted.

Andrew repaired to Scythia, John to Asia. But Peter is supposed to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia, to the dispersed Jews: Who also at last coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downward.”*

Now, this is totally at variance with what we have just been told of St. Peter's twenty-five years' Episcopate at Rome. Which, then, of these two conflicting versions, as furnished by Eusebius, carries with it the greater degree of probability? This question can only be determined by recourse to other witnesses, and among that number is St. Peter himself.

Among the last notices we have in Scripture of the Apostles, (such of them as still remained at Jerusalem,) previously to their setting out upon their respective missionary labors to preach the Gospel over all the world, as Eusebius in effect expresses it, is that supplied by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians,† and written from Rome. We there find the following account:—“And when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.” From this authentic and decisive statement two conclusions are inevitable,—first, that St. Peter did not go and preach the Gospel to the heathen, either at Rome or elsewhere—and in the next place, and above all, that he neither was then, nor ever had been, Bishop of Rome—for it is incredible to suppose that St. Peter should have given the right hand of fellowship to St. Paul, in token of a solemn agreement between them, that he should go to the Circumcision, and St. Paul to the Gentiles, if he were already Bishop of Rome—the very heart, centre, and stronghold of heathenism; and actually had been established there, as head of the universal Church, for ten or a dozen years. The true solution of the question is doubtless that furnished above by St. Paul, namely—that St. Peter's sphere of action, from the period in question, was among the Jews, (indeed it is expressly stated in the chapter under notice, ver. 7, that the Gospel of the Circumcision was committed to Peter,) and that hence, of the two conflicting statements of Eusebius, that which represents St. Peter as evangelizing the dispersed of his own nation is the true one—the other, investing him with an Episcopate of *twenty-five years* at Rome, consequently falls to the ground.

* At Petrus per Pontum, Galatiam, Bithyniam, Cappadociam atque Asiam Judæis qui in dispersione erant predicasse existimatur. Qui ad extremum Romanus veniens crucifixus est, capite deorsum demisso.” Lib. III, cap. 1.

† Cap. II, 9.

If any corroboration were required of the fact as to which of these two statements of Eusebius is the correct one, we have it again from St. Peter, who addresses his Epistles to the Jews of those very countries mentioned by Eusebius as the supposed region of his labors: "Peter, an Apostle of Jesus Christ to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia." 1 Pet. i, 1. That the strangers here spoken of were Jewish converts, the Epistles themselves bear ample internal evidence. Many are the references we there meet with to the leading events of Jewish history, as, for example, to the Flood; no less than to some of its most prominent characters—as Noah, Abraham, &c., which would have been quite unmeaning, and out of place, had they been addressed to Gentiles, who did not believe in such things, if they had even ever heard of them before.

We have, therefore, the strongest evidence, as furnished by the two Apostles themselves, that St. Peter and St. James adhered to the agreement they had solemnly entered into with St. Paul and Barnabas, that the former should go unto the Circumcision—the latter to the heathen. This twenty-five years Episcopate of St. Peter at Rome, then, is shown by the testimony of Eusebius himself, as well as by that of the Apostles, to be utterly destitute of foundation.

That St. Peter, as Eusebius says, came to Rome towards the close of his life, ("ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους, ad extremum,") is not improbable. But if it were even the case, it does not prove that he was Bishop there—much less for the space of twenty-five years. On the contrary, Eusebius again informs us that *Linus*, not St. Peter, was the first Bishop of Rome. To the same effect is the testimony of Irenæus, who says: "The two most glorious Apostles (Peter and Paul) having founded and constituted the Church at Rome, committed the episcopate to Linus;" St. Paul being, according to Eusebius, equally with St. Peter, the founder of the Church at Rome; and neither of them being its first Bishop. So that St. Peter's individual headship over the Roman Church is disproved by the evidence of one who lived in the second century.

It is alleged, however, by the advocates of the Church of Rome, and by many besides, that St. Peter must have been Bishop of Rome, because his first Epistle contains the expression: "The Church that is at Babylon saluteth you." It is a striking fact that Romanists and Ultra-Protestants both agree in contending that by Babylon is here meant Rome; the former, in order to prove that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome; the latter, to show that the threatenings denounced against Baby-

lon are to have their fulfillment in the destruction of the Papacy. That this Babylon was the city on the Tigris, that it was largely inhabited by Jews, and that St. Peter, near the close of his life, wrote and sent his first Epistle from that city, are facts as clearly established, as any other facts of history, as we shall presently show. This supposition that by Babylon is meant Rome, to say the least, is to accuse the Apostle of a *ruse* which is totally gratuitous and uncalled for. No consistent Roman Catholic can surely entertain a thought so unbecoming the Supreme Ruler of the universal Christian Church, and the "visible representative of the Redeemer himself upon earth." No, St. Peter, after the day of the Pentecost, was not the man, be the consequences what they might, to shrink from a frank avowal of his Divine Master, and thus virtually again to deny him. It is difficult to conceive what purpose this alleged deception could serve. It could not avail to the Apostle's personal safety, if that were the object; for had he been indeed at Rome, and that for the greater part of twenty-five years, as head of the Christian community even there, the emissaries neither of Claudius nor of Nero, can be supposed to have been hoodwinked by so shallow a device. To suppose that it was to avoid the consequences of his previous escape from "the power of Herod, and the expectation of the Jews" at Jerusalem, is unjustly to suppose that he had relinquished his trust in that Saviour to whom he confessedly owed such a mighty deliverance.

It is certain then, that these Epistles were not written at, or sent to Rome at all; but that the liberty taken with so plain a statement of the Apostle as that now under notice is liable to be considered in the same light in which a similar procedure on any other subject would be viewed—as a device, purposely designed, to connect St. Peter with the Church of Rome at all hazards!

It is worthy of remark, too, that these Epistles (the second in particular) were written shortly before the close of the Apostle's earthly career, for he says, (2d Pet. i, 13)—"I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me." If these Epistles, then, were really written at Rome, and towards the end of St. Peter's life, they must have been written nearly contemporaneously with those of St. Paul, (especially that of second Timothy) which were confessedly dated from Rome. But in the case of St. Paul, and so far as the Roman government was concerned, we hear of no neces-

sity for fictitious names. Where, then, is the ground of such necessity in the present instance? If St. Peter's letters had been seized by the Roman authorities, there was nothing treasonable in them,—not a syllable reflecting on the “powers that be.” On the contrary, he exhorts those whom he is addressing to “submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake,—whether to the King as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honor the King.” To present Christianity in this its genuine character was surely the most effectual way, not to provoke, but to disarm the opposition of its enemies. It is far more probable, therefore, that St. Peter meant what he said, than that he should have said what he did not mean—a doubtful expedient at any time, but much less likely to be chargeable against the Apostle on the grave occasion in question, when, as he says, he knew that he must shortly put off his earthly tabernacle.

But there is still stronger testimony as to the place where these Epistles purport to have been written—one which presents itself from the scene of the Apostle's labors, and which neither compromises his honesty, nor does violence to his express language. Josephus informs us* “the Jews obtained honors from the Kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in Lower Syria, and in the metropolis, Antioch itself; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day.” We read again† as follows:—“When Hyrcanus (the last of the High Priests by succession, as Eusebius informs us)‡ was brought into Parthia, the King Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honored Hyrcanus as their High Priest and King, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates.” By the Babylon here mentioned we are not necessitated to understand the ruins of the ancient city of that name, but a then comparatively modern town built on the Tigris, in all probability, by Seleucus Nicator. Whiston remarks—“The city here called Babylon

* Lib. xii, cap. 3.

† Lib. xv, 2.

‡ Lib. i, cap. 6.

by Josephus seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ upon the Tigris, which, long after the utter desolation of old Babylon, was commonly so called."

Now, when we consider that St. Peter's sphere of action lay in the East, including Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, &c., we can have no difficulty in perceiving the propriety of his addressing the converts of those countries from Babylon; more especially as it appears to have been a place of note, as indicated by the King having, in consideration of Hyrcanus' illustrious family, given him a habitation there. And Josephus tells us, not only that "there were Jews in great numbers" in this Babylon, but also makes mention of "all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates." Benger, in his *Commentary* on St. Peter's Epistles, maintains that they were dated from a real Babylon, of which he says, that it swarmed with Jews.—(Scatebat Judæis.) In Pearson's posthumous works* we meet with the following, as expressing his view of the question:—"Sed Babylone tunc fuit Petrus quando scripsit epistolam ad dispersionem Judæorum; tota enim argumenti vis ad illam literalem expositionem resolvitur." Lightfoot and Fulke are of the same opinion.

This view is strengthened by another consideration. We read, Acts ii, 5, and following verses, that, on the day of Pentecost, "there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven—Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, Libya about Cyrene, Oretes, Arabians," &c. We cannot doubt that there was in those regions a field amply large for the united energies of *all* the Apostles, and one that might well invite and engage the zeal of St. Peter, who, in fact, may be said to have commenced preaching the Gospel to those very people on the day of Pentecost; for he it was who, "standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice," and addressed this assembled multitude of strangers. The fruits of this discourse, we are told, were "about three thousand souls."

It is worthy of remark, too, and in the same line of argument, that at the commencement of his Epistles, St. Peter, in the enumeration of the regions to which they were addressed, makes mention *first* of Pontus; which was, indeed, most natural, supposing him to have written from Babylon, but the reverse if he wrote from Rome; because, whilst Pontus was comparatively near to Babylon, it was the most remote from

* "De successione primorum Romæ episcoporum," cap. 7, (1688.)

Rome. And as St. Peter no doubt intended his Epistles for the instruction of all those Churches he had planted in the regions he successively visited, it is not likely, if he wrote from Rome, that he should have sent Silvanus, by whose hands the Epistles were conveyed, first of all to Pontus rather than to Bithynia. Much less is it probable, since the Epistles were addressed, *seriatim*, to the Churches of "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," that Silvanus should have thought himself at liberty to reverse this order, and, by a circuitous route, make those Churches last which St. Peter had named first.

We hitherto discover no reasonable ground for believing that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years. But most abundant are the proofs which point to an opposite conclusion.

We now come to a still stronger portion of our argument. If St. Peter had exercised the Episcopate at Rome for so lengthened a period as is alleged, we might expect to find, if not positive proof of the fact, at least some reasonable traces of it in the concluding chapter of the book of Acts. We are there supplied with a minute account of St. Paul's arrival at Rome, together with some interesting particulars which accompanied it. St. Luke informs us, that when the brethren at Rome heard of St. Paul's arrival at Puteoli, and that he was on his way thence to the capital, they came to meet him as far as Appii Forum; and that when they reached the city, the centurion delivered up the prisoners to the captain of the guard, St. Paul being permitted to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him. The narrative proceeds to acquaint us that, "three days" after his arrival, Paul called the chief of the Jews together, and explained to them the reason of his having been delivered a prisoner into the hands of the Romans.

"For this cause," continues he, "have I called for you to see you, and to speak with you; because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain. And they said unto him, we neither received letters out of Judea concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came showed, or spake any harm of thee. *But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest, for as concerning this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against.* And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging, to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets, from morning till evening. And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not."

Now, from this plain statement it is evident that St. Peter could not have been Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, nor for any other period; for the *chief* of the Jews were still totally ignorant of the very rudiments of the Christian religion; in-

somuch that St. Paul was obliged to have recourse to first principles, to the hope of Israel, to the Law and the Prophets, just as he had occasion to do when called to plead before Felix and Agrippa. They knew, as they said, "that this sect was everywhere spoken against," and were, therefore, desirous of hearing St. Paul's opinion. That opinion, "concerning Jesus" and the "sect" so spoken against, he frankly gave them. The result was, that they agreed not among themselves; and when St. Paul declared to them that "the salvation of God was sent unto the Gentiles, and that they would hear it, they departed, and had great reasoning among themselves." *But the question naturally occurs, where was St. Peter all this time?* One would have naturally expected that he would have been among the first to go and welcome St. Paul, or, at any rate, that he would have called upon him at his "lodging." But this was not the case; nor do we find that it was ever so during the two whole years that St. Paul sojourned at Rome. But another question comes up, how did it happen that the chief of the Jews were so ill informed of the things "concerning Jesus," and their minds so little disabused of their prejudices concerning "this sect," if, as is alleged, St. Peter had by this time been nearly twenty years Bishop of Rome?—that St. Peter, we repeat, to whom was committed the Gospel of the Circumcision, and "in whom He that was mighty in St. Paul toward the Gentiles wrought effectually to the apostleship of the circumcision?" Can it be possible that St. Peter had never yet set foot in Rome? We find no evidence hitherto in Scripture which answers in the affirmative; while the facts in the case render such a supposition most impossible and absurd.

From the Acts, we proceed to St. Paul's Epistle to those very Romans whose Church St. Peter is said to have founded, and governed for so many years. This Epistle was written from Corinth, some three or four years before St. Paul's arrival in Rome, just mentioned; and it is certainly not too much to expect, if no proof positive of the fact of his Episcopate there, at least some remote allusion to it. At any rate, if St. Peter held such a position as our modern Papists delight to ascribe to him, as "Primate," "Lord High Vicegerent," "Vicar of Christ," "Prince of the Apostles," "Foundation of the Church," "Helper of the Faithful," "Chief Bishop of the Church Universal," "and "Lord High Keeper of the Keys of Heaven and Hell," we might at least expect to see some sort of allusion to him. On the contrary, and the argument is as strong as it can be, most strange to say, *not one word of*

St. Peter, not so much as the mention of his name, is there to be found from beginning to end ; and although nearly a whole chapter is devoted by St. Paul to the salutation of various individuals, not the slightest recognition of St. Peter is to be met with. Now, supposing, as some have done, that St. Peter was then absent from Rome on some important official duties, yet we cannot imagine that St. Paul, who was always averse to encroach "upon another man's labors," would take upon himself to exhort, direct, and warn the flock of St. Peter, "the head of the Universal Church," without so much as ever alluding to his name, any more than if he had never existed. The whole account argues, beyond question, an unconsciousness on the part of St. Paul that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome.

We find no evidence, then, of St. Peter's connection, either official or personal, with the Church of Rome, in the Epistle to the Romans, or in any other portion of Scripture. St. Paul was detained two years a prisoner at Rome, and during this period and during the period of his second captivity there, of which St. Luke makes no mention, he wrote his several Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and second Timothy. But in vain do we search for the slightest reference to St. Peter in any one of them. And what is more remarkable than all is, that St. Peter, in his own Epistles, one of them written near the close of his life, makes no more allusion to his relation to the Church of Rome as its governing head, much less of his supreme jurisdiction over all other Churches, than does St. James in his Epistle. From all this, in conjunction with his complete silence towards the Church of Rome, as evinced by his never having written to it one line during the whole of his alleged long absences, it is manifest that St. Peter was as ignorant that he had been its ruler, *par excellence*, as St. Paul appears to have been.

Had it been St. Peter instead of St. James, who was Prime at the First Council of the Church, Acts xv ; and had it been St. Peter, instead of St. Paul, who declared he had "the care of all the Churches," (second Cor. xi, 28,) we should never have heard the last of the Scriptural argument for St. Peter's Primacy. But now, there is not only the entire absence of any such Scriptural proof, but the clearest Scriptural testimony to facts which are irreconcilably opposed to any such primacy. Patristic testimony, as we have seen above, is equally explicit. That St. Paul, rather than St. Peter, was the first preacher, and the founder of the Church at Rome, the Scriptures plainly teach. If, at the very close of his life, St. Peter was

at Rome, and suffered martyrdom there, and preached there, this is all that is necessary to explain the writers of the first three centuries ; still leaving St. Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, as St. Peter was of the Circumcision. The title of "Universal Bishop," was first claimed, not for the Bishop of Rome, but for the Bishop of Constantinople ; a title which St. Gregory, Bishop of Rome as late as A. D. 595, declared to be arrogant, wicked, schismatical, blasphemous, and anti-Christian ; and which title was first assumed on the part of the Bishop of Rome, by Boniface III, the successor of Gregory, and from jealousy of Constantinople and of its Bishop, rather than as the successor of St. Peter.

We must not close the Scriptural argument without remarking, that St. JOHN, who lived thirty or forty years after the death of St. Peter, and who left behind him copious writings full of instruction and warning for the Church, not only does not recognize the slightest claim of precedence for St. Peter, or for the Church of Rome ; but, on the contrary, he plainly denounces the judgments of Heaven against that Church, for those very abominations and idolatries which we now witness.*

To extend this line of observations is unnecessary. We have seen that the evidence of some of the most celebrated authorities of antiquity—such, for instance, as Irenæus and Ignatius—are inconsistent with this claim on the part of the Church of Rome, that the weight of Eusebius's testimony falls into the other scale, and that Scripture decidedly gives it the negative.

But there is one aspect of our subject which concerns every Christian, and which, on that account, should not be passed over unnoticed. Neither content with this alleged twenty-five years' Episcopate of St. Peter at Rome, nor with the usurpation of universal dominion, the Church of Rome must needs make these things absolute conditions of salvation ; and thus virtually proclaim another Gospel !

In her Canon Law, which is the exponent of her principles, she lays down, *inter alia*, the following points :—

"The Pope, by the Lord's appointment, is the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, and holds the place of the Redeemer himself upon earth."†

"The Roman Pontiff bears the authority, not of a mere man, but of the true God upon earth."‡

* Wordsworth on the Apocalypse. Phila., 1852.

† Gilbert's Expos. of the Canon Law, tom. ii, p. 6.

‡ Ib. p. 9.

“Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, gave to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of Peter, the plenitude of power.”*

Upon these principles she has, consistently enough, established in her Douay Catechism (page 21) the following enunciation:—“He who is not in due connection with, and subordination to, the Pope and General Councils, must needs be dead, and cannot be accounted a member of the Church; since from the Pope and General Councils, under Christ, we have our spiritual life and motion as Christians.”

While in our own day we have seen the monstrous presumption of a Pope, unaided by a Council, attempting to fasten upon the Faith of Christendom as essential to salvation, a dogma which the best sentiment of the Romish Church has long since unequivocally condemned; and a dogma which is already becoming fruitful in the most heathenish idolatries.

Had St. Paul been aware of any such doctrines as are here propounded, how could he, with truth, have testified with such solemn emphasis to the rulers of the Church, whom he had expressly summoned from Ephesus,† “Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you *all the counsel of God*,” when he had not declared to them one word about St. Peter, or the Papacy, much less that, if “they were not in due connection with, and subordination to, the Church of Rome, they were dead, and could not be accounted members of the Church,” and could not be saved.

Then, again, with respect to this supreme spiritual authority over all Christendom, alleged to be vested in the Pope of Rome, by inheritance from St. Peter, where was it, when St. Paul, Gal. ii, 11, withstood him to the face before all, in that very Antioch, the reputed scene of his pontifical chair? Where was it, when St. Peter addressed his Epistles to the Churches in the East, and styled himself by the self-same title that St. Paul adopts in all his Epistles—“Peter, *an apostle* of Jesus Christ?” Where was it, when Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and Bishop of Smyrna, in the second century, successfully maintained his independence, and that of the Eastern Churches, before Anacletus, the second Bishop of Rome? Where was it, when Irenæus, also in the second century, successfully opposed Pope Victor, regarding the observance of Easter? Where, again, was it, when Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in the middle of the third century, did not hesitate to censure Pope Stephen, on the question of heretical baptism?

* Gilbert's Expos. of the Canon Law, tom. ii, p. 10.

† Acts xx, 26, 27.

The above instances may suffice to show that this alleged universal supremacy, as invested in the person of St. Peter, and descending from him to all the Popes of Rome, is an assumption that was unknown alike to St. Peter himself, to St. Paul, to Polycarp, Irenæus, and Cyprian. At what period it effectually crept into the Church there is no question, but it is unnecessary here to enquire. It is evidently an innovation, and is proved to be so by the old standard of the Church of Rome herself. It wants the "quod semper," the "quod ubique," the "quod ab omnibus;" and above, and before all, it wants that, without which even the other characteristics of its genuineness would be defective—it wants the *QUOD PRIMUM*. For, as Tertullian remarks, (*adver. Prax.*) "Id est verum quod primum, id est adulterum quod posterius." We arrive, then, at this incontrovertible conclusion, that St. Peter could not, by any known laws, bequeath that to his successors, even supposing the Popes of Rome to be such, which he did not possess himself—viz, the supremacy over the Universal Church.

It is of little consequence, except to herself, what interpretation the Church of Rome may attach to the power of "the keys," and to that of "binding and loosing," for we know that the same powers which were conferred by our Lord upon St. Peter at one time, were also conferred by Him upon all the Apostles at another.* The Church of Rome, however, will have it that she is built, not upon the *grand truth* embodied in St. Peter's declaration—"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," but upon St. Peter himself; thus placing herself in direct antagonism with the doctrine of St. Paul, who says to the Ephesians—"Ye are built upon the foundation of the *Apostles* and Prophets." And, again, "Other foundations can no man lay than that is laid, which is" (not St. Peter, but) "Christ Jesus." St. John, too, in the book of Revelations,† writing concerning the new Jerusalem, uses these singular expressions—"And the wall of the city had *twelve foundations*, and in them the names of the *twelve Apostles* of the Lamb."

What does St. Jerome say to these extravagant pretensions of the Popes of Rome?

He writes to Evagrius—"Wherever there is a Bishop, whether at Rome, or Engubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, his influence is the same, his Episcopal degree the same. The power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty make not a Bishop greater or less. But they

* See St. Matthew, xviii, 18, and St. John, xx, 23.

† Chap. xxi, 14.

are all the successors of the Apostles.”* No preference is here given to the Roman See—no superior jurisdiction assigned to the alleged successors of St. Peter. The Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Tanis are spoken of as Bishops of coördinate authority. Anything beyond this, on the behalf of the Church of Rome, was accorded to her simply and solely as being the Church of, or in, the metropolis. And none know this better than well-informed Roman Catholics themselves. This was a principle well understood in the Primitive Church, and was applied not only to the Bishop of Rome, but also to the Bishops of the principal cities in the provinces. And the practice was deemed so expedient that the Council of Antioch, holden near the year 341, established, as a rule, that “the supreme ecclesiastical administration of the province should appertain to the Bishop of the civil metropolis, for this reason—that it was the place of the greatest resort.”† This privilege, however, which was conceded to the Church of Rome solely from her commanding political or temporal position, she has, by evoking the name of St. Peter, converted into a *divine right*, and thus, out of a mere local and conventional prerogative, forged her chains for the spiritual subjugation of the entire Christian world.

So utterly impossible is it, to sustain the claims of Modern Rome, either by Holy Scripture, or the Early Fathers, that not a few Romanists have yielded this point frankly. Brownson, of our own country, as appeared in an earlier Number of this Review, admits this. Newman, the English Apostate, does the same. One builds his argument on Authority; the other, on Development. Nor are these men alone. The celebrated Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa, Bishop of Brescia, says in his Treatise *de Concordia Catholica*, Book II, c. 13: “We say truly that all the Apostles were equal to Peter in power; moreover, it must be remembered, that in the beginning of the Church there was but one general Episcopate;” and in c. 34, of the same work, he asserts: “That the Roman Pontiff cannot be proved to be the perpetual Prince of the Church is sufficiently clear.”

The two famous professors at Salamanca, Dominic Soto and Dominic Bankes, express themselves to the following effect on this subject:

* “Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopolis; sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem episcopum non facit.”

† Doellinger, Vol. I, Chap. V.

"Whether the extreme point of dignity is *jure Divino* in the Roman Church, so that the Bishop of Rome and the Supreme Pontiff are joined in one by a Divine bond, is not so certain as some imagine."—*Soto*.

"Although it is believed to be true by very learned and Catholic men that the Roman Pontiff is *jure Divino*, the successor of Peter, it is nevertheless not the Catholic faith, but merely a very probable opinion."—*Bankes*.

The Church of Rome is no longer what she was in her pristine purity. She has departed from herself; and by relinquishing her claim to this—*quod primum, quod semper*—she has also forfeited her claim to the distinguishing appellation of Catholic and Apostolic, and unwittingly earned for herself the very epithet she so liberally bestows upon all who presume to differ from her, that of—**HERETICAL**.

We have now accomplished the task which we proposed, and the conclusion arrived at is, that proof is wanting that St. Peter founded the Church, either of Antioch or of Rome, and that Scripture negatives the assertion that he governed either the one or the other—much more for the space of seven years, and of twenty-five years respectively. That Linus was the first Bishop of Rome there can be no manner of doubt. That St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome, there is not only not the slightest reason to believe, but, as we have seen, there is undoubted testimony which renders such a supposition an utter impossibility. The civil preëminence of the city, the growing power and gradual corruption of its Bishops, the falsification of genuine records, and the forgery of spurious ones as the Romanists themselves admit, the madness of perverse ambition, are enough to account for a pretension which we have endeavored briefly to expose. That there is a certain sense in which St. Peter may be spoken of as the first of Apostles, is readily granted. But that he had no official supremacy or jurisdiction over the other Apostles is most manifest; and it is also equally certain that he was not the head or first Bishop of the Church of Rome.

ART. III.—THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLIC POSITION.

Church Review, Volume X, No. III. Art. I.

IN the settlement of the Church by our Ecclesiastical Fathers, about whose brows still lingered the light of the Revolution, the natural (not ecclesial) limits of the first Dioceses were the old Colonial boundaries, as retained by each "State." The Thirteen Colonies readily offered Thirteen Dioceses. But two or three cities of any rank were then in existence, and some of the Dioceses had their population so dispersed over their wildernesses, that it seemed far more appropriate then to give a Bishop the charge of a State than seat him at a small town (though the largest) at one extremity of it. In reality our early Bishops were territorial Missionary Bishops; and the fact was recognized by the title conferred upon them.

At the time, too, of this inauguration of the State-diocese System by the Fathers of the cis-Atlantic American Church, there were but two or three Bishops. The little Church must have had more faith than the Church retains to-day, (which easily despairs if it see not present results,) to have foreseen that this vast Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would, within a century, become divided into States and demanding Diocesan Sees! France or Spain held then vast portions now embraced by several Southern and Western Dioceses. The unparalleled march of the Republic over these foreign domains, and the rapidity with which new States have been added to the original Thirteen for which they legislated, could not have been foreseen by the Patriarchs of the American Church. If they had anticipated this enlargement of Empire, which we to-day behold, they would have perceived that cities would rise in all parts of the new States, and that their increasing population, their hundreds of towns, would demand a division of Dioceses, not by *halving* them as is done in New York, (leaving in fact *no* Diocese of New York!)* or quartering them, and, by and by, if the State of New York increases in population as it has done, octupling the Dioceses in the State! In

* The Bishop of New York is not, in truth, what his title declares him to be, otherwise, what becomes of Bishop DeLancey? This confusion and inconsistency will go on increasing, unless the system be exchanged for the "old paths."

a century this State will demand eight Sees, to oversee its thousand towns filled with people!

No one will deny this. Suppose the Diocese, by and by, to be thus quartered and octated:

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE OF SOUTHERN NEW YORK.

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE OF N. W. NEW YORK.

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE QUINTUPLE NEW YORK.

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE SEXTUPLE NEW YORK.

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE SEPTUPLE NEW YORK.

Rt. Rev. Bp. ———, DIOCESE OCTUPLE NEW YORK.

So on with Pennsylvania and Ohio, and the other Dioceses. It will not be denied that this is the inevitable tendency of the present system of territorial Bishops, who are nothing more nor less, *de facto*, than Missionary Bishops, as well knows every one of these our Prelates of the American Church, notwithstanding their large and stately titles; for they have no SEES! They are *Episcopi in partibus infidelium*!

Without doubt our reverend and venerated Fathers, in the post-Revolutionary day, had no dream of Steamboats and of Railroads which were to take the place of deep rivers and build up towns and cities in remote interiors of the Continent, far beyond tidal waters, and crowd the great Dioceses with many rival metropolitan cities. We will not say, in departing from the Seedilic System, they were short-sighted. Without Steam, a thousand years would have been required to achieve the grand results which we now behold in the extension, population, and vastness of the Republic. Without controversy the old way, by which we mean the *oldest* way, is the best, in Church affairs; for what is new, *is new*!

The able writer of the "Article," in the October Church Review, which has drawn from us these present remarks, has very truthfully and fairly stated that the introduction of territorial Dioceses is a novelty, and *peculiar* to the American Church; and by his examples has deduced proof of the fact. What would be the condition of England, if the first Bishop had been Bishop of Britain? or if subsequent Sees had been limited by the geographical boundaries of the Heptarchy? i. e. Bishop of South Saxony? Bishop of Middle Saxony? Bishop of East Saxony? Bishop of West Saxony? and also Bishop of Northumbria? As the Gospel extended, there would have been no room for subsequent territorial Sees, if Sees they can be called, which have no *Sedilia*.* The

* The Cathedral feature is not essential to a See! The *seat* should be a chief city, but not of necessity contain an Episcopal Throne! (Cathedra.)

present harmony, and completeness, and total fitness of the Diocesan System in England, is due to adherence to the Apostolic practice. Each See being in a city, as it ought to be according to the Apostolic and most ancient custom of the Church Catholic, the Sees are capable of being increased with the founding of new cities and centres of population and influence for all time to come. It is a simple system, aside from its being the true one, and works without confusion or entanglement; while that of the cis-Atlantic Daughter Church has already begun to produce confusion, which is to increase more and more. For example, vide "The Diocese of New York," and "The Diocese of Western New York;" which is of course an amusing contradiction, to say nothing severer; for either Bishop Potter, "of New York," ignores, whensoever he recognizes his own Diocesan title, the jurisdiction of the Bishop of "Western New York;" or Bishop DeLancey usurps (we beg his pardon!) that portion of the Diocese of the former, which is called indefinitely "Western New York!"

How do people get along in this confusion? Why, in this way! When I address myself to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York, I do it with a simultaneous *mental reservation* that I do not mean he is Bishop *of all* New York, as I desire also to pay due respect to a certain jurisdiction claimed by Bishop DeLancey! but I say, in my thoughts, "By Bishop of New York," I mean really only "of *half* of New York!"

It is to be hoped that the Church in General Convention will put an end to such grave absurdity, and, by a unanimous vote, restore to the Church the Sees which she does not now possess, except as "The shadow of a name;" and enable her to grow with the Republic, increasing her Sees with the increase of her cities. This Missionary System (which it only is) now obtaining in the Church, and pregnant, if it continue, with great disorder in the settlement of Episcopal jurisdiction, will no longer answer. The Church is the Body of Christ. In its Diocesan corporeality this body needs a *heart*. This is supplied by the Civic* See.

As the Body Ecclesiastic at present is constituted Episcopal, there is no Heart! *no* centre of life, no system of circulation. There is life and blood, but their activity is feeble and resultless, sluggishly circulating through an unwieldy mass, instead of a symmetrical form. Centralization, by erecting Sees in the chief Cities, is the only mode which the Church can

* We make use of the word "civic" instead of Metropolitan; as the latter term belongs properly to the Capital City, which in New York would be Albany: civic is therefore the general term.

adopt to secure the results she aims at through her Episcopacy. The question, 'How shall we make the Episcopacy effectual to compass the ends for which it was, in the beginning, divinely instituted?' has come up. The answer unquestionably is, by returning to the equally Divine mode of operation ordained of Christ, and inaugurated by His Apostles, "who knew the mind of Christ" in making Jerusalem (not Judea) the See of the first Bishoprick; and subsequently made Smyrna and Ephesus, and Alexandria and Byzantium give the Episcopal titles, and not Asia Minor, Eastern Greece and Egypt; and so on through all the Sees. The three hundred and seventeen or eighteen Bishops at the Council of Nice, were titled after cities, not after kingdoms, states and territories. So it has been throughout the Church from the beginning, and in all ages. The Bishop of Rome is no more than a metropolitan title, for Italia was the name of the empire, not Roma; and to that city and the ancient subjacent Diocese, is really limited that Prelate's jurisdiction. The Anglican Bishops, as well as the Gallic Bishops, are surtitled upon cities. If the French Bishops were Diocesans of the Departments of France, they would then have a system somewhat analogous with our own anomalous one! The writer of the Article to which we allude, "*THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLIC POSITION*," is right. Our Bishops should receive their titles from the chief cities; and we have no doubt that the voice of all intelligent laymen in the Church, as well as of the clergy, and a large majority of her Prelates, are of this mind. The Article alluded to should convince any man that the American Church stands alone in this territorial Missionary Diocesan System, and has committed an error by legalizing it, and is perpetuating the error by practicing it. Why, we *have no* Episcopal Sees! Some good Churchmen talk of Cathedrals! Where shall we put a *Cathedral* in any one of our Dioceses? For instance, a Cathedral has been talked about at Baltimore. There can be no *Cathedra* in Dioceses where there are no sedilia; and there can be no sedilia where no chief city gives name to the See. A Cathedral in New York, or Baltimore, would be an absurdity under the present system of *mobile* Sees, which being supposed to be "in omnibus partibus," are nowhere in particular!

We have said quite enough upon this part of the subject for ingenuous minds; and now, we devote a few thoughts to the serious evils which the present unwieldy and inefficient system contends with. The Bishops are quite unable to compass Dioceses that are larger than many ancient kingdoms! They cannot faithfully work the immense and impossible field

in which the Church's Diocesan custom has placed them. It is like working a steamship with an engine for a small river-boat; like placing a gardener to work single-handed a whole plantation. *All* the Bishops have either the evils to contend with of too much territory or of too much people. They are unable to perform the Herculean tasks set them; and of course do not perform them. The Apostles could not have done the work which the American Church expects her Bishops, the Apostles' Successors, to do, under her present unwieldy leviathan system. Look, for example, at the field over which the Venerable Bishop Kemper exercises jurisdiction; and for the prosperity of the Church in which, he is held responsible. Minnesota, larger than all Great Britain; Kansas, as large as Great Britain; and Wisconsin, only a fraction less than all England and Wales; each of these immense territories capable of sustaining a denser population than that of England; each filling up with cities and towns with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the world—and yet this whole vast field committed to the charge of one single man; and that too, so far as the Church is concerned, at the most critical and turning point of its history. And yet, Churchmen, and calling themselves very strong Churchmen too, refused a Bishop to Kansas at our last General Convention by the merest piece of ecclesiastical jugglery. To work this field with anything like thoroughness, there ought to be, at least, five Bishops on the ground at once. And five such men *as the work calls for*, would almost from the outset draw nearly their whole support from the field itself; and would establish CHRIST's blessed Church throughout that entire region.

So also in Iowa, Alabama and Tennessee, it is territory sparsely settled now, but rapidly filling up, that lifts up the same cry for fields reduced to possible working. Tennessee is divided by ranges of mountains into three geographical divisions, called East, Middle, and West Tennessee. Each of these has a chief city, viz, Knoxville in East, Nashville in Middle, and Memphis in West Tennessee. These cities are, in round numbers, 200 miles each from the other. At present, the excellent and laborious Bishop resides at Memphis, five hundred miles from Knoxville! For twenty years this noble Prelate has been toiling till his hair is gray and his health broken, to till and subdue to the Church this vast empire! No man could do it. And no successive Bishops for a century hence can compass the work. Twenty other "Bishops of Empires" are contending against this evil of "too much largeness." They fly from town to town almost like post-riders, and are unable to give but a few days to each place, perhaps only an

hour or two. Their faces are hardly known to their vast Dioceses! They confirm and preach, and hurry on, to preach and confirm! They are, in one sense, "angels of the Churches," for their visits to them "are few and far between." We know that in some of the Western Dioceses there are considerable towns in which there is a Church, the Rector of which has not for two years seen his Bishop, and is unable to do so from his being occupied in over-work, elsewhere in some *terra incognita ultima Thule* of his vast Ecclesiastical realm.

Of course, the Church in these overgrown Dioceses suffers; and no wonder that the Reports to Conventions show such meagre increase, either in the ministry or of the people. The Bishop of Mississippi, in a letter to us, says that "he has been with his family," (a large family too, and one of them an invalid,) "but seven weeks of the year out of the fifty-two;" being for the rest of the time on horseback, or on the road traveling his Diocese a thousand leagues, *without* the seven league boots, with which he ought in justice and mercy to be provided. Turn to the interesting Addresses, painful ones, too, when we reflect upon the inadequate results which are reached by such vast labors and such great expenditures of time, and such noble sacrifice of all personal ease, and of social and family amenities; turn to the Reports of those hard-working men of God, (having beside the care of all the Churches,) and see if they should not with more propriety be termed "JOURNEYINGS," for they are chiefly narratives of endless journeys "by flood and field." Read therein with marvel of their four and six thousand of annual miles, not by rail or steam, but chiefly in the saddle or springless wagons; and, peradventure, on foot!

Perhaps it may be said St. Paul traveled much more and farther! True; and if it be admitted, (as would seem to be the case,) that our Bishops of the great Western Empire Dioceses are sent out to preach to the *whole earth*, as St. Paul was, we abandon of course our present ground; but as they are not supposed to be Missionary Bishops, but Diocesan, we are disposed to pursue the subject further.

The Church in these Dioceses does not make herself felt: She falls short of her mission, and is of necessity a stranger almost everywhere except in some twenty-five or thirty points, where feebly her light shines.* If the Episcopacy be, as it unquestionably is, the pioneer of the Church System, if the true principle of aggression, (converting the world,) be that

* See Journals of Conventions of some twelve or fourteen of these mammoth Dioceses.

the Bishop is the legitimate founder of new Churches, and that *sine Episcopo nulla Ecclesia* is as true of planting parishes as framing Dioceses, the Bishops *per se* have not yet in the American Church had a fair chance, to make use of an expressive Americanism. The Episcopal Office is absolutely bound in chains by the present system. The Bishops weary themselves out in attempting to do what cannot be done. The Episcopal idea in the Ancient Church never contemplated Bishops of Empires. The discrepancy between the vast machinery and the inadequate results that follow this show of power and display of dominion stares the Church in the face! We are all wrong, and it is no indignity to take the retrorse to the prior period whereat we took the wrong path, and come into the old path again.

We reiterate, the American Episcopate is a great, unwieldy, unmanageable "concern," as our Methodist brethren would say; for to the harmony and unity of a system it has no claim. Our Bishops are of necessity a sort of Ecclesiastical, Imperial magnates, who govern vast States in Sword's Pocket Almanac, but never (and never to do it) in reality. We respect our Bishops, but they do not and cannot do justice to themselves and to the inherent powers which exist in the Episcopate for building up the Church and evangelizing the waste places of the earth! Church folk respect the Bishop; but yet they think somehow, that if it were not for the Confirmations and Ordinations to be performed by *their* hands, the Church could do very well without them. People who think so, are of the class who imagine that before a Bishop goes *anywhere*, he must have intimation that there are already Parishes and Church people existing to go to. These people forget, or do not know, that one of the peculiar acts of the Office of a Bishop is to plant the Church, to make disciples for Christ, and gather about him Clergy and laity. It is not the Church people who are to find out a Bishop; but the Bishop who goes to a people who are not Church people, to plant the Cross and the Church among them. To wait till towns "are large enough," and Christians numerous enough in it, before a Bishop goes to it, is doing the Church's work inversely; beginning altogether at the wrong end.

But this fact is so patent that we need not enlarge upon it. Admit it, and we ought at this moment to have a Bishop in every large city. If a Presbyter can be supported in Brooklyn, Rochester, Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis, so can a Bishop, for it costs no more. Place then a Bishop in each of those cities, or in a city where there is no Presbyter, and let

that city be his titular See, and let him begin there the work of his *pastoral* Office! The spider would catch few flies, if he sat at the extremity of his web. The *central* power of the Episcopate must first be *seated* firmly, and all the rest, Clergy and laity, will follow in their proper order.

By this re-distribution of the country into smaller Dioceses we accomplish another important end. We avoid, to a great extent, the possible, and more than possible, evils of an unfortunate election to the Episcopate. How Bishops ought to be elected, is one question. Whether the English method does, or does not, lift the election above the influence of party and personal ends, more than our own, is another question. We are happy in the belief that the elections, of late years, and especially in our older Dioceses, have been felt as a rebuke to party wire-pullers, and we believe they will prove so more and more. Underhanded influences may contribute now and then, to carry an election on strictly party grounds for some distant outpost of the Church; but the temper of the Church is becoming more and more intolerant of such tactics. And yet, with all the care and wisdom possible, an unfortunate election to the Episcopate may take place; and with this, there are interests periled, and risks run, and injuries received, greater than the Church can afford. The GREAT HEAD of the Church never designed that so much should be ventured on such an experiment. And, even if the risk could be ventured in England with more safety, where the order of things is firmly established; where there are various ranks of inferior Clergy, Archdeacons, and Chancellors, and Canons, and Prebendaries, to break the force of the blow before it reaches the great body of the Church, there is no such intervening power here.

And yet, how great the risk is! We have Dioceses growing up in fifty years from a population of forty-five thousand to a population of over two millions; and filled with towns and cities, springing up as by enchantment from nothing, to the size of ten, twenty, fifty, and a hundred thousand people. There are Dioceses, too, where schism and heresy have already gone to seed; where infidelity is rife; where the old Platforms have fallen to pieces; where the better portion of the people are in just the condition to receive the Church, if she were only faithfully and fairly presented. And yet the interests of CHRIST'S kingdom over this vast territory and among this immense population, are all risked on a single man, and that man, unfortunately, proves a failure. The Church loses what she can never regain. These twenty, thirty, or forty years,

have been fatal to the Church for all time. Thus, one Bishop may be physically disqualified for much active duty, and yet not in a condition to demand or ask for a Suffragan. Another, may be by nature inactive and inefficient. Another, may be constitutionally timid, lacking the native power to lead on his Church in a great movement. Another, may be a man of mark as a man of letters, of learning and intellect, and in the quiet of his study, he may scent out all sorts of heresies, and write very orthodox Pastorals; and meanwhile Infidelity and vice, and irreligion, are stalking rampant over his Diocese. Another, with all his splendid gifts and talents, may yet lack the most essential gift of all, a knowledge of human nature. Another, has proved unequal to the temptation of his Office, and is puffed up with swelling vanity and worldly pride. Another, misled by a spurious liberality, fails to present the Church in her integrity, fraternizes with, and gives the moral weight of his name and influence to all sorts of humanitarian agents and devices; and so the Church, Samson-like, is shorn of her strength in the lap of this modern Delilah. All these things are possible. And the bare possibility ought to be guarded against now, as the Apostolic Church guarded against it.

The remedy for all these possible, and more than possible evils, is to come at once back to Scriptural and Primitive example. Nothing is simpler or easier. Suppose, then, that the cities of ALBANY, ROCHESTER, BUFFALO, BROOKLYN, (with Long Island as its diocese,) and NEW YORK CITY, with Staten Island as its diocese, were, by the next General Convention, made Episcopal Sees, the limits of each defined by the same power. What an impetus would be given to the Church! How it would loom up among the powers of the land! With five more centres of consolidation, of strength and of expansion, it would be five times multiplied in the time in which, under the present arrangement, it would be doubled. And so in all the Dioceses.

Let us now see how some of these Sees with their Bishops would look on paper; inasmuch as we have shown the possible appearance of the quintuplet and sextuplet Diocese.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Galveston, Texas.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Austin, Texas.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, La.*

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Baton Rouge, La.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Natchez.*

* We confess that the R. O. Bishops, wiser than "we children of light," have secured a seat in these Sees; for with all her errors, herein the Church of Rome holds to the Apostolic customs. But there is room for us!

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Jackson.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Memphis.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Nashville.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Knoxville.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Savannah.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Portland and Augusta.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Concord and Portsmouth.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Hartford, New Haven, Middletown,
 New London and Bridgeport.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pitts-
 burg.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleve-
 land.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Richmond, Norfolk and Lynch-
 burg.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishops of Baltimore and Annapolis.*
 The smaller Dioceses should remain *in statu ante*—as those
 of Delaware, Rhode Island, and perhaps that of New Hamp-
 shire and that of Vermont.
 NEW JERSEY should have two Sees, viz, Newark and Bur-
 lington.
 SOUTH CAROLINA two—Charleston and Columbia.
 ALABAMA three—Mobile, Montgomery and Tuscaloosa.
 FLORIDA two—Tallahassee and St. Augustine. †
 NORTH CAROLINA two—Raleigh and Wilmington.
 KENTUCKY two—Frankfort or Louisville and Paducah.
 ILLINOIS three—Springfield, Chicago and Galena.
 MISSOURI two—St. Louis and Independence.
 INDIANA two—Indianapolis and Madison.
 WISCONSIN two—Milwaukee and Delafield.
 ARKANSAS two—Little Rock and Van Buren.
 CALIFORNIA two—San Francisco and Sacramento.

The above will be, with some few substitutions, perhaps, of
 other names, the *seats* of the new SEES, under the proposed
 restoration of the "Apostolic Ministry to the Apostolic Posi-
 tion." A reference to the map will show that some of the
 places are at extremities of States, and face, or lie adjacent to,
 large portions of other States which are remote from any large

* Washington City, with the District of Columbia, should be erected into a sepa-
 rate See. Its chief Church should be under the pastoral charge of the Bishop of
 Washington, assisted by his Clergy. It should have no preëminence founded upon
 locality; Episcopal preëminence alone should follow the law of seniority in conse-
 cration.

† The geographical position of Pensacola, as well as its commercial and social
 relations, would naturally attach it to the See of Mobile, it being but forty miles
 distant.

town, or possible See, in those States. In such cases, the See should embrace the portion convenient to it within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for in the proposed plan the State bounds cease to define and limit the jurisdiction of the Church's Bishops; for what has the Church to do at all with political lines of territorial separation, when she exists wholly independent of the accidents of State? Suppose two States should be permitted by Congress to unite under one government, what would become of the two Dioceses? Neither would exist. The Church should not risk such contingencies, which, not probable, are yet possible. Or suppose a State divided into two States; to which will the Diocesan belong. Will he, like the Colossus astride the harbor of Rhodes, attempt to stand on both? State linear bounds should not influence those of the Church; for the Gospel comes not to forests but to peoples; and this State Diocesan System does not keep pace with the people as the country fills up, and cannot do so, but expends itself in ceaselessly traversing vast forests thinly settled, because they are, forsooth, within "the diocese." Abandon the present inefficient system, and the Episcopate will be free to follow the people and occupy towns; and, unbound from only State limits, can reach over into other States where souls are, and there build up the Church.

For illustration, look at Mobile! As a See, it could embrace Pensacola, the inhabitants of which have petitioned more than once to be separated from Florida and attached to Alabama, to which by geographical position, it belongs. The inhabitants in East Mississippi, far away from their Bishop, who resides at Jackson, and who are within sixty miles of Tuscaloosa, have hitherto desired to be attached to the Diocese of Alabama, its Bishop then residing at Tuscaloosa. Natchez* in Mississippi, as a See, (with Louisiana opposite on the other side of the Mississippi river,) could embrace a section of North Louisiana, in which there is no large town;† St. Louis as a See, a portion of Illinois within forty miles. Montgomery could embrace a destitute portion of Western Georgia. Other similar cases will readily occur to the reader.

What is wanted is a *sensible* subdivision of the jurisdiction of our Bishops, a division based upon population more or less concentrated, not upon (as at present) numbers of acres, or leagues of State dominion. And this plan must so commend

* Vide map.

† The Bishop of Louisiana comes three hundred miles to visit Concordia opposite Natchez, in which city the Bishop of Mississippi used to reside.

itself to every Churchman who reads the Article in the October Review,* that it requires no prophet to foresee that now this important subject is fairly before the Church, the plan will become a law ere many years.

But what are the objections with which this system will have to contend?

First of all, and greatest of all in the eye of some, will be the expense of supporting these numerous Sees. But this is all imagination. It is a notion associated with the cost of supporting English Sees with their feudal grandeur, their princely incomes and palatial residences. It is a figment without any reality. It will cost no more to support a Bishop in the cities named above, than it does the leading clergymen in each city. The only question is, "Shall the Sees be created?" The new Bishops are, *per se* parish ministers! Let them be supported *as* such, in the beginning. For instance, suppose that the Rev. Dr. — of Buffalo, the Rev. Dr. — of Albany, the Rev. Mr. — of Rochester, the Rev. Dr. — of Brooklyn, (the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York remaining in statu quo, and with his present title,) were to be elected Bishops to these Sees, what increase to their salaries need there be? Of all the large cities let there be Sees created, and a presbyter therein, or from elsewhere, consecrated therein and therefor, the city giving him his title; the Convention (General) fixing the bounds of his Diocese. A Bishop's marketing and house-rent cost no more than a Presbyter's. The question of expense does not therefore enter into the subject at all; while the Church would be the gainer by the elevation to her Episcopate of some forty men, men of learning, piety, and talents, each the centre of Dioceses which they can compass and take hold of all around, and of which they can thoroughly work all portions; Dioceses, in short, of possibility, not of impossibility.

There is another objection which may be urged, growing out of a reluctance to alter what the Fathers of the Church have left sealed with their seal. In matters of doctrine, to alter is to destroy. But this is not a question of doctrine; but simply of legislation. The boundaries of our Dioceses were not set by Inspiration, but by human authority and in Council. Laws, by their very nature, are liable to repeal, when the circumstances under which they were rendered expedient are changed, or no longer exist. It was once decreed by legislation in Congress, that the District of Columbia should consist of an area ten

* The reader is referred to this Article, which will shortly be issued in pamphlet form.

miles square, and embrace the cities of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria. After half a century this law was repealed, and a new law set Alexandria off again to Virginia, reducing the Federal area several square miles; nor has the Republic of the United States been shaken or at all disturbed in its integrity by this excision and change of the boundaries of her imperial three and a third leagues square. We have no doubt the Church, acting in a matter equally open to legislation, would remain firmly upon her old foundations.

There will, perhaps, arise another objection. It will possibly come from the existing Prelates of our present Dioceses, who may object to seeing their great territorial Dioceses dwindling to such comparatively small limits. When our territorial Bishops visit England with its little Benjaminic Dioceses encircling their venerable Sees, the Anglican Prelates not unlikely note the contrast, when they look at their trans-Atlantic brother's Diocese across the water—on the map! and compare their own with them. But suppose the question, "Where is your See?" were put to one of the American Diocesans? He would be in as great a dilemma as the Methodist "Bishop" Simpson, at the late great Evangelical Council in Prussia, when the venerable King asked him, on his presentation, "Where is your See?" "I have none." The monarch, then probably recollecting *we* had Dioceses in the American Anglican Church which had no Sees, inquired again, "Where is your Diocese?" "I have none, your majesty." The King looked amazed, when the "Methodist Prelate" answered, "I am a Bishop at large." Just what our Bishops are—"Bishops at large;" only a line drawn by the United States Government Surveyors, confining them within certain finite portions of the United States. Possibly, then, there will be a strong opposition from some of the Bishops of the Church, though we have no sufficient reason for thinking so, and perhaps we do them injustice to anticipate it on such ground. And yet we remember that Bishops are men, after all; and there is a certain sense of dignity in the idea (it is only an idea) of being Bishops of a State! It looks imposing. But looks are very deceptive. Let us look at one out of eleven Dioceses, the clergy of any one of which do not reach thirty-six men, and the communicants numbering from twelve hundred to three thousand; while the population of the Diocese is reckoned by hundreds of thousands! Does *this* look like being a Bishop of a *State*? If, indeed, we were to go into an examination of this question of population, we should have at once the strongest possible exposition of the utter impracticability, and the specious un-

reality of our present Diocesan System. It is the substance that the Church wants, not shadows. A leaf of an oak is of more value than the whole tree's shadow, though it cover an acre of ground. No judicious Prelate, convinced that something must be done by legislation, and that soon, for the better division of Dioceses than the octuple system, will oppose the return to the Apostolic mode, from any apprehension of losing position, or diminishing the respectability of his mitre. What the Church needs, and what we are persuaded she will have, is Bishops who shall be indeed Shepherds of souls. Nor will we leave this part of our subject without adding, that there are Bishops of the Church, and Bishops who would be personally affected by such a distribution of Dioceses, to an extent second to none, who will be heard from, when this subject comes up, in words of truth and soberness. The question will override all petty lines of party ; and it occupies to-day, as we know, a large place in the thoughts of many of the wisest and best men among us.

When the Church shall have adopted this as her working system, in ten years' time she will astonish the Republic by her vigor, power, expansion, vitality and universality. Truly Catholic then, she will be found where she is not now ; and she will be almost at once stronger in our great cities, than she can be in a century in the present system of *waiting for Dioceses to grow up to the Bishop !*

It may be objected, that, under the proposed system, the number of Bishops would be greatly increased. Of course it would. But what of that as an objection ? If our present Diocesan arrangement had obtained in the days of Constantine, instead of 318 Bishops being present at the Nicæan Council, there would not have been seventy-five ! The number in the House of Bishops will not, however, of necessity, immediately be increased. The Bishops of the new Sees, like our missionary Bishops, may have no seat in General Convention* until the Clergy attached to each See reaches a certain number, to be fixed by the General Convention, say twenty-five, which is about the mean of the number of clergy belonging now to more than half the Dioceses. This number, as the population increased and the Clergy in the same ratio, might be extended by legislation to fifty, or other number ; in the same manner in which Congress from time to time extends the figures which fix the number of thousands of citizens that are entitled to a Representative.

* See Article, Oct. No. Church Review, on this feature.

There are other considerations suggested by this important subject. There is much more ground to go over before it can be fully presented to the minds of Churchmen. Thus an objection may arise with regard to Diocesan Conventions. Must they cease to exist, or be modified? Not at all. They might still retain as their ecclesiastical jurisdiction the limits of the old Diocese, embracing the Clergy of *all* the Sees within it, and be presided over by the Bishop of the oldest See; which in the State of New York would of course be that of the city of New York. Hence no existing Bishop in the whole Church will lose either position or authority, either in Convention, or in the House of Bishops, by voting for the restoration. Indeed we cannot conceive of one well grounded objection to the proposed change. The greatest difficulty in its way, we apprehend, will be that dead inertia which fails to grapple with a great principle, merely because it costs an effort.

What we have written has been rather to show the practical workings of the proposed system, than to discuss the principle itself. This has already been done in the Article before alluded to, and in a manner to carry with it the force of a demonstration to many thoughtful minds. The subject is before the Church, and it will not be suffered to sleep. The evils it seeks to remedy are too glaring to be ignored. We trust the mind of the Church will be fully prepared to see a movement in our next General Convention toward a restoration of the Church to the Old Paths, and to replace "THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLIC POSITION."

ART. IV.—ENGLISH CHURCH WORK.

A SOMEWHAT familiar acquaintance with English Polite Literature for a lifetime ; and with the affairs of that venerable Church for more than forty years, constitutes just such a preparation for a summer's sojourn upon that beautiful and grand old Island of the Northern Seas, as exalts it at once into one of the richest intellectual treats, and one of the most delightful religious privileges, which can be enjoyed by any descendant of her exiled sons. To enjoy it is one thing ; to describe it in such a manner as to impart to others some share of the same exquisite enjoyment, is a very difficult matter. Besides the attempt is everywhere surrounded by peculiar delicacies. It would be treating a highly interested public very badly, to serve them up a dish of dry and barren generalities, when the very thing it wants is something individual, illustrative and spicy. On the other hand the danger is imminent, when catering for such a taste, of intruding within the charmed and sacred circle of social and domestic life. The vigorous pen, even of an Emerson, barely escapes from dullness and tedious repetition, from declining too much on one side of this delicate line ; and the lighter pen of hardly a single American tourist, whether clerical or lay, has been wholly exempt from the opposite fault.

The present writer is somewhat protected from the danger of falling into either of these dangers, partly by the sobriety which befits an Article prepared expressly for a dignified Quarterly, but chiefly by the narrow limits which place effectual restraints upon mere gossip.

But this slight effort is attended by further difficulties ; the necessities of a prodigious condensation on the one hand, and yet the consciousness of very limited observation, and still more limited knowledge on the other, suggesting and provoking explanations and comments, all along, whilst yet the consciousness is most profound, that nothing could be less reliable than general results, deduced from such very limited induction. Under all these embarrassments and limitations, we now propound our method, which is, under quite a variety of heads, to give light and familiar narrative illustrations, endeavoring most scrupulously to keep within the limits of strict social proprieties, and frankly avowing our impressions, fully aware that if held and expressed with becoming diffidence, they

will be scanned with becoming candor ; and, in any event, will be sure to exert no more influence than they really are entitled to.

CHURCH EXTENSION.—The first eye-glance, on each side of a long railroad ride, in a country so highly cultivated as England, marks an era in a traveling life ; but when the eye of that traveler for more than a quarter of a century has been annually accustomed to cast such a glance over the newer and rougher portions of a southwestern American landscape, some idea may be formed of the emphasis with which he exclaimed, “How delightful it is at last, to be permitted to visit a country that is finished!” The very cuts of the railway, smoothly graded and covered with the brightest green sward ; and the humblest station house adorned with its creepers, its standard roses, and its neat and tasteful flower garden !

But the clerical eye found its chief delight in the number and simple beauty of the rural and village churches, never absent, and nowhere neglected ! To all former experience, the contrast how great !—the very ancient in place of the very new ; substantial stone instead of perishable frame, or rude logs ; and one for the entire population, (apparently) and therefore adequate and dignified, instead of the many, and not one of them at all dignified or suited to the purposes of public worship. No one had felt the curse of the sub-division of sects more sensibly, for years ; and to none could the absence of this one of its evils, have been more pleasing. To his practiced eye the implication was instantaneous ; here we probably have one, educated, resident and permanent minister, well supported, instead of half a dozen transient ministers, not half sustained. As we approached the great Metropolis, the number of entirely new churches rapidly increased ; and through all its suburbs such indications were even more cheering.

Our impression of Denmark and Sweden, and of other countries where the Protestant religion predominates, and is the religion of the State, without knowing much about it, is, that they remain pretty much where the Church of England was at the opening of the last century, and in the age of Queen Anne, in possession of the old churches, erected under the old regime, without any sensible improvement as to renovation or repairs ; and no increase at all as to numbers. Church authorities, lay patrons, and the people themselves, have remained almost as dormant as the grand old foundry of these ancient shrines ; and entirely satisfied if they did not actually tumble down about their ears ! It may be a rough estimate, but can-

not be far from the mark, that the population of England had doubled, before its church accommodations had increased one-tenth. The great excuse for the Northern Protestant nations, is found in this, that their rural population has not sensibly increased; and this much can most truly be affirmed, that as many new churches have been built there since the Reformation, as in any Roman Catholic country.

But no Government, undertaking a monopoly of the religion of the country, has ever yet met an extraordinary demand for clergy, churches and schools, any better than an extraordinary demand for salt, or bread-stuffs, of which it may unfortunately have held the monopoly. It is a little more remiss in supplying spiritual than physical wants, that is all. Should the demand be prodigious, if not met by private and voluntary enterprise, it will not be met at all.

It would be curious to look into the statistics of Church Extension in Queen Anne's reign, for the purpose of instituting a comparison with the far more remarkable efforts which have been made within this century, and particularly within the last twenty years. Compared with the increase of population, and the means furnished by Government, outside of the resources of the Church itself, it is believed that the advantage will be found largely on the side of the more recent measures; and in round numbers, we have somewhere seen the estimate, that more than two thousand churches have been added over the whole country, inclusive of not less than two hundred in London alone, more, it is said, than all the erections put together the whole three hundred years, since the Reformation. Our own observation brought us acquainted with specimens of the best efforts, in every line of direction. Cathedral restorations and ornamentation upon the most liberal and gigantic scale, and often at a cost equal to the erection of an entirely new Church, vastly better fitted to the purposes of Christian Worship than the grand old structures originally erected for far other purposes, for those of processional and scenic worship, whose claims have long since been superseded by those of a more spiritual and acceptable service. And yet, what man of cultivated taste would wish one fraction of all this munificence deducted as far as it has been wisely expended? They are monuments of an exalted genius, perhaps of a devoted, though mistaken piety; let them stand forever!

Grand old Parish Churches, too large for profitable use, most thoroughly restored and beautified, Redcliffe, Bristol, Bath Abbey, St. Botolph's, Boston, and the noble old Norman Church at Rumsey. The venerable Chapel at Lambeth, where

seventy years ago, the link was moulded which united our line of Bishops with a succession not less illustrious than any which has come down to us from the Apostles' times, has been well restored. How swelled our heart, when uprose the image of the good old Bishop White, as we had known him, and we tried in vain to realize how he must have looked and felt when he knelt and prayed, on that very spot just before us! We could far more easily recall the overpowering emotion which accompanied the laying on of his venerable hands, when another, in a far distant land, had received the same high and solemn commission!

"So may the bright Succession run
Through all the courses of the sun,
Till unborn Churches by their care,
Shall rise and flourish, large and fair."

To this end, nothing is wanting but greater, wiser, better men, each successive generation, until the millennial period is brought back into perfect harmony with the Apostolic! And our God can and will raise them up!

But we were intending to say, that, besides the restoration of the Chapel of the Archiepiscopal Palace, many of the Bishops had been at great expense in removing the incrustations of paint and whitewash, with which barbaric modern hands had concealed the more sober and solid ornaments of a better age of art, in their private Chapels. The most magnificent, but as it seemed to us, the least wise of all the expenditures which we noticed in the way of Church extension, was one of the most perfectly and wonderfully beautiful, that of Mr. SYDNEY HERBERT, at Wilton. Such Romanesque is even more gorgeous than the most highly ornamented Gothic; and the way in which some of the rarest gems of ancient art are interwoven into this new and most beautiful structure, excites the highest admiration. Nor was our own taste particularly offended by the presence of some few indications that in the gratification of antiquarian fancies, no small hazard was run, of doing violence to that stern old vein of Protestant plainness, verging even to roughness, which dictated the maxim, "the nearer to Rome, the further from God!" The main objection in our own mind was this: by an outlay of one-half, or one-third, a more practical Church could have been built, in severer, but far better taste. But, through all that region, but especially amid the Potteries of the Diocese of Lichfield, most of the restorations, and all the New Churches which we inspected, were wise and practical, in an eminent degree.

This Article would prove interminable, if to every sub-di-

vision as large a space were to be given as to this, which must therefore at once be brought to a close, by two of the groupings which first fell under our own observation. It was a special gratification that our first Sunday in England was passed in Islington; and the first preacher on the Lord's Day that we heard was the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, in what, not many years ago, was the pulpit of the present venerated and beloved Archbishop of Calcutta. The Vicar had asked of the Primate the sanction of his great name for one of his benevolent parochial projects in connection with the education of the poor. And it would be exceedingly difficult to determine which was most to be admired, the scriptural fullness and simplicity of the teaching, the unaffected humility of the great and good man, or the irrepressible demonstration of regard and reverence with which thousands of the poor welcomed his coming and honored his departure.

All this in passing. The point before us, the statement on the part of the Vicar, the Rev. DANIEL WILSON, son of the Archbishop of Calcutta, with regard to Church Extension within the limits of his own cure. We cannot vouch for the precise accuracy of the statistics—our memory may have failed—nor, indeed, is it very material; the proportions did not vary much from the following: When he became Vicar of St. Mary's, the Parish Church of Islington, upon the elevation of his honored Father to the Episcopate, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, a population of 12 or 13,000 was very inadequately supplied with one Church, served by the Vicar and three Curates. The population has increased to 116,000, the Churches have been multiplied to twenty-five, and within the bounds of the Parish there are now fifty Clergymen; and the indefatigable Vicar has on foot a plan to raise \$150,000 for the erection of ten more Churches! Of those already erected, some are of iron and some of frame—various, and some of them successful expedients to meet, at once, a pressing want, until a more permanent church can be built.

It will be proper to state, that in the number of Clergy, the Instructors are included of the School of the Church Missionary Society for the training of Foreign Missionaries, which is in Islington, and the officers of various Charities, and other supernumeraries. But, in whatever light regarded, we have here, within the limits of a large Parish, what in America would be a large and vigorous Diocese; and, mainly, it has depended as much upon voluntary enterprise as any similar efforts on our part in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. The question is, has it not reached more of the poor, and does

it not bear a larger proportion to the rapid increase of population? This, surely, is Church work, well done.

About two months later, we spent a few days at Leeds, and received a statement only a little less remarkable, from its able and indefatigable Vicar, the Rev. Dr. Hook. Twenty years ago, he entered upon that vast and arduous field, with a rapidly increasing population of some 30 or 40,000 under his charge, aided by five Curates. Within his parochial boundaries, there are now more than 160,000 persons. Meantime, twenty-one new churches have been erected, the Parish Church rebuilt upon a very grand and magnificent scale, and work found for twenty-five clergymen. For seventeen successive years, a church each year was added to the previous number. Not in this connection can we mention the efforts made for education; or the indications which we witnessed of the love and veneration of all classes of the operatives for their untiring friend and benefactor.

INCREASE OF CLERGY.—The Church Edifices of an Establishment are one of its inert and dead elements, liable to few and slow fluctuations; whilst the ebb and flow in the supply of a living ministry is subject to far more remarkable changes. One would have thought that two such grand and magnificent Institutions as Oxford and Cambridge, founded and splendidly endowed in the ancient times expressly for the perennial supply of an highly educated clergy, and still flourishing in all the plenitude of their strength and resources, would have proved through all time more than adequate to the supply of any increased demand. Many causes have combined to bring about a very different result. Of old, to rear an educated Clergy, was to meet nearly all the demands made upon the educated classes, for legislators, lawyers, and authors, nearly all belonged to the clerical ranks, or had been drawn from them; and as to most of the Nobility and the Commanders of the Army and Navy, the cultivation of thew and muscle was far more highly esteemed than skill in eloquence or in dialectics. Humanity and the country were incalculably the gainers, when in the course of human events and of social progress, the Universities came to be gradually transformed from Theological Schools for the few, into Classical Schools for the many; and the duty was devolved upon them of imparting a profound elementary training, lying deep at the foundation of all the liberal professions, instead of elaborate specific culture for the sacred Office. After the experiment of ages, we have small reason, upon the whole, to regret this transformation,

when we look at the present condition of Saragossa, of the Sorbonne, and of St. Omer, and contrast the influence which their Alumni have impressed, through the Clergy alone, upon Spain, France, Europe and the world, with that of the Alumni of the English Universities in all the various departments of life.

That the Church, meantime, should suffer much was to have been expected; that she did not suffer more is doubtless owing under God, to an undying Church-life in every branch of the Church blessed with an open Bible, the Ancient Creeds and a Scriptural Liturgy. Indeed, as far as numbers alone were concerned, or a larger share of sound theological training than elsewhere was to be found within the bounds of Protestant Christendom, the change of the Universities almost entirely into classical and mathematical Schools does not appear to have operated very disastrously. The decay was rather in earnestness and in piety. To the revival of these, dating back to the early part of the last century through a long line of earnest men down to our own times, are we to trace those wonderful changes and the rise of all those Schools, whose influence in the increase of the number of the Clergy, and above all in their more thorough training for their appropriate work, everywhere fell under our admiring observation.

We were present at the Commemoration of the Training School for the Clergy, at the very door of the Episcopal Palace at Cuddesdon, and were witness of the enthusiasm with which a large assembly of the gentry and clergy, at a public dinner, under a tent upon the lawn of the Palace, listened to a glowing eulogium, in the absence of the Bishop of Oxford, upon that distinguished Prelate, on the part of Mr. Gladstone; and in which the courage, the independence and the fearlessness, amounting, under the circumstances, to moral heroism, with which he had entered upon the establishment of a School for theological purposes alone, and in part for the benefit of those to whom a full University course had been denied, at the very doors of that great University itself, were largely dwelt upon and highly commended. In the comments which we afterwards heard, from heads of colleges and other distinguished clergymen from Oxford, we observed that some admitted, whilst others denied or greatly modified, the charge of neglect at Oxford of the proper theological training of candidates for Orders. That there has been a great change for the better, both there and at Cambridge, there is no room to doubt. This, indeed, is one of the largest collateral benefits which such Schools as that at Cuddesdon is bestowing upon the Church.

On another occasion, we were present in the chapel of the School for the Orphan Children of Missionaries, at Islington, on the occasion of the Addresses to sixteen Missionaries of the Church, previous to their departure to various and distant portions of the Missionary field, one half of whom were clergymen and a majority, we believe, from the Islington Training School, and had ample opportunity of judging of the solidity, simplicity and yet thoroughness of the material arrangements for the accommodation of these students; and have reason to believe that they are no less thorough for the acquisition of modern languages and sound theological learning; whilst with regard to the sacred and hallowed influences which preside not only over the studies of the young men, but over their very pleasures and their daily lives, there can be no doubt.

A great number of venerable and sacred associations, rendered a visit to St. Augustine's College, at Canterbury, even more interesting; and a sacred Sunday spent under the roof of the Senior Warden, and the part we took in the services of the following day, the day of the Annual Commemoration, have left an impression never to be effaced. The rescue of this ancient home of the clergy from ages of neglect and decay; and from its more recent desecration to unworthy and unhallowed purposes; its reconstruction chiefly through the munificence of A. J. Beresford Hope, Esq.; and its restoration to the purposes of the training of Missionary Clergy, carrying with them an open Bible, rather than an uplifted wooden cross; and its connection with the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, are all matters already well known to our readers. During that visit, we listened with delight to the speeches of returned Missionaries of that venerable Society, and our satisfaction knew no bounds when we learned, that on the shores of heathen lands the Missionaries of this Society are conscious of the presence of no line of separation between themselves and the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. On another occasion, we heard the new Bishop of London, on the platform of the one Society, only a few days after he had made one of the most popular speeches before the other. And again, at Manchester, we heard the eloquent Bishop of Oxford declare that he had belonged to the Church Missionary Society from his youth up, but felt that he could not fairly have been entitled to this privilege, had he not given preference, in some sort, to the older Institution.

During the few hours we were in that grand, old, baronial city of the Clergy, Durham, we went over that sombre, vast and rambling old structure, the Castle or late Bishop's Palace,

surrendered by the late Bishop Van Mildert to the uses of a College, chiefly for the supply of Clergy for the North. And amongst our last hours in England, some of the most pleasing were passed in surveying St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, whose objects are similar to those of the College at Cuddesdon, and whose influence for good is rapidly extending.

There are, we know, other Institutions of the kind, in other parts of the kingdom, but our method requires that we should testify only "those things which we have seen." If permitted to introduce mere hearsay evidence, there is one of these Schools, that which is connected with the Diocese of Bath and Wells, and flourishing under the shelter of its beautiful Cathedral, of whose method of instruction, and care for the highest religious culture of the young men connected with it, we heard such good things from an eye witness, but, to be sure, over-partial friend, as inspires the hope, that the Clergy trained there will leave a very deep mark upon the generations to come.

We have no means, at hand, of verifying our impression with regard to the ratio of increase of the Clergy of the Establishment since the time of Elizabeth, when compared with the increase of the number of Churches; but it is believed that it is so much greater as that from 10,000 or 11,000 then; they now amount to nearly 20,000. In education and refinement of manners, and in a just appreciation of the nature of the Sacred Office, and above all, in laborious and conscientious devotion to its duties, there has been a still greater improvement. So much so, that we are fully persuaded that no Established Church in any country in Europe, since the days of Constantine, has been as faithfully served and as thoroughly well worked. Isolated and solitary specimens of remiss, negligent and pleasure-seeking Clergy, may, indeed, here and there be found, but as a class they have disappeared, and no young clergyman can hope for advancement upon any other condition than establishing a well-earned character of being a working man. Rank and connections are by no means without their advantages, but nothing can compensate for the absence of earnestness and zeal.

PREACHING TO THE POOR.—The first insight we had into the details of English Church Work, was at Islington, when the Dean of Carlisle preached on the evening of a week day to fifteen hundred persons, mostly of the working classes, many in their working dresses, upon the call of the Vicar, who had arranged these services for their benefit, every

night for a week, distinguished Preachers having been invited for the purpose, from all parts of the kingdom, the established parishioners retiring to the galleries. At Cheltenham and amongst the most highly educated class, the zealous Dean has long maintained the reputation of one of the most eloquent and effective preachers of any age of the Church. Never before did we listen to so perfect an adjustment of those two almost irreconcilable elements of popular preaching, the elevated, the classical and the dignified, to the entire satisfaction of the most fastidious; and the familiar, the illustrative, even down to the narrative, so as to meet most delightfully the cravings of the most illiterate. And yet this was by no means the chief or highest merit of the sermon we heard; that consisted in the true ringing sound of the Gospel, like a trumpet call resounding through all its parts, appealing to the heart and the conscience, and awakening such a measure of emotion as led the excellent Vicar to ask us, whether we did not suppose, if such preaching, to such crowds, should be kept up for weeks, with the object in view of producing similar results, the same scenes of wild excitement might not be witnessed there, as he had seen described in the camp-meetings of America? We have no doubt of it; and as little that it was more wise and more Christian to pause far short of it.

At Canterbury, passing, in company with its distinguished and newly made Dean, through its Chapter House, only a few hours after he had been one of the preachers at Exeter Hall, we obtained his calm judgment, as to the probable good results of that remarkable movement. It was in the highest degree hopeful. And yet there is a diversity of opinion on this point, even among the best of men. The fly-leaf Litanies, together with the words of the Psalm and Hymn to be sung, and the name of the tune to each, had been distributed over the room by thousands, and the way in which the responses were made, and the singing was rendered, was like the voice of many waters.

The Chapter House at Canterbury, unlike the far more beautiful structures at York and Salisbury, is a rectangular edifice of large dimensions, and singularly enough, has come down to us from ancient times bearing the honest Protestant name of Preaching House. The good Dean was rejoicing in the hope of seeing it fitted up with seats, for preaching to the poor. Coincident with all this, how striking is the call of a Committee of Convocation, that the Deans and Chapters of all the Cathedrals should provide seats for the immense and now comparatively useless naves of all of them, and to invite the

most eloquent and effective preachers of the Church, without regard to party names, to preach in them the Gospel to the poor; with a short Service similar to that which we have above described!

MISSIONS.—All the indications above specified of a vigorous and healthy Church-life, relate to the condition of the body itself, and shows that all its legitimate functions, for its own purposes, are duly performed. No small part of its proper action, however, is external to itself. Indeed, Church-life can only be truly vigorous when it is aggressive. At any rate, this must ever be the case whilst new conquests for the Cross remain to be achieved. The nature of our associations whilst in England, brought us more into connection with this great work than with any other. The life, the stir, the animation all around seemed to us to be mainly of this character. What can we do for India, for Africa, for the Colonies? Is it possible by increased voluntary effort, to make up to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the sad deficiency of \$55,000 a year, occasioned by the withdrawal of the Queen's Letters; and at the same time meet the increased demands of new stations?

We were struck with admiration at the perfection of the vast yet simple machinery, by which so many hundreds of thousands of dollars are every year collected, mostly in small sums, to sustain this noble Society, and the Church Missionary Society, besides the vast amount derived from members of the Established Church for the support of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Missionary Society, the Missions of the United Brethren, and which are diverted into other channels. Hardly a day in the Calendar which is not the Anniversary of some Auxiliary; nor a Parish without its collectors; nor an eloquent speaker, or returned Missionary not engaged upon some delegation, to rekindle, somewhere, the flame of Christian zeal. The hearts of all the praying and pious portion of the Church of England, are yearning for the conversion of the world; and in this respect no difference was perceived in one portion above another. No doubt we saw the best, and for that Grace which has produced it, we shall never cease to give thanks to our Heavenly Father. We rejoice, also, that we have lived to witness so large an increase of the same spirit in our branch of the Church, and to know that the old party lines of distinction in this regard, are being more and more effaced. The theory on which our Church is acting in this matter is very beautiful;—the Missionary field,

the world;—the great Missionary Society, the General Convention;—and every baptized person, a contributing member; but, in practice, the English Church, for whatever reason, is obliged to rely on voluntary associations, district collectors, parish auxiliaries, spirited public meetings, and a perpetual stream of authentic missionary intelligence!

COLONIAL EPISCOPATES.—The out-working of the vigorous Church-life in England, in nothing is more manifest than in the vast increase of Bishops for distant portions of the Colonial Empire. How impressive to realize that the Bishops of the English Succession amount to just about an hundred; and that the poetic fiction of the drum-beat never ceasing, is almost literally realized upon the Lord's Day with regard to the voice of Prayer and Praise, in the simple but sublime strains of our Liturgy.

The Bishop of Victoria, and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, from the far Orient and the distant West, were both at home, reviving and extending the warm interest felt in their respective Missions, and making a rally for the additional laborers whom they have secured. And the Dean of Capetown, and a returned Missionary from Kafferland, were repeatedly upon the same platform with us, describing in the most life-like and striking manner, the toils and sacrifices of their Missionary Bishops, and their noble band of fellow-workers. Considering the foregoings of these men, and how many of them had been brought up upon the lap of ease, the proverbial heroism of the Nestorians, of the Jesuits, and of the Moravians, certainly never shone with more apostolic lustre.

At a dinner, given by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, just before the recess of Parliament for the Whitsuntide-holidays, to such of the Bishops as were in town, in sad and subdued whispers, the news just received, went round, of the death, so soon after entering upon his duties, of that eminent man of God, Dr. Weeks, the Bishop of Sierra Leone. Anxious misgivings were expressed whether it were right to send forth white men to a post of danger, where almost instant death seemed inevitable; and as anxious inquiries were made whether the time had come, and the right man could be found, to commission as a son of Africa, to renew the line of her ancient Cyprianic Bishops. A distinguished Statesman and a friend of the African race, on another occasion, remarked upon all this, that it reminded him of a saying attributed to the Rev. Sydney Smith, that England always had two Bish-

ops of Sierra Leone, a live one going out, and a dead one coming home.

To all this, the energetic and decided Secretary of the Church Missionary Society at once replied, that whatever might be said of the principle of furnishing every land, as soon as possible, with an indigenous Clergy, the time had no more come for doing it in Western Africa, than in other parts of the foreign field; that while there were white Presbyters and Catechists upon that shore, there must also be a white Bishop at their head; and that it were shame, whilst the Army and Navy and Commercial Houses were officered by white men, heroically carrying their lives in their hand, if a long line of Bishops could not yet be found, "not counting their lives dear unto themselves;" and that with regard to the pithy saying attributed to the Rev. Sydney Smith, it must be altogether apocryphal, since, not only had no such contingency occurred before, but that he believed that the first Bishop of Sierra Leone was not consecrated till after Sydney Smith's death.

Listening to all this, at the moment our own feelings were oppressed by grief at the early and sudden death of several of our own noble, young soldiers of the Cross on the fatal shores of Africa, before they had had opportunity to strike one blow for their Lord, some idea may be formed of the emotion with which we have just read an account of the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Brown, in the Chapel at Lambeth, to succeed the late lamented Bishop. A gentleman, a scholar, a man of wealth, and of no mean mark as an Eastern traveler, he has said, with all those facts staring him in the face, "Here am I, send me!" Whilst such men abound in the Church of England, she cannot be so very near her fall. May as long and as useful an Episcopate be granted to him as to our own devoted Bishop Payne!

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.—In the absence of any such national system as our Common Schools, the importance and value of the efforts of the Church for the education of the poor, will be at once perceived. It would be quite wrong, however, to infer that the Government is doing nothing. On the other hand, the offer of aid to a very considerable extent, upon certain conditions, is acting as a very effective and healthy stimulant to increase the amount of local contributions. We see it stated that, at present, the Church gets nine thirteenths of the Parliamentary grant. The cause of popular education is also greatly on the increase. Prince Albert

stated, in his speech at the London Conference, that while in half a century population has only doubled itself within these islands, the number of schools has increased as 14 to 1: that in 1801, the number of schools in England and Wales was between 3,000 and 4,000, while in 1851, it had risen to 48,000; and that while the proportion of day scholars to the entire population was, in 1818, 1 to 17, it was, in 1833, 1 to 11, and in 1851, 1 to 8. And the advantage gained, as to a perfectly homogeneous and very decided religious influence in many a school, is prodigious. The Government, unfortunately, has not yet assumed the position, that the whole property of the country may well be held responsible for a plain common English education, for the entire population of the country. But the Church has assumed the responsibility of giving such an education to all her baptized children; and something more, a religious training, thoroughly imbued with the sound principles of the Bible and of the Prayer Book. Add to this the influence of Sunday Schools, by no means less general or effective than our own, and the cause is made palpable of that larger amount of Bible knowledge, and that deeper and firmer implantation of religious principle which is apparent in the better classes of the English poor, when compared with the rural population of most if not all of the American States. To say that our own children, taking the year through, do not receive a tenth part of the religious training of the English youth, while it would surprise many of our readers, would yet probably be no exaggeration.

The anxiety and godly jealousy of the more Christian portion of the English public, with regard to the healthy working of our American Institutions, upon which they feel, as well as we, that so much of the hope of the world depends, was directed with greater intensity to no point, than to this—“Are not your Common Schools, Godless and Christless? or, if not so now, are they not drifting towards that abyss?” And when, in the presence of assembled thousands, it would be said, “long time ago, when Cæsar would say, I will give you money to support a particular form of Church government, if you will let me regulate matters in my own way; and we had firmly replied, we will have none of it; we prefer to manage our own religious matters in our own way!—so now again the time, perhaps, is approaching when we shall say the same with regard to our Common Schools:—in any event, it is fully believed that if the time should ever come (of which we have no fear) that the New Testament should be denied as a School Book, and prayer excluded from the School House, that the

entire religious population would rise as one man, and repudiate the Common School System, and establish Parochial Schools of their own ;"—when, in such a presence, sentiments like these were expressed, it made the nerves thrill and the heart beat, to listen to the thunders of applause with which they would be received.

TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR TEACHERS.—Where there is no State System of Common Schools, there will, of course, be no State Normal Schools. In England, the term itself is not in common use. The necessity for the *THING* exists of course ; and if we may judge by the specimen of a Training School for Female Teachers which we inspected ; and by others, both Male and Female, with regard to which we made diligent inquiries, we should say that they were in no way inferior to our best State Normal Schools. They may be less expert in teaching the art and the practice of teaching ; which, if it be so, is much to be regretted, but they are far more snug and home-like ; there are more of them, upon a more limited scale, and blessed with a more careful and minute supervision, and in the estimation of one who places Church training close along side of religious training, the comparison is largely in favor of the English system. In how many Dioceses they are to be found, or to what extent they are aided by grants from Government, we are not informed. The one we visited was at Salisbury, and of the two in or near Brighton, of which we heard the most, the only complaint made was the amount of effort it required to sustain them on the voluntary principle. They were sustained, however, and well sustained, and no doubt was expressed with regard to the future.

CARE FOR THE POOR.—Nothing struck us more favorably than to observe, in rural and manufacturing districts, how completely reversed, in some respects, the pastoral relation seemed to be. Here, with us, the people either really do take care of the poor minister, or at least, are supposed to do so. There the minister, whether rich or poor, is expected to take care of the still poorer people. And well and faithfully is it now almost everywhere done. Ages of neglect had alienated myriads of the poor from the Church ; but so natural and strong is the tie which binds them, above all others, to the Church provided for them, that only a few years of faithful care is already winning myriads back. It was emphatically in this direction that the remark was boldly made, that no Established Church since the time of Constantine had been as well worked as that of England now is. There are, evidently, two sides

to the question of Poor Rates; that they have been a refuge for the deserving poor, there can be no doubt;—that they often act as a bonus upon idleness and utter inefficiency, can as little be questioned. That there is ample occasion for the vast amount of endowed and private charities; for more liberal Church offerings; and for more than all that the Clergy can do for them, is quite as certain. Over population, and overgrown landed estates must work out just such results. Thank God, in new countries, the payment of these sad penalties is indefinitely postponed.

But even here, in our crowded cities and large manufacturing places, until such time as true Christians arouse to do the full work of the Church, and in the way ordained of Christ in His Church, the work, to some extent, will be done by mutual aid Societies, in some Masonic or Odd-Fellow form; and, of course, the Church will suffer, and deserves to suffer, for her neglect. In England, this work is done, and well done, for the present, by their Clubs. And at Wilton, we were delighted to be the witness of noble efforts, presided over by landed proprietors and a distinguished Statesman, and favored with the countenance and benediction of the Church, to redeem several such Clubs from mismanagement, and to concentrate their influence and usefulness into a county organization. Its reserved funds already amount to \$100,000, and its influence in repressing the vices, increasing the forecast and elevating the character of the worthy and industrious poor is very manifest.

It is no part of our office to stand forth as the eulogist of the Church of England. Laudatory remarks, in set forms of speech, are quite as little to our task as they would be to the liking of the earnest and good men, who not only admitted us to their excellent society whilst going about their customary work, but were kind enough, as far as the proprieties of time and place would permit, to give us an humble share in it. The impression, we grant, of what we have here written, is, in the highest degree, complimentary. It would have been in very bad taste, indeed, in such a connection, to have "set down aught in malice;" or to have detected faults; or to have animadverted upon deficiencies. We have been speaking of English Church Work lately done, or now doing; not of the neglected, or desirable, much less of the impossible. And by any measure which wise and good men have been accustomed to apply, to test the value of principles, or the working of institutions, or the results of experiment, we are free to confess, that we esteem "the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England very highly in love, for their work's sake!" We

bless God for that "grace of His, which we saw to be in them, and more largely heard to be in them!"

What are some of the best of these tests? Are they not such as these; the degree of reverence for, and yet intimate and familiar knowledge of the Word of God; the simplicity and fulness with which the doctrines of that Word are preached, precisely in their Scriptural connections; whilst yet the Sacraments are duly honored, reverently administered, and numerous frequented; the way in which the Lord's Day is observed, where no special causes exist for its greater desecration; the sturdy manner with which all such efforts at desecration are met and resisted; the steady, serious, earnest and profitable manner in which vast numbers of all classes of persons attend to the duty of Family Prayer; and the largeness of the amounts annually contributed out of vast incomes and small earnings, for the promotion of every good word and work? Whichever of these tests may be applied, the result is equally, and what is well worthy of remark, proportionably manifest. All tests are here purposely omitted, which seem to turn upon what are called doctrinal views, or party measures. These which we have given are tangible results, known and read of all men; and, in our estimation, they place the Church of England in so high a position, not only in contrast with the Church of Rome, in all Roman Catholic Countries; but also in comparison with every other Protestant Country in Europe, as to compel every candid and impartial mind which has observed these facts, to inquire, what is the cause of this difference? Is it the effect of an open Bible more largely read and studied, and more widely scattered abroad? Or is it the working of the element of race and blood? Or of liberal and free institutions? Or of the influence of a world-wide commerce, and the consequent enlargement of ideas and expansion of mind? Or are these results to be traced to all these causes combined, under the guidance and influence of a Branch of the Church of Christ duly organized and administered according to His holy ordinance?

With these inquiries we take leave of our readers, with the expression of sincere regret that we have failed, even beyond our fears, in the art of skillful condensation; we only ask that our readers will not fail to group together the facts to which we have adverted; since, as we conceive, they will fall far short of a just estimate of the kind and amount of English Church Work now going on, unless they can combine, into one view, all which we have above written, together with the impressions of as many more witnesses, as there are descriptions of work and scenes of labor.

ART. V.—POPE CLEMENT XI AND THE JANSENISTS.*

OF the internal contests in the Romish Church during the Eighteenth Century, the most important was that with the Jansenists. Ever since the days of Augustine and Pelagius, the Roman Catholic world, and especially the French Church, has been agitated at times by violent disputes respecting the ability of fallen man to perform holy acts, or respecting the Decrees of God, Free Agency, and the nature and operations of Divine Grace.† In the year 1653, Pope Innocent X condemned Five Propositions extracted from the works of Jansenius: and to save the character of this author without rejecting the bull, the Jansenists maintained, that those propositions were justly condemned, but that they were not to be found in the book of Jansenius, or at least not in the sense condemned.

These propositions were as follows :

1. There are some commands of God, which righteous and good men find it impossible to obey, with their present powers; nor have they the Grace necessary to render obedience practicable.

2. Internal Grace is never resisted by fallen man.

3. To be praise or blame-worthy in this fallen state, man does not need to be free from necessity, but only from coercion.

4. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of internal preventing Grace for performing single acts, and even for beginning to have faith; but they were heretical in maintaining that the human will can either resist or obey this Grace.

5. To say that Christ died and shed his blood, for all men without exception, is Semi-Pelagian.‡

To cut off this retreat, Alexander VII, in 1656, declared the

* From the unpublished MSS. of the late Rev. JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. Dr. Murdock left valuable historical papers, the fruit of his most mature learning, some of which will hereafter appear in the CHURCH REVIEW.

† For an account of such disputes in the *fifth* century, see Mosheim's Institutes, Vol. I, p. 370. For the disputes in the *ninth* century, see Vol. II, p. 90, &c. For the disputes in the *sixteenth* century, in the times of Baius and Molina, when the Dominicans and Jesuits took opposite sides, see Vol. III, p. 109, &c. For those in the *seventeenth* century, when Jansenius became so conspicuous, see Vol. III, pp. 327 and 344. Some account of the disputes in this *eighteenth* century, is given in Vol. III, p. 486, &c.

‡ See Bullar. Mag. Tom. V, p. 486.

Five Propositions to be actually in Jansenius' book, and in the very sense in which they were condemned. He likewise prescribed an oath to this effect, which all ecclesiastics were to subscribe. Some refused the oath, alleging that papal infallibility does not extend to questions of *fact* such as were here contested, but only to points of doctrine and of ecclesiastical law. Others declined subscribing, but promised to show respect for the papal decision, by remaining silent on the subject. Others again were willing to subscribe, if they might do it with some qualification: and this, Clement IX, in the year 1669, permitted. But soon after, Louis XIV, urged by the Jesuits, insisted on an unqualified subscription: and until the end of the century, he harrassed and persecuted the Jansenists.*

Innocent XII, near the close of the preceding century, disapproved of qualified subscriptions, and declared that the five condemned propositions were to be understood in their simple and *obvious sense*, as they stood in the bulls. This the cunning Quesnel construed in a way to favor the Jansenists. He said, the Pontiff required only a condemnation of the naked propositions as they stood in the bull of Innocent X, and several persons subscribed on this principle.† In view of these circumstances, some crafty persons in the year 1701, submitted to the Doctors of the Sorbonne this fictitious case of conscience, drawn up with the greatest precision and care. A confessor having learned from common fame and from the man's own acknowledgment, that his penitent was a real Jansenist, that he read the principal Jansenist books, believed with them on most points of doctrine, and regarded Jansenius as unjustly condemned; yet that he had subscribed the oath without qualification, and professed to be bound only to a respectful silence in the controversy; the confessor was in doubt whether such a person should receive absolution. Forty Doctors of the Sorbonne answered, that this penitent's opinions were neither new nor singular, nor condemned by the Church, and therefore, not such as he should be required to renounce in order to absolution. The next year a pamphlet was circulated, stating the case and the decision upon it. The Archbishop of Rheims, Natalis Alexander, and others, approved of the decision; but the majority of the French Bishops disapproved of it; and in the year 1703, the Pope formally condemned it, and suppressed

* Mosheim, Vol. III, p. 332, &c.

† Fleury, continuat., Vol. LXVI, pp. 185, 188.

the pamphlet, as one containing abominable doctrines.* He also wrote to the King and to the Archbishop of Paris, to punish the authors and abettors of such pernicious principles. The King commanded the Sorbonnists and others who had approved the decision, to retract, on pain of exile. Du Pin and three more refused, and were banished. Most of the others agreed to abide by the judgment of Archbishop Noailles; and he declared the discussion of such a subject, at such a time, and after the repeated and explicit decisions of the Pontiffs, to be improper. The next year the Doctors of the Sorbonne condemned the pamphlet, and declared that the decision was not made in a regular meeting of their body, but only in a private meeting of the forty Doctors. The theologians of Douay and Louvain also condemned the decision. Du Pin and two of the other exiles now retracted, and were restored; but Petit Pied still refused, was treated as a heretic, and imprisoned, till finding means to escape prison, he fled the country. During this conflict the Jansenists made great efforts to obtain the liberty of private opinion; but it was to no purpose; the power of an absolute monarch guided by Jesuitical influence, and urged on by the authority of an energetic Pontiff, bore down all before it.†

In the Low Countries, but especially in Holland, the Jansenists, or Augustinians, as they called themselves, were numerous and resolute. There Jansenius himself had lived, as a professor at Louvain, and then as Bishop of Ypres: there the persecuted Jansenists of France often found refuge; there Anthony Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel, who were at the head of the sect, held their residence. Nearly all the Roman Catholics in Holland were Jansenists; and having no Bishop, they were governed by a nuncio, who was always elected by the chapter of Utrecht, and then ordained a Bishop *in partibus* by the Pontiff. Peter Codde, the nuncio from A. D. 1688, was a decided Jansenist. In 1697, he was accused at Rome of heresy, and after two years suspended and cited to Rome for trial. In his place one Theodore Cock was sent to govern the Dutch Roman Catholics. But they would not submit to him, and applied to the States General. They, in 1702, forbid Cock to exercise his functions; decreed that no person should be recognized or officiate as nuncio in Holland, unless first approved by the government; and demanded that Codde should be restored to that office.‡ The Pontiff, Clement XI,

* Bullar. Magn. Tom. XII, p. 385.

† *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVI, 609—681. *Du Pin*, Comp. Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 231, &c.

‡ Kerkelyk Placaatboek, door P. Scheltus, 2de Deel p. 423.

found it necessary to allow Codde to return home, on his making some concessions, and promising to advise the Roman Catholics to be quiet, and not to resume himself the powers of a nuncio. At the same time, the Pontiff wrote to the Emperor, and to the electors of the Palatinate, Treves and Mayence, to endeavor to persuade the Dutch government to allow the papal arm to crush Jansenism in that country. But all was to no purpose. Cock and the priests who adhered to him were sent out of the country; and Bishop Codde, though silenced at Rome in 1705, was chosen by the chapter of Utrecht to rule the diocese, and remained at the head of the Dutch Roman Catholics until his death in 1710.*

In June, 1705, at the request of the kings of France and Spain, the Pontiff issued a bull, entitled *Vineam Domini*, which was to settle authoritatively all Jansenistical disputes. After writing and commenting on the bulls of preceding Popes, the Pontiff declares that subscribers to the oath of Alexander VII, must believe from the heart that the Five Propositions are found, and bearing the same sense, in the writings of Jansenius; and moreover, that a promise to observe a respectful silence on the subject, is not sufficient. Louis XIV laid this bull before the French Bishops, assembled at Paris in August; and they decreed unanimously, I. That Bishops are, by divine appointment, competent to judge on points of doctrine. II. That papal bulls, when accepted by the whole body of Bishops, become obligatory on the whole Church. III. That such acceptance is to be a *judicial* act. They then proceed to accept this bull, with all veneration and submission; and to request the King to have it registered by the parliament of Paris, and published by his authority, that it may become a law of the land. Accordingly it was so registered and published; but no clergyman was required to subscribe to it. The bull was likewise approved by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, by the parliament of Paris, and by the University of Louvain. Yet one licentiate of Louvain declared that it was a "work of darkness, worthy of Antichrist;" and one French Bishop refused to accept it.† No new subscription was required by this bull, but as the nuns of Port Royal des Champs had given great offense by their former obstinacy, it was deemed proper to demand from them a written acceptance of the bull. When compelled to sign the form drawn up for them, they subjoined,

* *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVII, p. 1, &c. 104 *Schroeckh*, Vol. VII, p. 448. *Schlegel*, Vol. V, p. 1015, &c.

† *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVII, p. 258-279. *Du Pin* Compend. Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 234.

that this was not to derogate from the peace of Clement IX, which allowed of a qualified subscription. The Archbishop objected to this addition, and required a simple acceptance; but they said they could conscientiously condemn the Five Propositions, but to say that these propositions were found in Jansenius' book and in the same sense, was beyond their knowledge, because they could not read Latin. Upon this, the Archbishop deprived them of the Sacraments; and the King obtained from the Pope a bull suppressing this monastery. Their advocate was sent to the bastille. All the nuns were seized, and distributed among convents less disobedient. The lieutenant of police, in 1709, caused this house to be totally demolished; and two years after, the bodies interred in this Church and cemetery were dug up and removed.*

In January, 1706, the Pope wrote to the French Bishops, reprimanding them for claiming the right to examine and judge of the correctness of his decisions. He tells them that his great joy on receiving their vote accepting the bull, was exceedingly disturbed by the letters and publications which informed him of their attack upon the sovereign power of the Apostolic See. He is willing to believe that these measures were the work of a few corrupt men, who, being conscious of heresy, feared lest due punishment should overtake them. Nevertheless, he adds, "It is a thing altogether intolerable, that a few Bishops—and they presiding over Churches that owe all their privileges and honors to the kindness and favor of the Roman Pontiff—should rise up against the author of their distinction and fame, and should assail the rights of the highest See, which are based not on human but divine authority. Ask your progenitors, and they will tell you that it is not for local Bishops to discuss the decrees of the Apostolic See, but to obey them." Then, quoting from Leo the Great, he proceeds: "Very far, therefore, were the excellent Bishops of Gaul in ancient times from arrogating the right to discuss the ordinances of the Apostolic See, which they received as implicitly as they did the Creed. Nor did they think it fit to spend their time and care in deliberating whether to execute those ordinances; they deemed it enough for them to charge their memories with them, so as to be able to confute heretics; and they taught (what you ought especially to notice) that the decisions of the Roman Pontiff are not to be judged of by *their* belief, but rather, their belief is to be viewed as solid and cor-

* *Du Pin*, Compend. Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 235. *Voltaire*, Siècle de Louis XIV, Tom. II, p. 205.

rect, because it accords with the decision of the Roman Pontiff." After another quotation, he says: "Neither does your superior knowledge of sacred literature nor your diligence in searching out the ancient monuments of the Church allow you to be ignorant of that which every Church throughout the world knows; namely, that the See of the blessed Apostle Peter has the right of judging over every Church, and that its judgments can be reviewed by none."—"Hence you may learn that, in this case, we do not ask your advice, or call for your votes, or wait to know your opinion; but we enjoin upon you obedience, even that obedience which, at your holy consecration, you solemnly promised to render to the blessed Apostle Peter, to the holy Romish Church, and to us and to our Apostolic decrees and commands."—"Let the order of Bishops, then, retain its proper rank and dignity; but let it not overstep the boundaries our fathers established. The Romish Church is the mother of all Churches; and let no inferior prelates presume to instruct the mistress, or to judge her, or to rejudge her judgments."—"Let us hold fast the unity of the Catholic Church; the unity transmitted to us from our ancestors, which consists chiefly in this, that although there are among the people of God many priests and many pastors, yet Peter properly governs them all, under Christ the chief Ruler."* The Pontiff complained also to the King of France; and the King ordered Noailles and the other Bishops to give satisfaction to his Holiness. Accordingly, Noailles, with eleven other prelates, drew up an explanation of the views of the synod, which modified considerably the aspect of their votes. This explanation, together with a letter to the Pontiff which Noailles was to attach to it, was submitted to the inspection of the papal nuncio, who consulted his Holiness, and then approved them. But Noailles delayed signing these papers a long time; and at length, when urged on the subject, he made some alterations in the letter affecting the rhetoric more than the sense, and transmitted both to the Pope. The Pontiff now complained of the alterations in the letter. Noailles said there were no alterations. The Pope then transmitted both forms of the letter to the King, who discovered the facts, and required Noailles to transcribe the original letter word for word, and send it to Rome.†

PASQUIER QUESNEL, from this time onward, became the prominent name in this controversy. He was a priest of the

* *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVII, p. 390, &c.

† *Ib.*, p. 364, &c.

Oratory at Paris, and had published the works of Leo the Great, in 1675, with learned notes, in which he defended the liberties of the Gallic Church in a manner so offensive to the Romish court as to cause his book to be condemned by the Inquisition. In the year 1678, the majority of his Order were overawed, in their convention, to declare publicly their rejection of Augustinian doctrines, which Quesnel labored hard to prevent. His residence at Paris now became unpleasant to him, and he removed to Brussels, where he was intimate with Anthony Arnauld, and at the death of that great man, in 1694, became the head and leader of the Jansenists. While in the Oratory at Paris, this gifted man applied himself closely to the study of the New Testament, as the rule of his Order required. He also wrote some pious reflections and explanatory notes on the Gospels; which he first published in Latin, and then in French with enlargements, in the year 1671. The work was admired for its lucid brevity, but especially for the pious unction which pervaded it. Quesnel was encouraged to extend his reflections and notes, in the same strain, over the whole New Testament; and, adopting the version of Mons with some corrections, he so enlarged the work in subsequent editions that at last it filled eight volumes 12mo. It was now, in very high reputation among the lovers of piety, had a wide circulation, and was commended by the most distinguished prelates, such as Archbishop Noailles, to whom one edition was dedicated, and Bossuet, the renowned Bishop of Meaux. Indeed, Voltaire tells us, that the Abbé Renaudet being at Rome in the year 1701, found the Pope one day reading Quesnel's New Testament, who said to the Abbé, "This is an excellent book; we have no one at Rome that can write like this; I wish I could have the author near me."* But the book inculcated Augustinian sentiments, and was therefore odious to the Jesuits and to all the opposers of Jansenism. In the year 1703, the Bishop of Gap forbid its circulation in his diocese; and in the same year, Quesnel was seized and imprisoned by the Archbishop of Mechlin, and, escaping, fled into Holland, where he remained in safety at Amsterdam, till his death at an advanced age in 1719. In the year 1708, this book was condemned and proscribed by a papal bull; partly on the ground that it followed the text of the prohibited version of Mons, but more on the ground that it contained the seditious, perverse and heretical doctrines of Jansenius.

* *Siecle de Louis XIV, Tome II, p. 206.*

This bull, however, was not received in France, in consequence of the political animosities at that time existing between the Pontiff and the House of Bourbon. On the death of LeChaise, the King's confessor, in 1709, his place was filled by another Jesuit, Le Tellier, a man of a more dark and ferocious character; and he so governed the old King's mind, and so wrought upon the French Bishops, as to bring Jansenism, and all who favored it, into imminent danger. First he excited the Bishops of Rochelle and Lucon to issue injunctions in 1710, condemning and prohibiting the New Testament of Quesnel in their dioceses, and casting censures on those who had recommended or circulated the book. Noailles, to whom the book was dedicated, and who had publicly recommended it, felt himself personally attacked; and as these injunctions were hawked about Paris and exposed in all the shops, he issued a pastoral letter prohibiting their sale at Paris. The two Bishops complained to the King; and with his permission, they carried the cause to Rome, where *their* injunctions received Papal approbation, while that of Noailles was disapproved. The contest, however, did not stop here; the French Bishops took different sides, and the nation was divided into two great conflicting parties. The King, guided by his confessor, requested the Pontiff to interpose authoritatively, and to enumerate and condemn, in a formal bull, the errors contained in Quesnel's book. The Pope consented, and appointed a special Congregation of Cardinals and Theologians, one of whom was a Jesuit, to examine the book. At the same time, Tellier and his friends forwarded to Rome a list of one hundred and three Propositions, which they wished to have condemned. The Congregation sat twice a week for nearly two years, with the Pope generally at their head, and after fully discussing every point, agreed upon a result; and the Pontiff, not without objections from some of his Cardinals, issued the important BULL UNIGENITUS, (so called from the first word of it,) on the 11th of September, 1713.

This bull so clearly stated the chief points in controversy between the Jansenists or Augustinians, and their opposers, and has had so important a bearing on the theology, as well as the peace of the Romish Church, that it is deemed proper to give here the leading ideas in it, with a translation of the one hundred and one Propositions it condemns.

The preamble states, that the Only Begotten Son of God (*Unigenitus Dei Filius*) has admonished us to beware of false prophets, who come to us in sheep's clothing; that is, deceivers, who under the show of piety, insinuate pernicious doc-

trines. §1. Being thus admonished, we were grieved to see Quesnel's New Testament widely circulating, approved by many, and poisoning the flock of Christ. §2. We therefore issue this bull, in order to give more distinct warning than we gave in our former bull condemning the same work. §3. Louis XIV and many Bishops requested such a bull; and we hope it will be salutary. §4. Great pains have been taken not to mistake the author's meaning: and the following are the Propositions which we distinctly condemn:

1. To the soul which has parted from God and His Grace, what else remains but sin, and the consequences of sin, proud poverty, and sluggish indigence, that is, a general impotence for God's service, for prayer, and for every good work?

2. The Grace of Christ, that efficacious principle of every species of good, is necessary to every good work: without it, not only nothing is done, but nothing *can* be done.

3. In vain, Lord, thou layest commands upon us, unless thou *givest* what thou commandest.

4. Yea, Lord, all things are possible, to whom thou *makest* them so, by working them in him.

5. Unless God softens the heart by the internal unction of His Grace, exhortation and external favors only serve to render it more hard.

6. The difference between the Jewish Covenant and the Christian, is, that in the former God requires the sinner to forsake sin and obey His Law, yet leaves him in his impotence; but in the latter, God *confers* on the sinner what He requires of him, by purifying him with His Grace.

7. What advantage for man under the Old Covenant, in which God left him to his own weakness, yet imposed on him His Law? And what a blessedness it is, to be admitted to the New Covenant, in which God *gives* us that which He requires of us!

8. We do not pertain to the New Covenant, except so far as we are partakers of its new Grace, which works in us what God enjoins upon us.

9. The Grace of Christ is Sovereign Grace; without it we can never confess Christ, and with it we never deny Him.

10. Grace is the operation of God's omnipotent hand, which nothing can hinder or retard.

11. Grace is nothing but the will of the omnipotent God commanding, and effecting what he commands.

12. When God determines to save a soul, at whatever time, and in whatever place, the effect indubitably follows the volition of God.

13. When God determines that a soul shall be saved, and touches it with the hand of His internal Grace, no human volition resists Him.

14. However far a sinner may be from salvation, when Jesus exhibits Himself to his view in the saving light of His Grace, the sinner cannot but submit, run to Christ, humble himself, and adore his Saviour.

15. When God accompanies His command and His eternal call with

the unction of His Spirit, and the internal powers of His Grace, this operates in the heart *that* obedience which He requires.

16. There are no allurements which do not give way to the allurements of Grace ; because nothing can resist the Omnipotent.

17. Grace is that voice of the Father, which reaches the hearts of men and makes them come to Jesus Christ : whoever does not come to Him after hearing the external call of the Son, has never been taught of the Father.

18. The seed of the Word, which the hand of God waters, always produces its fruit.

19. The Grace of God is nothing but His omnipotent good pleasure. This is the idea which God Himself teaches us in all the Scriptures.

20. It is a true idea of Grace, that God wills our obedience to Him, and it is rendered ; He commands, and everything is performed ; He speaks as Lord, and all is submission to Him.

21. The Grace of Jesus Christ is powerful, mighty, supreme, invincible ; because it is the operation of the will of the Omnipotent, a consequence and resemblance of that operation of God's power, by which the Son of God became incarnate, and arose from the dead.

22. The agreement of God's almighty operation on the human heart with the free consent of man's will, is at once exhibited to us in the Incarnation, as the fountain and archetype of all the other operations of mercy and Grace, which are all as gratuitous and as dependent on God as was that original operation.

23. God Himself has given us an idea of His almighty Grace, by comparing it to that by which He produces creatures out of nothing, and raises the dead to life.

24. The correct idea which the centurion had of the omnipotence of God and Christ in curing human bodies by merely willing it, is like the idea which we should have of the omnipotence of His Grace in curing souls of their cupidity.

25. God illuminates the soul and heals it, just as He does the body, merely by a volition : He commands, and obedience follows.

26. No Graces are bestowed, but through faith.

27. Faith is the primary Grace, and the fountain of all the rest.

28. The first Grace that God gives the sinner, is remission of sins.

29. Out of the Church, no Graces are conferred.

30. All whom God wills to save by Jesus Christ, are infallibly saved.

31. The desires of Christ always produce effect. He gives peace in the soul, when He desires it.

32. Jesus Christ gave Himself up to death, in order to deliver forever by His blood the *first born*, that is, the *elect*, from the hand of the destroying angel.

33. One must renounce the world and self, in order to have confidence if I may so say, to appropriate to one's self Christ Jesus, His love, death and mysteries ; as Saint Paul does, when he says, Who loved *me* and gave himself for *me*.

34. The Grace of Adam produced only human merits.

35. The Grace of Adam was a consequence of his creation, and arose from his sound and uncorrupted nature.

36. The essential difference between the Grace of Adam, or of the state of innocence, and Christian Grace, is, that each individual was to receive the former in his own person, but the latter is received only in the person of the risen Saviour, to whom we are united.

37. The Grace of Adam, by sanctifying him in his own person, was proportionate to him; but Christian Grace, whereby we are sanctified in Christ Jesus, is omnipotent, and worthy of the Son of God.

38. The sinner, without the Grace of the Saviour, is not free, except to evil.

39. The will, if not pre-occupied by Grace, has no light, but to err; no ardor, but to run headlong; no strength, but to harm itself. It is capable of all evil, but incapable of any good.

40. Without Grace we can love nothing, but to our condemnation.

41. All knowledge of God, even that which is natural and found in pagan philosophers, can come only from God; and without Grace it produces only presumption, vanity, and opposition to God, instead of affection, adoration, gratitude, and love.

42. It is only the Grace of Christ that prepares a man for the sacrifice of faith; without it, all is impurity and unworthiness.

43. The first effect of Baptismal Grace is, to make us die to sin; so that the spirit, heart, and sense shall be no more alive to sin than a dead man is to the things of the world.

44. There are but two kinds of love, whence all our volitions and actions spring,—the love of God, which does all things for the sake of God, and which God rewards; and the love we have for self and the world, which does not refer to God what it ought, and therefore is sinful.

45. As the love of God no longer reigns in the hearts of sinners, it must be that carnal desires reign there, and corrupt all their actions.

46. Cupidity or charity renders the use of the senses good or evil.

47. Obedience to the Law must arise from some source, and that source is charity. When the love of God is its moving principle, and the glory of God its end, then what appears outwardly is pure; otherwise there is only hypocrisy and spurious righteousness.

48. What else can we be but darkness, but aberration, but sin; without the light of faith, without Christ, without charity!

49. As there is no sin without self-love, so there is no good work without the love of God.

50. In vain we call God our Father, if it is not the spirit of love that prompts us.

51. Faith justifies, when it is operative; but it works only by love.

52. All the other mediums of salvation are contained in faith, as in their germ or seed; but this faith is not without love and confidence.

53. Charity alone acts in a Christian manner in relation to God and Jesus Christ.

54. It is charity that looks up to God; and *that* alone God rewards.

55. God crowns nothing but charity ; whoever is actuated by other impulses and other motives, runs in vain.

56. God rewards only charity, because charity alone honors God.

57. The sinner lacks everything when he lacks hope : but there is no hope in God, where there is no love to Him.

58. There is neither God nor religion where there is no charity.

59. The prayer of the wicked is a new sin ; and what God sends them is a new judgment upon them.

60. If only the fear of punishment animates penitence, the stronger it is, the more it leads to desperation.

61. Fear only restrains the hand, while the heart is led by sin, so long as it is not led by the love of righteousness.

62. He who abstains from evil only from fear of punishment, commits it in his heart, and is guilty before God.

63. A baptized person is still under the Law like a Jew, if he does not obey the Law, or if he obeys it only from fear.

64. Under the maledictions of the Law no good thing is done ; because the person sins either by doing evil, or by avoiding it only from fear.

65. Moses, the prophets, priests, and doctors of the Law, all died without giving one son to God ; because they produced only slaves, acting from fear.

66. Those who would come to God, must not come with animal passions, nor be led by natural instincts, or by fear, like brutes ; but by faith and love, like children.

67. Servile fear depicts God as being only a hard, imperious, unmanageable master.

68. The goodness of God hath made short the way of salvation, by including the whole in faith and prayer.

69. Faith, its exercise, increase, and reward, are all the gift of God's pure liberality.

70. God never afflicts the innocent ; and afflictions always serve either to punish sin, or to purify the sinner.

71. Self-preservation will justify neglect of laws which God enacted for man's utility.

72. The mark of the Christian Church is, that it is universal, comprehending all the angels of heaven, and all the elect and righteous on earth in all ages.

73. What is the Church, but the company of the children of God, abiding in His bosom, adopted in Christ, subsisting in His person, redeemed by His blood, living by His Spirit, acting by His grace, and waiting for the grace of the world to come ?

74. The Church, or entire Christ, has the incarnate Word for its head, and all true saints for its members.

75. The Church is one only man, composed of many members, of which Christ is the head, life, subsistence, and person ; one only Christ, composed of many saints, of whom He is the Sanctifier.

76. Nothing is more spacious than the Church of God ; because all the elected righteous of all ages belong to it.

77. Whoever does not live the life of a child of God and a member of Christ, ceases in reality to have God for his father and Christ for his head.

78. One is severed from the elect people, of whom the Jewish nation was a figure, and Jesus Christ is the head, as well by not *living* according to the Gospel, as by not believing it.

79. It is useful and necessary, at all times, in all places, and for every class of persons, to study and learn the spirit, the piety, and the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures.

80. The perusal of the Scripture is for *all* persons.

81. The holy obscurity of the Word of God is not a reason why the laity should excuse themselves from reading it.

82. The Lord's Day should be sanctified by reading pious books, and especially the Holy Scriptures. It is pernicious to wish to debar a Christian such reading.

83. It is a delusion to suppose that a knowledge of the mysteries of religion should not be communicated to females, by their reading the Holy Scriptures. Not the simplicity of women, but the arrogant knowledge of men has caused the abuse of the Scriptures, and given rise to heresies.

84. To pluck the New Testament out of the hands of Christians, or to hold it alone before them, by depriving them of the means of understanding it, is to stop the mouth of Christ as to them.

85. To interdict Christians the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and especially of the Gospel, is to interdict the children of light the use of light, and to subject them to a sort of excommunication.

86. To deprive the common people of the pleasure of uniting their voice with that of the whole Church, is contrary to apostolical practice and to the intention of God.

87. It is a method full of wisdom, light, and charity, to allow souls time for humiliation, for realizing their state of sin, for praying for a spirit of contrition and penitence, and for at least beginning to live holy lives, *before* their admission to the Sacraments.

88. We do not know what sin and true repentance are, when we wish to be restored *forthwith* to those privileges of which sin had deprived us, and are unwilling to bear the shame of separation.

89. The fourteenth step in a sinner's conversion is, that being *now reconciled*, he has the right of attending the sacrifice of the Church.

90. The Church has authority to excommunicate ; which it is to exercise through the primary pastors, with the consent, at least presumed, of the whole body.

91. The fear of an unjust excommunication ought never to deter us from doing our duty. We never go out of the Church, not even when we are visibly expelled from it by the wickedness of men, so long as we remain united to God, to Jesus Christ, and to the Church, by charity.

92. Patiently to suffer excommunication and anathemas, rather than to give up the truth, is to imitate St. Paul : so far is it from rising up against authority and rending union.

93. Jesus sometimes heals the wounds, which the precipitancy of the primary pastors inflicts without His command. Jesus restores what they in their inconsiderate zeal rescind.

94. Nothing gives the enemies of the Church a worse opinion of it, than to see their dominion exercised over the *faith* of believers, and divisions fomented on account of things that harm neither faith nor morals.

95. [Divine] truths have come to be a kind of foreign tongue to most Christians; and the mode of preaching them is almost an unknown language, it is so remote from apostolic simplicity, and so much above the common understanding of the faithful. Nor is it duly considered, that this defect is one of the most visible signs of the old age of the Church and of the anger of God against His children.

96. God permits all the powers to oppose the preachers of the truth, that its victory may be ascribed solely to His Grace.

97. It too often happens, that members the most devoutly and the most strictly united to the Church, are regarded and treated as unworthy to be in it, or as being severed from it. But the just lives by faith, and not by the opinion of men.

98. The state of persecution and punishment, which one endures as a heretic or as a flagitious and wicked man, frequently becomes his ultimate probation, and is most meritorious, as it makes him more conformable to Jesus Christ.

99. Obstinacy, prejudice, and a pertinacious refusal either to examine things or to acknowledge their former mistakes, are, as to many, daily changing into a savor of death, what God has placed in His Church to be there a savor of life; e. g. good books, instructions, holy examples, &c.

100. Deplorable the time, when men think to honor God by persecuting the truth and its followers. This time is come.—To be accounted and treated by the ministers of God as impious and unworthy of all intercourse with God, as being a rotten member capable of spreading corruption through the whole body of saints, is to pious persons a *death* more terrible than that of the body. In vain does a man flatter himself with the purity of his intentions and with his zeal for religion, while persecuting with fire and sword honest men, if he is so blinded by his own passions, or so borne on by those of others, that he will make no examination. We frequently suppose that we sacrifice a *sinner* to God, when we sacrifice one of his servants to the devil.

101. Nothing is more opposed to the spirit of God and to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, than to make *oaths* common in the Church; because this is to multiply occasions of perjury, to lay snares for the weak and simple, and often to render the name and the truth of God subservient to the designs of wicked men.

§ 5. After attending carefully to the opinions of the examining Cardinals and doctors, and after private and public supplications for light and guidance, says the pontiff, "We, by this constitution of perpetual obligation, pronounce, condemn, and reprobate all and every of the preceding propositions, as being false, deceptive, ill sounding, offensive to

pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the Church and to its usages, reproachful not only to the Church but to secular powers, seditious, impious, blasphemous, suspected of heresy, and also savoring of heresy, and affording countenance to heretics, to heresies and schisma, erroneous, bordering on heresy, often condemned heretofore, and finally, as being heretical, and manifestly recalling respectively various heresies, and especially those contained in the famous propositions of Jansenius, taken in the sense in which they were condemned."

§ 6. All persons are forbidden to think or teach contrary to this bull, or to inculcate or defend, or even to publish, any one or more of these propositions, on pain of the ecclesiastical penalties in such cases provided.

§ 7. This enumeration of distinct passages is not to be construed into an approbation of the residue of the book; for it contains more passages like to these, or otherwise reprehensible.

§ 8. All persons are utterly forbidden to read or to circulate the book.

§ 9, 10, 11, relate to the publication and execution of the bull; and are in the usual form.*

When the bull arrived in France, the Council of State pronounced it not inconsistent with the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the King caused an assembly of Cardinals, Archbishops, and other potentates to be collected to approve and adopt it. The assembly voted to keep their proceedings secret; they hesitated on Article 30; doubted on some others; wished for a fuller exposition of several points; and disagreed respecting the course they should pursue. In the meantime, the Pope sent the bull all over Roman Catholic Europe. In Germany, it was received without opposition. In the Netherlands, it did not go down so well. In December, the King commanded the assembled French prelates immediately to accept the bull, without limitation or condition. But they continued to deliberate.† Noailles and others persevered in the resolution to accept the bull only with explanations softening its harsher features; but the majority were now for a simple acceptance. Noailles and his party then proposed to retire from the Synod; but the King forbid it. On the 25th of January, 1714, the assembly voted, forty to ten, to accept the bull absolutely, and to recommend its adoption and enforcement in every Diocese. Noailles and nine other Prelates, who formed the opposition, proposed to write a joint letter to the Pope stating their own views: but this the King prohibited. Noailles, however, ventured to write in his own name, and was forbidden by the court; the other dissenting Bishops were also

* Bullar. Magn. T. VIII, p. 118, &c.

† *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVIII, pp. 501-518.

remanded to their Sees. In February, the King ordered the result of the Synod to be published; and issued a decree for the universal reception of the bull. His cabinet were not unanimous; and the Parliament hesitated to enroll his decree. He next ordered the Sorbonists to conform to the bull, in all their lectures and discussions: and Noailles issued a pastoral letter, forbidding the circulation of Quesnel's New Testament, and representing the bull as in general correct, though needing explanations, which would best come from the Pope himself. This pastoral gave offense to the King; and he wrote again, more peremptorily, to the hesitating and divided Sorbonists. By a major vote, they finally accepted the bull; and the dissentients were excluded from the faculty by a royal mandate. In all France, one hundred and twelve Bishops adopted the bull; and fifteen insisted that it should first be explained and made definite. The Jansenists made great exertions to support their cause; but they were borne down by the arm of power. The Pope not only urged the King to use compulsion with the dissentients, but himself passed censure on the pastoral letters of the non-accepting Bishops, and requested that Noailles might be sent to Rome to answer for his conduct. Noailles, however, was suffered to remain at home, upon his friends interceding with the King, and on his promising to issue a less offensive pastoral.* Near the close of the year, it was proposed to assemble a National Council in France, to compose the public commotions; and the King sent an envoy to Rome to consult the Pontiff on the subject. But the Pope disapproved of the project; and supposed that himself and the King, by the reasonable application of arguments and coercion, could bring Noailles and the other recusants to submission. The King, however, did not abandon the idea of a National Council, and several months passed in consultations and in forming plans to subdue the firm and resolute Noailles. At length, when Louis XIV had resolved to put forth all his power to crush the Jansenists at once, on the 1st of September, 1715, he died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XV, a child five years old, with the Duke of Orleans for Regent.†

Instantly, on the accession of Louis XV, the whole face of things was changed. Jesuit influence ceased, the Jansenists came forth boldly, those in exile returned, Noailles was again admitted to court, and made President of the Senate of Conscience, and new opposers of the bull appeared on every side.‡

* *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXVIII, pp. 584-670.

† *Ib.*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 23-50.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 70-118.

In January, 1716, the Sorbonists blotted out the record of their former acceptance of the bull, and expelled from their sessions the twenty-two members who opposed the measure. The theological faculties of Nantes and of Rheims likewise revoked their former acceptance. The presses teemed with publications on the subject. Against so numerous and powerful opposers, the Pontiff hesitated what to do. He determined, however, to confirm no more French Bishops who did not cordially accept his bull; and he threatened to degrade Noailles from the Cardinalship. In the meantime, the Sorbonists published a long and lucid confutation of the bull: and the Parliaments of Paris, Normandy, Burgundy, Metz, Toulouse, Brittany, and others, decreed that no French Bishop should receive any papal bull or letter, unless it was first approved by the King. Noailles induced the Regent to remove Jesuit confessors from the person of the young King: and himself forbid any Jesuit to preach or to hear Confessions in the Diocese of Paris. A decree was likewise made, that all ecclesiastical causes should, in the last resort, be tried before the Senate of Conscience, of which Noailles was the President.*

In the year 1717, after long but fruitless efforts for a compromise among the disagreeing prelates, four of the Jansenist Bishops, namely, those of Mirepoix, Montpellier, Boulogne, and Sens, on the first of March, solemnly appealed from the Pope's bull to a future General Council; before which they engaged to prove that the bull, by condemning some of the Quesnelian propositions, sapped the foundations of ecclesiastical order; e. g. in prop. 90, 91, 92:—that in others, it subverted the true doctrine of penance; e. g. prop. 87, 88:—and that in others it destroyed the foundation of good morals and piety; e. g. prop. 44, 27, 12. The Sorbonists also voted to join in the appeal; and likewise the whole university of Rheims, and the theological faculty of Nantes. After this, appellants multiplied rapidly among the ecclesiastics, and especially at Paris, Rheims, Orleans, and Rouen. Several of the Bishops appealed; and at length Archbishop Noailles. On the other hand, the accepting Bishops petitioned the Regent to make it penal for any person to appeal, and to forbid the circulation of all tracts favoring appellancy. The Pope was confounded. At first he thought of allowing some explanation of his bull; but altering his purpose, he commenced negotiations with the Regent respecting future measures, and agreed, that in the first place they should command both parties to be

* *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXIX, pp. 167–358.

silent. But appeals continued still to multiply ; and among others, Quesnel himself published an appeal from the Pope, misguided by Jesuit influence.* In February, 1718, the inquisition at Rome condemned several appeals of the French Bishops, as being seditious and heretical pamphlets ; and the Pope accompanied this proscription with a letter under his own hand. But the Parliament of Paris, and seven other Parliaments, condemned the papal letter, and forbid its circulation in France. The September following, the Pope resolved to adopt stronger measures, and therefore issued his bull, called *Pastoralis Officii*,† in which he warns all opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* of their great wickedness in resisting the supreme authority of the Church, and declares, that unless they repent and submit unconditionally to the bull, they must all be considered and treated as no longer members of the Church. About the same time, Noailles laid his appeal before his clergy ; and they voted their entire accordance with it.‡ The Sorbonists also supported Noailles with all their influence ; and likewise published an appeal in their own name. A cabinet council, after deliberating on the bull *Pastoralis Officii*, agreed to refer it to the consideration of the Parliament of Paris ; and that body pronounced it to be arrogant, irregular, and of no validity ; because the Pope has not power, by his sole authority, to decree Articles of Faith, nor can he try and condemn French Bishops in his court at Rome, and much less, without any citation or regular process. Noailles likewise issued a pastoral letter to his Clergy, in which he exhorts them to obey the Pope, so far as he may decide aright and keep within his own province ; he moreover renewed his appeal to a General Council, from both the papal bulls.

On the other hand, more than fifty accepting Bishops published injunctions in favor of the bulls ; but not without censure from several Parliaments. The Regent labored to abate the strife, and endeavored to weigh the conduct of both parties in an even balance. The whole University of Paris now appealed ; and the theological faculty stated at large their objections to the bull *Unigenitus*. The hesitating Pontiff at length proposed to consider the objections raised against his bull, and to admit some explanation of the latter, provided the appellants would pledge themselves to recall their appeals and to accept the bull.§ About this time, it is said, the Quesnelists

* *Fleury*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 448-601.

† *Bullar. Magn.* Tom. viii, p. 205.

‡ *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXIX, pp. 694-751.

§ *Ib.*, Vol. LXX, pp. 1-214.

thought of separating from the Romish Church, or of forming themselves into a distinct sect of Reformed Catholics.* The Bishops and the Parliaments continued to issue their odious decrees; and the generals of all the Monastic Orders, (except the Benedictines of St. Maur,) coerced their appellant monks with punishments, till they compelled them to submit to the bull. Various plans for a compromise were again discussed; and the Regent once more enjoined silence on the parties.† In the year 1720, about ninety accepting Bishops with their clergy agreed upon an exposition of the bull, which Noailles declared he could accept. Prompted by this movement, the Archbishop published in the month of August, an elaborate exposition of what he considered to be the Catholic Faith on all the points in dispute, stating distinctly what was true and what was not so; and then on the assumption that the bull was intended to convey the same views as he had just expressed, he declared his acceptance of it, and his condemnation of the propositions which were therein condemned. For an adjustment of the controversy in this way, he was eager, and urged the Regent to enforce it. But neither the Pontiff, nor the more strenuous Jansenists at Paris, would agree to this pacification.

Things were in this state when, in March, 1721, Pope Clement XI died, and transmitted this protracted and ill-managed controversy to his successor.‡

* *Fleury*, continuat., Vol. LXX, pp. 218-222. † *Ib.*, Vol. LXX, pp. 223-262.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. LXX, pp. 454-573.

ART. VI.—THE ROCK.

An Exegesis of St. Matthew XVI, 15—19.

THIS passage has been very much involved in controversy. It would be difficult to frame a new exposition of any of the clauses in this celebrated passage, upon which such a multitude of commentators have exhausted their learning and their ingenuity. Yet one, who examines the passage now, with all the helps presented by the investigations of former critics, may be able, by carefully applying the well established principles of hermeneutics to the expositions already proposed, to cull from them the most sensible interpretations of the several clauses, and to combine from them all an exegesis of the whole passage which shall commend itself to the sober judgment of honest and reasonable enquirers. To do this will be our effort in the present Article. Our great difficulty is in the necessity of compressing within narrow limits the needful comments upon a topic on which so much has been and may be said. And if, in reference to some of the numerous points suggested, we may seem to speak too briefly, our apology must be found in the necessity just alluded to.

The passage is as follows:

“He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

As we read these verses, the first thing which attracts our attention is the remarkable confession of St. Peter, in regard to the character and claims of the Saviour. The confession was introduced by questions put by our Lord to His disciples in reference to himself. St. Matthew thus describes the conversation: “When Jesus came into the coasts of Cesarea Phillippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? (or as some for critical reasons

prefer another reading, "Who, do men say, is the Son of Man?") And they said, some say that thou art John the Baptist; some Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets." (xvi, 13—14.) The phrase, "say that thou art," in this verse, is not in the original, and is, therefore, according to the custom of our translators, printed in italics; so that the verse may read appropriately to either form of the question; "Some, John the Baptist, some Elias," &c. In contrast with this enquiry in regard to the opinions of others, He puts next, the question in relation to their own views: "He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am?" (vs. 15.) And here we meet the memorable confession of the son of Jonas: "And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," (vs. 16.) In the parallel passage of St. Mark it is thus recorded: "And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ." (St. Mark viii, 29.) And in the parallel passage of St. Luke, it reads: "Peter answering said, The Christ of God." (St. Luke ix, 20.)

At this point, with this brief statement of St. Peter's confession, both St. Mark and St. Luke close their narratives of this conversation, St. Mark adding immediately: "And he charged them that they should tell no man of him," (vii, 30.) And St. Luke, also, adding immediately: "And he straitly charged them and commanded them to tell no man that thing;" (ix, 21;) while, on the other hand, St. Matthew adds, after this confession, in the three long verses—the 17th, 18th, 19th—the full subsequent reply of Christ to Peter, after which he closes with a statement similar to that of the other two Evangelists: "Then charged he His disciples that they should tell no man that He was Jesus the Christ," (xvi, 20.) The verses in controversy are recorded only by St. Matthew. And it is remarkable, that they are not preserved by the other Evangelists in their parallel narratives. We call attention to this fact, as we proceed, since we shall refer to it in another part of our argument, before we close.

The peculiar import and force of the confession of St. Peter are, that Christ is the Messiah, with all that was implied in that title to the mind of a pious Jew who had been educated in the earlier and sounder traditionary expectations of his nation: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Whitby, as Dr. Bloomfield remarks, "supposes that there was this difference between ὁ Χριστός, and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, that the former referred to his office, the latter to his Divine original; though he admits, that neither Nathanael (John i, 49) nor the other Jews, nor even the Apostles, used it in that sublime sense in which

Christians always take it," (*in loc.*) Learned men who have investigated the opinions of the Jews at and before the times of Christ, tell us that the Jews expected a Divine Messiah—not a mere man, but one who, in the dignity of both the Divine and human nature, should rule over their nation. He was to be the Son of the Most High, while, at the same time, He was to be the Son of David; and therefore the Messiah was spoken of by both the titles, "the Son of man" and "the Son of God." (See Horsley's sermon on this text.) The ordinary commentaries illustrate the ancient Jewish views to some extent; but, if one would wish to see the sentiments of the Jewish doctors in regard to both the Divine and human nature of their anticipated Messiah exhibited at length, he will find, in the work of the Rev. John Oxlee on the "Trinity and Incarnation considered and maintained on the principles of Judaism," a vast deal of curious and interesting information, collected, with great industry, out of the mystic arcana of Rabbinical lore. The Hebrew commentators of that early period, reading the prophecies in their natural sense, and guided, too, without doubt, by the traditions which came from the very times of the prophets, had far more accurate views of the exalted nature of the Messiah, than the Hebrew critics of a later period, who were swayed by their prejudices against Christianity, as well as by the unhappy political circumstances of their nation. The later critics labored to prove the coming of a mere temporal Messiah, a conqueror of nations, a liberator of the descendants of Abraham, while their earlier commentators recognized the Divine character of the Messiah and the spiritual character of his government. In this sense, which the pious Jews of the time of Christ acknowledged, (as did Simeon and Anna in the Temple, and Zacharias and Elizabeth in their home,) in this sense the confession of St. Peter was made, using the very titles of the Messiah which denoted His highest dignity: "Thou, the Son of Man, (this title implied from the question of Christ to which this was the direct reply,) art the Christ—the long-expected Messiah—the Son—the Only Begotten Son—of the only living and true God."

This confession of St. Peter was received and approved by our Saviour, as the broad and unequivocal acknowledgment of Him in His Office as the Divine Messiah for the salvation and government of mankind; for, continues St. Matthew, "Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona (i.e. Son of Jonas:) for flesh and blood hath not revealed it (i. e., the great truth just confessed) unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (vs. 17.) The meaning is, that St. Peter

was thus led to the knowledge of the great truth which he had asserted, not by his own human intuition or power of reasoning alone, but that he had been guided by the influence of the Holy Spirit of Inspiration, whom the Father sends to guide his people into the truth. Here was a great truth, which the natural heart would be slow to receive and unwilling to acknowledge. Far easier would it have been, more in harmony with other facts in the previous history of the Apostle, if St. Peter had spoken of his Master as a temporal Ruler; for this would have corresponded with the promptings of his unconverted and worldly nature. But when he used the expressions, which told of a higher sense, which implied the spiritual and Divine nature of the Messiah, as a Being for a Holy service and worship, whose kingdom, like that of God His Father, was to be in the heart of men, then he gave proof that God had taught him, then he showed that "flesh and blood had not revealed it unto him, but the Father which is in heaven."

It has been a question among expositors, whether, in this confession, St. Peter spake for himself only, or whether he spake as the representative and spokesman of the twelve Apostles. St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian and St. Jerome among the ancients, and among the moderns, Scott, Doddridge, Bloomfield, and a host of others, maintain the latter view; while Bishop Horsley, Dr. Whitby, and many other distinguished critics among the moderns, advocate the former view. The former view seems to us the correct view. For while, in answer to the first question, "Whom do men say that I am?" (v. 13,) St. Matthew writes: "And they said, (meaning that all the Apostles replied for themselves,) some, John the Baptist, some Elias," &c., he declares distinctly, that in answer to the second question, "Whom say ye that I am?" the reply was made only by Peter: "And Simon Peter answered," &c.; and there is nothing, either in the statement of the Evangelist, or in the form of the reply, to indicate that he spake for any but himself. And the reply of our Saviour being directed emphatically, in the second person throughout, to St. Peter, proves that the speech of St. Peter was for himself. This view is further strengthened by the fact that on two previous occasions, where the Apostles did make this confession, the language of the narrative is clear. Thus, in St. Matthew xiv, 33, it is stated, concerning the disciples, on their deliverance from the storm: "Then they that were in the ship came and worshiped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God." And in St. John vi, 67-69, just before this great confession of St. Peter, upon which we are commenting, (Bishop Horsley makes it

subsequent to this, but the Harmonists, Doddridge, Townsend, and Dr. Jarvis, place it before this,) St. Peter asserted the same confession, evidently (as Horsley admits) as the mouth-piece or spokesman for all the Apostles: "Then said Jesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go?—thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." As the construction of these passages shows, that in one of them the Apostles spake directly for themselves, and that, in the other, St. Peter spake in their behalf, as their representative; so the construction of the passage upon which we are now commenting shows that St. Peter spake for himself alone,—that, although doubtless he expressed the views which they held in common with himself, yet he did not speak particularly as their representative, but upon the impulse of his own ardent faith, for himself.

It has also been a question among commentators, whether our Lord's reply was addressed to St. Peter personally, or to him as the representative of all the Apostles. The former view is maintained by Grotius, Whitby, Pearson, Horsley, Doddridge, and many others; and the latter view by Dr. Isaac Barrow, (who also declares that "the Fathers interpret it, not personally, but representatively," in his sermon on "The Power of the Keys,") by Dr. George Campbell, (who qualifies his statement: "Though we are taught from Scripture to consider the declarations made to Peter as being also applicable to them all, still they are to be regarded as being most eminently applicable to him," in his fifth lecture,) by Dr. Thomas Scott and many others. We adopt the former view, and are compelled to do so, from a comparison of the passage with others, and from the unequivocal construction of the passage, which forbids the idea of representation, and makes St. Peter individually the person addressed.

"And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." (vs. 18-19.) These are the verses which are involved in the most important controversy. We shall consider them, clause by clause.

"And I say also unto thee." The particles "and" and "also," in this clause, prove the connection of what follows this with the confession of St. Peter in the sixteenth verse. The intermediate clause in the seventeenth verse: "Blessed

art thou, Simon Barjona ; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven," has the nature of an independent or parenthetical clause, being simply an ejaculatory benediction, with the reason of the benediction assigned, and forming strictly or logically no part of the formal reply to the confession. The reply strictly commences with this phrase : " And I say also unto thee." The words are pregnant—full of meaning—they include, imply, understand the preceding confession, with which they are grammatically connected by the conjunction " and," and the associated and intensive particle " also;" as if Christ had fully expressed what is implied in the ellipsis : " I assent to thy confession, I re-affirm it, I am the Christ, the Son of the living God, and I say also unto thee, That," &c. This, we contend, is the accurate rendering and sense of the clause. The learned Granville Sharp, and after him, Mr. Townsend, call attention to this point. Dr. Bloomfield also refers to it, and we may quote his authority : " From the very form of expression in $\text{Καὶ ἔγωγε εἰπὼν σοὶ λέγω}$, it is plain that what is here said by Christ is meant to correspond to what had been just said by Peter. As he had declared to Jesus : $\text{Σὺ εἶ—ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ζῶντος}$, so Jesus says to him : $\text{Καὶ ἔγωγε εἰπὼν σοὶ λέγω}$, the sense of which is, " Moreover, I also say to thee," (*in loco*.)

" That thou art Peter, and upon this Rock," &c. The name or title of Peter, Πέτρος , was given by our Lord to Simon in the beginning of his discipleship, as related by St. John : " And he (Andrew) brought him (Simon) to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon, the Son of Jona : thou shalt be called Cephas ; which is, by interpretation, a stone, or (M. R.) Peter." The name was given, probably, to indicate the general firmness and strength of the Apostle's character. Frequent and familiar examples of giving names or titles to represent traits or events, (cases of Paronomasia,) occur in both the Old and New Testaments. There is a diversity of opinion as to the meaning of the word Πέτρος . Leigh, Scapula, Schrevelius, Dawson, Parkhurst, Sharp, make it to mean a stone, or rock, in a sense inferior to that of the other word, πέτρα . Bloomfield, Robinson, Donnegan, assign to it the full sense of Rock. The difference is unimportant. The word translated " Rock," (" upon this rock,") πέτρα , all agree, signifies, as translated here, a rock, or ledge, or cliff—a mass of rock—*saxum grande*. Some argue, from this supposed difference of meaning between the two words, that they cannot, therefore, refer to the same thing, but must refer to different things or persons. We think, as we shall presently show, that there are other and

conclusive reasons for applying these two words to different things, and that their identity or diversity in sense is entirely immaterial to the argument. The phrase, "thou art Peter," signifies, "thou art (or denotest, or representest) a stone, or rock"—a common sense of the substantive verb to be, (Εἰμι,) as in sentences of frequent recurrence.

"Upon this rock I will build my Church;" *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*—"upon this very rock." What is referred to by "this Rock?" Was St. Peter himself the Rock?—Or was his confession (the great truth and fact in that confession) the Rock. Dr. Doddridge, in his paraphrase, as well as some others, seems to unite the two, as if both Peter and his faith in his confession, were the Rock. This sort of interpretation, which gives several different meanings to the same word, in the same place and at the same time, as was the fashion a century ago, after the example of the famous Cocceius of Leyden, we reject; since it is an established rule of hermeneutics, (see Horne, Ernesti, &c.) that every word (except, perhaps, in prophetic language) in common language, has not only some meaning, but only one true sense, in the same place and time. It is but just to say that Dr. Doddridge, in his note, gives a single sense to the word, applying it to St. Peter himself. Whitby, Grotius, Hammond, Barrow, Bishop Marsh, Campbell, Michaelis, Bloomfield, T. H. Horne and others, suppose that by "the Rock" here, St. Peter is intended. The Early Fathers, on the other hand, almost unanimously, suppose "the Rock" to be the confession or faith of St. Peter, or Christ himself, the great fact or truth in that confession, "which, indeed," as Bishop Burnet remarks, "is but a different way of expressing the same thing." Beza supposes it to be Christ, or the confession of Peter; Lightfoot, Scott, Horsley, Granville Sharp, Townsend, and others, suppose "the Rock" to be the confession of St. Peter. This is the view which we maintain, and will endeavor to illustrate by two or three considerations.

First, we argue, that the confession is here referred to from the opening clause of the verse: "And I also say unto thee." This clause necessarily refers back to the confession, brings it forward and connects it with the present verse. It shows that the confession is included in this verse, is necessary to give meaning to this verse, that this verse follows, in its sense, from that confession, and is dependent upon it. "And I also say unto thee," in reference to this great fundamental and essential truth which thou hast just confessed, that "thou art a stone or rock, (Πέτρα,) and as thy name denotes and suggests a Rock, so upon the truth in this thy confession as upon a Rock—"upon

this very rock" (*πετρα*) of my Messiahship confessed by thee, "I will build my Church." The remarks of Mr. Sharp, as condensed by Mr. Townsend, express the argument very clearly:

"The application of this supreme title (the rock) to Peter is inconsistent, above all, with the plain reference to the preceding context, made by our Lord in the beginning of this very verse—'And I also say unto thee,' which manifestly points out, both by the copulative 'and,' and the connective adverb 'also,' the inseparable connection of this verse with the previous declaration of Peter, concerning our Lord's Divine dignity in the preceding sentence, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;' and thereby demonstrates that our Lord's immediate reply, ('And I also say unto thee,' &c.) did necessarily include this declaration of Peter, as being the principal object of the sentence—the true foundation or rock, on which alone the Catholic Church can be properly built, because our faith in Christ (that He is truly 'the Son of the living God') is unquestionably the only security, or rock, of our salvation."*

Secondly, we argue, that the confession (i. e. the great fact of Christ's Divine Messiahship asserted in it) is here referred to, from the evidently designed distinction between the words *πετρος* and *πετρα* employed by our Lord. Certainly, this distinction, in our Lord's well-weighed and solemn address to His Apostle, was not accidental. If our Lord had meant to refer to the very same things or persons in these two words, He would have used the same word. If He had meant Peter in both these near and connected clauses, He would have said "Peter" in both. This would have made the sense clear, and have avoided all doubts of his meaning—this would have been according to the common laws of language. His deliberate selection of different words shows that He intended a distinction, that He did not mean the same thing. The name of Peter, signifying a "Rock or Stone," is *πετρος*, in the masculine gender, while the word, translated "Rock," in the text, is *πετρα*, in another gender. If our Lord had meant to indicate St. Peter himself by the "Rock," He would not have changed to another word; and the argument is even more forcible, if we admit that the two words are precisely synonymous in their signification, and that *πετρος* is as strong a word as *πετρα*. He would have continued the same word *πετρος* into the following clause, and thus have shown, while still retaining the same strength of expression, that the same person was intended. Whereas, by using another word, by changing His expression, He shows that He does not mean to refer to Peter, but to another idea suggested by the name of Peter; as if He had

* Part IV, Note 18.

said: "Thou art one rock, as thy name imports, and upon another rock, this other rock of the confession which thou hast made, and which is the subject of my remarks, I will build my Church." This argument, so directly appealing to our reason and common sense, so perfectly consistent with all the usages of spoken language, has never been answered, and, we think, is entirely unanswerable. Mr. Sharp thus concisely presents it: "I have already remarked, that *πέτρα*, a rock, is a feminine noun; and a clear distinction is maintained between *πέτρος*, the masculine noun in this text, and the said feminine noun *πέτρα*, the rock, by the grammatical terms in which the latter, in its relatives and articles, is expressed, which are all regularly feminine throughout the whole sentence, and thereby they demonstrate that our Lord did not intend that the new appellation or nominal distinction, which he had just before given to Simon, (viz, *πέτρος*, the masculine noun in the beginning of the sentence,) should be construed as the character of which he spoke in the next part of the sentence; for, if he had really intended that construction, the same masculine noun, *πέτρος*, must necessarily have been repeated in the next part of the sentence with a masculine pronoun, viz, *καὶ τοῦτω τῷ πέτρῳ*, instead of *καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*, the present text; wherein, on the contrary, the gender is changed from the masculine to the feminine . . . so that the application to Peter, (or *πέτρος*), as the foundation of Christ's Church, is inconsistent with the necessary grammatical construction," &c.*

Thirdly, we argue, that the great fact of Christ's Divine Messiahship in the confession, is here referred to from the invariable usage in the New Testament. The word *πέτρος* is never used in the New Testament except as the appellative of Simon Peter. The word *πέτρα*, on the other hand, is frequently used, and wherever applied to a person, is, without exception, applied to Christ. Turning to a Greek concordance, we see this at a glance. In Romans ix, 33, Christ is referred to as the "Rock (*πέτρα*) of offense," (a reference to Ps. cxviii, 22, and to Isaiah viii, 14, and xxviii, 16.) In 1st Peter ii, 8, where the reference is to the same passages, Christ is again spoken of as the "Rock (*πέτρα*) of offense." In the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, Christ is twice referred to by this word: "For they drank of that spiritual Rock (*πέτρα*) that followed them; and that Rock (*πέτρα*) was Christ," x, 4. Now, when, in this contested passage, the question is, whether the word *πέτρα* applies to Christ or to Peter, and we find, that Peter is always, everywhere else,

* Townsend, Part IV, Note 18.

referred to by the word *πετρος*, and never by the word *πετρα*; while, on the other hand, the word *πετρα*, everywhere else, when applied to persons, is always, in several places, and without exception, applied to Christ, and to no other person, is not the conclusion inevitable, that, if any person be intended by it here, it must be Christ, and not Peter? To decide differently would be to violate one of the first and plainest principles of hermeneutics.

Fourthly, we argue, that the confession of Christ's Divine Messiahship is here referred to, from the analogy of faith. This is a very important rule of interpretation when rightly used. It is the applying to doubtful passages, for their elucidation, the general and established and undoubted sense of other passages, on the manifest principle that the teachings of Scripture are not contradictory but consistent with themselves. Now here is, we suppose, a doubtful passage, in which a rock—a single Rock—is spoken of as the one foundation, on which the Church in all ages is to be built, ("I will build,") on which all the disciples of Christ are to be gathered and edified unto the end of the world. Now what clear and unequivocal passages, analogous to this, which speak of such one foundation, are there which illustrate and determine the sense of this? We turn to 1 Cor. iii, 11: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." We turn to Eph. ii, 20–22: "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, In whom ye also are builded together, for an habitation of God through the Spirit." We turn to Ephesians iv, 15–16: "The Head, even Christ, from whom the whole body fitly framed together and compacted, . . . maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love;" to 1 Cor. iii, 9: "Ye are God's husbandry; ye are God's building;" to Jude xx: "Building up yourselves on your most holy faith." Other passages, as Revelation xxi, 14: "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb;" and Ephesians ii, 20: "The foundation of the Apostles and Prophets;" where several subordinate foundations are referred to, are not analogous to this of our text, where only one great foundation-Rock is referred to. The argument from the analogy of faith is this—everywhere else, in the Scriptures, where one foundation of the Church is referred to, Christ is asserted as that one foundation; therefore, this Rock, in our text, which is spoken of as the one foundation of the Universal Church, must be interpreted of Christ. This is logical.

Fifthly, we are confirmed in the view which we have presented, by the testimony of the Early Christian Fathers. Barrow, Burnet, and others, tell us, that the Fathers, almost without exception, interpret "the Rock," in this passage, of Peter's confession, or of his faith in it, or of Christ confessed in it, and not of Peter personally. Now the Fathers are invaluable witnesses to the doctrines or facts received in their age, and thus help us to establish, upon the most thorough and credible evidence, the Apostolic Faith and Institutions, against all disputers. But, as individual interpreters of particular passages, they stand upon the same ground, *cæteris paribus*, with other uninspired interpreters, and are to be judged of according to the merit of their several expositions. When they testify, we submit to their evidence; when they argue with us, we criticise their arguments. If one, or several, or all of them should interpret a particular passage, against the clearly ascertained *usus loquendi*, or against the clear analogy of faith, we should reject their interpretation, as we should that of any other interpreters, who should fall into a similar error; for the true *usus loquendi* is the great object sought in interpreting, and a departure from the analogy of faith, which would make the Scriptures self-contradictory, would be a manifest absurdity.* But where the sense of the passage is doubtful, and the Fathers generally unite in an interpretation, not inconsistent with the known meaning of the words, nor with the general teachings of the Scriptures, and where they are evidently not warped by any unconscious influence of any erroneous current maxim peculiar to their age and social state, then their unanimity in the interpretation of a particular passage, is a powerful evidence of the true *usus loquendi* in the times nearest to those when the Scriptures were written, and would go far to settle a question equally balanced in other respects. In this way, we regard their general concurrence in the view which we present of the passage before us as of very great weight in confirming the interpretation.

We have stated our view of this clause, which is the admitted knot of the passage. The view of so many eminent com-

* In the July No. of the Church Review, (1857,) in a paper on "the Spirits in Prison," we had occasion, in the view which we presented, to differ from the interpretation, given generally, but not universally, by the Early Fathers, of 1st Peter iii, 18-20. We did so, because, as we believed, the *usus loquendi*, and the analogy of faith, clearly ruled in that case, against them. In the present case, they are in harmony with these essential elements of interpretation, and thus their testimony is of great value. We may add, that any errors of the Fathers, in the interpretation of particular passages, cannot invalidate the force of their general testimony as to the great doctrines, facts, or institutions of Christianity.

mentators, that by "the Rock" is meant St. Peter personally, although not exclusively, as one of the Apostles, and that our Saviour meant that the Church was to be built upon him as one of the subordinate foundations, certainly, does not imply any error of doctrine, neither does it militate against the soundest Protestantism; and is perfectly consistent with passages (such as Eph. ii, 20, and Rev. xxi, 14) already quoted. But as the construction of the passage does not, as we conceive, warrant this view, we are compelled to reject it, and to prefer that which makes "the Rock," upon which Christ's Catholic Church is builded, to be the glorious fact of the Divine Messiahship of Christ asserted in the noble confession of St. Peter.

We pass on to the other clauses, and shall be able to consider them more rapidly.

"And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." On this clause there is very little difference of opinion among critics. The Eastern cities, being surrounded by walls, and defended at the gates of entrance, the gates also being used as the places where the judges and persons in authority kept their courts, the word "gates" came to signify metaphorically power, and thus "the gates of hell," signify the power of hell. The word "hell," in this passage, is literally Hades, and signifies the grave, or rather, in a broader sense, the state of the dead, the place of departed spirits. By "the gates of hell," then, we are to understand the power of death and the grave. This power, says Christ, shall not prevail against His Church. That is, as His Church is not an abstraction, nor a mere system of doctrines, nor a mere code of institutions, but a collection of living members, redeemed by His blood, sanctified by His Spirit, immortalized by His salvation, therefore, the power of death shall not finally prevail over it to entirely conquer and destroy it—its life shall be sustained, and the congregation of His faithful disciples shall be perpetuated from age to age to the close of time; and the members of His Church, though they die, and go, one by one, into the gates of death, shall be delivered in the general Resurrection, and triumph then over the grave. In the eloquent words of Bishop Horsley: "Our Lord promises, not only perpetuity to the Church, to the last moment of the world's existence, notwithstanding the successive mortality of all its members in all ages, but what is much more, a final triumph over the power of the grave. Firmly as the gates of Hades may be barred, they shall have no power to confine His departed saints, when the last trump shall sound, and the voice of the archangel shall thunder through the deep." (Sermon 13.)

"And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." This whole passage expresses one class of ideas—the clauses are to be taken together—the clauses, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c., being simply exegetical of the first clause, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." The learned Dr. Barrow, in his essay on the Power of the Keys, in his exposition of the Creed, commenting on this first clause, remarks: "For the phrases equivalent, by which, in places of the Gospel most parallel, this power is expressed and explained, they are especially those of 'binding and loosing,' of 'retaining and remitting sins.' As for 'binding and loosing,' when our Saviour had promised to bestow upon St. Peter 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' he signifies what effect the use of them should produce, by adding conjunctively, 'And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven.'"

One other general remark we may make upon this verse, before we examine it in detail, namely, that we are not to look upon these clauses as being in themselves any more difficult or involved in mystery than any other passages of the Scripture. Our Lord, as did his Apostles after him, used plain language, intelligible to his hearers, or, if at any time he used figurative language, (as in our text,) the figures were such as were familiar to his hearers, and conveyed a sense easily to be understood. All that we have to do is to inquire patiently for the literal, the figurative, or the historical sense, as the case may require. "To think," says Lightfoot, "that Christ, when he used the common phrase, was not understood by his hearers, in the common and vulgar sense, shall I call it a matter of laughter or of madness?"

"I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." By "the kingdom of heaven" is meant the Church which Christ was establishing on earth, with all its privileges and means of grace, to prepare his people for the Church triumphant—the kingdom of heaven above. It is the common usage of our Lord to describe His Church by this expression; as when he likens "the kingdom of heaven" to a net cast into the sea, which enclosed both good fishes and bad, (Matt. xiii, 47–50;) to a field, in which both the good seed and the tares were to grow together until the harvest, (Matt. xiii, 24–30;) to a grain of mustard seed growing into a large tree in which the fowls of the air should lodge, (Matt. xiii, 31–32;) to leaven hid in three

measures of meal till the whole was leavened, (Matt. xiii, 33;) and in many other familiar cases. The phrase is sometimes used in other senses, sometimes the state of eternal glory, sometimes the internal experience of the Christian, sometimes the whole work and dispensation of Christ. But here it evidently means the Church, of which He had just before spoken, and to which the subsequent clauses plainly apply.

The "giving of the keys" denotes the imparting of authority. "I have the keys of hell and of death," says Christ, (Rev. i, 18,) that is, "I have authority over Hades and death." In the Old Testament, "the key of the house of David" (Isaiah xxii, 22) is used to denote authority or government over the house of David, or the authority of the royal family over Israel. It is merely a figurative mode of expressing a right or power to govern. As the key is the instrument which unlocks or locks the door, it is employed as the symbol of power. He who has the keys of a house has an ownership or right of control in the house. So in the common usage of men, founded upon this ancient and universal symbol, to "give the keys" is to yield possession or to impart authority. This is the sense in which almost all critics and divines understand the power of the keys—government over the Church and the regulation of its affairs, as is more fully explained in the subsequent clauses of the verse.

To this sense so generally admitted, many expositors, both ancient and modern, add another. They suppose that, in "the giving of the keys" to Peter, our Lord intended a prediction or promise to this Apostle, that he should be the first to open the doors of the Church to men, as the reward of his faith in his Confession. Christ gave to him the privilege of first opening the doors of the Church to men. Whether this sense be also implied in the passage or not, the fact is true that, on the preaching of St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost, the doors of the Church were first opened to the Jews by this Apostle, and that in the conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius and his household, by St. Peter's preaching, the doors of the Church were first opened to the Gentiles by the same Apostle. This wider sense may be allowable, since the text implies a promise, and all promises are in their nature prophetic; and for the reason also that the power of the keys includes, with other powers, the right of opening the doors of the Church by preaching. Bishop Horsley, however, supposes this latter sense here stated to be the exclusive sense of the power of the keys here given to St. Peter, different from the ordinary power of the keys held afterwards by him and his fellow Apostles; and

for the reason that he seems to suppose that this must have been a gift which the other Apostles could not share.

We admit that the power, whatever it was, given in this whole verse to St. Peter, was for the time exclusively his. Afterwards, it was extended to all the Apostles, as recorded in St. Matt. xviii, 18: "Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." These are the very same words which were spoken to St. Peter in our text, with the exception of the first clause containing the giving of the keys. But as this first clause means simply the same thing as its subsequent exegetical clauses, and as these exegetical clauses are identically the same with the words spoken to all the Apostles, recorded in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, therefore the passage in St. Matthew xviii, 18, is the same in meaning with this of our text in the sixteenth chapter, and therefore all the Apostles were, at the later time spoken of in the eighteenth chapter, invested with the same powers which were first given to St. Peter alone, as recorded in our text.

We suggest, with diffidence, what seems to us a reasonable solution of the history, consistent with a fair exegesis of these passages. Was not this act of our Saviour in the text, (Matt. xvi, 19,) the solemn ordination or appointment of St. Peter to his Apostleship, thus making him first and solely an Apostle, giving him this honor as the reward of his zeal and faith? Was not that later act of our Saviour (Matt. xviii, 18) the appointment of all, as the use of the same words implies, to the same and an equal Apostleship? And, (whereas these gifts of office were held in abeyance until after Christ's Resurrection, when the time at length came that the Church was to be established, and the power of "binding and loosing" exercised,) we read that our Saviour did, after His Resurrection, solemnly reaffirm the previous appointments and renew his gift, as St. John records it, (xx, 21-23:) "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." In this view, Peter was first ordained an Apostle, having a precedence in the college of his compeers simply in respect of his seniority in office, and not at all in respect to the nature or rights of office. Does not this view explain easily and naturally that expression (which has so puzzled commentators) in St. Matt. x, 2:

"Now the names of the twelve Apostles are these; the first (i. e. Apostle) Simon, who is called Peter," &c., (πρῶτος Σίμων) ? And does it not make clear many facts in the future history of the Apostles, the precedence accorded to him at certain times, and the co-equality asserted with him at other times? Does it not give to the passage on which we are commenting its own distinctive peculiarity, and at the same time show it to be in perfect harmony with those later passages which are parallel to it?

One clause remains to be considered.

"And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." This clause is, as we have remarked, exegetical of the previous clause, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." As this clause is identical with that which was applied to all the Apostles, (Matt. xviii, 18,) we will consider them together, remarking that, whatever the meaning of the clause, it applied first, as in the passage before us, to the Apostle Peter, and afterwards to his brethren in the Apostleship. Lightfoot, who paid great attention to the subject and was very learned in Talmudical and Rabbinical literature, tells us that these terms, "to bind" and "to loose," were common among the Jews and well understood. To "bind" signified to prohibit, or to teach what thing is prohibited; to "loose" was to permit or to teach what thing is permitted. It was a power to change or annul institutions already existing and to establish and create new ones—a general power of government and administration. The power of "remitting and retaining sins" was a different power, the right and authority of publishing Christ's law and its conditions, to declare the conditions of forgiveness and of condemnation, and to exercise discipline in the Church. "Binding and loosing" have reference to laws, institutions, rites; "remitting and retaining sins" have reference to persons. The Apostles were to carry out the work which Christ had begun. His commission to them was: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." They were to complete the establishment of the Christian Church. They were to abrogate the requisitions of the Mosaic Law, as the Apostles did at the Council of Jerusalem, (Acts xv,) and as St. Paul did in his Epistles, and as St. Peter did at his visit to Cornelius. They were to establish the institutions of the Christian Dispensation, to make "customs," (1 Cor. xi, 16,) to punish offenders, (1 Cor. v, 1-5, 11,) to use authority, (2 Cor. x, 8.) All things that were not in harmony with the design of Christianity they were to repeal

and remove; and whatsoever they should believe to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom they were to appoint and authorize. They were to fix the institutions of the Christian Church, and to arrange and enforce its discipline, just as Christ would have done had he remained upon earth; and whatsoever they should thus do, in virtue of their commission, was to be approved and authorized in heaven and to have authority as an appointment of God. They were to act for Christ, and therefore were clothed with Christ's authority; and the Father, who sanctioned Him, would also sanction them as His representatives. This is the simple sense of a passage which to many has seemed so mysterious and perplexing.

The passage upon which we have been commenting, is the great proof text, urged by the Church of Rome, to prove the Supremacy of the Popes or Pontiffs, whom they consider as the successors of St. Peter.

Now, even granting, for the occasion, that the passage means all that the Romish writers claim for it, in reference to St. Peter, this would prove nothing for the Bishops of Rome, as there is no positive certainty, that they are the successors of St. Peter in that See. That St. Peter died at Rome, there is no reasonable doubt, as is also true in the case of St. Paul. But that he ever had the peculiar or Diocesan charge of the Church at Rome, as St. James had of that at Jerusalem, there is no sufficient evidence. The learned Dr. Barrow has shown conclusively the exceeding improbability, if not impossibility, of it. If our space had permitted, we should gladly have quoted his argument. We refer the reader particularly to sections 5 and 6, under his Supposition III, in his Treatise on the Supremacy. St. Peter seems rather to have been, as St. Paul styles him, the "Apostle of the Circumcision," of the Jews "scattered abroad" throughout the world—a general, not a Diocesan, Apostle of the Jews—as St. Paul was a general, not a Diocesan, Apostle of the Gentiles. Whatsoever, therefore, the passage may mean, in reference to St. Peter, it proves nothing at all in reference to the Bishops of Rome.

We will present a few arguments against the Romish interpretation—rather a few brief points suggestive of argument.

In the first place, St. Matthew alone records this address of our Lord to St. Peter. The three other Evangelists omit it; while St. Mark and St. Luke actually relate the previous part of this conversation—our Lord's questions—Peter's confession—but omit the address which St. Matthew records, and on which Rome bases her monstrous claim. Now, if this passage

means all that Rome asserts—a sense which controls essentially not only all the institutions of the Church, but the entire truth of God, (for Rome claims to be the infallible Interpreter, not to say, Developer, of truth,) it is incredible that St. John should have omitted the entire conversation, and that St. Mark and St. Luke, (one of these, St. Mark, the particular companion and intimate friend of St. Peter, insomuch that his Gospel was frequently called by the ancients St. Peter's Gospel,) when they relate a part of the conversation, should record the confession of Peter as the important part of it, and should omit the subsequent address upon which such essential influences for the Church and for the truth of God are claimed to depend.

Another argument against the Romish view of this passage, as giving to St. Peter and his successors a permanent supremacy, is in the fact, that our Lord did give to the other Apostles, on two separate occasions, (Matt. xviii, 18, John xx, 21–23,) in the very same words, and in words of corresponding import, (as we have already quoted them,) the very same powers here given to St. Peter, and distinctly putting all the Apostles on a perfect equality of office and of prerogative.

Again, if the literal sense of the passage be insisted on, as the Romanists do insist on it, it will then be confined to St. Peter personally, and cannot be extended to his successors, without violating the literal sense. For the words are addressed to St. Peter directly, “Thou art Peter . . . I say unto thee . . . I will give unto thee . . . whatsoever thou shalt bind,” &c. If, therefore, we confine ourselves to the literal words of the passage, we certainly must cut off the future successors of St. Peter, if we cut off his fellow-Apostles. If the words are so literally exclusive, that they cannot include his fellow-Apostles who were present, and to whom the question, to which he replied, was put, they certainly cannot include the Bishops of future ages, even although they might be, as is not proved in the case of the Roman Bishops, his real successors.

Again, the subsequent history of the Apostles shows that no permanently exclusive privileges were here conferred upon St. Peter. And this argument is one which cannot be overthrown; for the Apostles must have known their Master's meaning, and their future action demonstrates their understanding of the sense of it. And when we come to trace their history, we do not find St. Peter exercising any prerogatives over the rest. At the Council of Jerusalem, (Acts xv,) he was evidently subordinate to James who presided in that Council. At Antioch, he was publicly rebuked by St. Paul before

all of the disciples, because of his dissembling with the Jews against the Gentiles. In his Epistles he assumes no pontifical rights, but on the other hand speaks of himself to the elders as being himself "also an elder." There is nothing in the whole history of the New Testament, which shows him to have had any prerogatives more or greater than were shared by all the Apostles. Never upon so slight a basis, has any pretension been erected, as this figment of the Papal Supremacy.

Another, and altogether convincing, argument against the Romish view of this passage, is, that the Primitive Fathers, who lived nearest the times of the Apostles, and must have understood their views, in no case sustain the Romish interpretation. On the contrary, they give quite a variety of interpretation, but in no case appropriate this promise to the supremacy of Rome—a fact not yet developed, and a claim not yet made, in their day. A few examples will suffice. Origen (A. D. 230) says that "every disciple of Christ is the Rock, in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confession." Cyprian (A. D. 248) says that Peter "spake for all, and answered in the name of the Church." Hilary (A. D. 354) asserts, "upon this Rock of the Confession is the building up of the Church." Jerome (A. D. 392) declares, that "Peter made his profession in the person of all the Apostles." Augustine (A. D. 398) affirms, that to Peter as "representing the whole Church, our Lord replied;" and again, "I know that I have often expounded that 'upon this Rock' is to be understood of Him whom Peter confessed;" and again, "upon this rock which thou hast confessed," and again, "upon this rock," that is, upon myself, said Christ, "will I build my Church." Chrysostom (A. D. 398) calls "the rock the faith of Peter's profession," and declares that "Christ said that he would build the Church on Peter's confession;" and in another place he writes, "upon this rock, he said not, upon Peter; for he did not build his Church upon the man, but upon his faith." Theodoret (A. D. 423) says, that "our Lord did fix the confession of Peter as a prop or foundation of the Church." These quotations might be multiplied. (See Barrow, Supp. I, Section 20.) They show that the Romish view of the passage was unknown in the early ages, and is the invention of a later and darker period; while the general view of these Primitive expositors seems to be, that the Rock referred to in the text as that upon which the Church is built, is the Confession of St. Peter, or rather He whom St. Peter confessed as "the Christ, the Son of the living God."

O the blessedness of the great truth in this confession ! May we stand upon this Rock—the Rock in this Confession of St. Peter—the Foundation, than which there is no other—the chief Corner-stone—Christ, the Divine Messiah. This stone is become the “Head of the Corner.” Before it superstition and usurpation, and sin will be rolled away. “Whosoever shall fall upon this stone shall be broken ; but on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder.” This Stone shall “fill the earth,” and then, blessed will all those be who shall have confessed its power. Who will not be a Peter, like a rock, to stand firmly to the Confession of Christ ? Who will not be willing to discard the promptings of “flesh and blood,” and to listen to the “revelings of our Father which is in heaven,” and to confess the Supremacy of Jesus, in the fervent spirit of the bold Apostle, and say, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God !”

ART. VII.—A MEMORIAL.

MESSRS. J. M. L. AND W. H. SCOVILL.

It has been often said, that at least in one respect, the Church of God and the natural world are alike. They each have far more numerous scenes of natural beauty on the one hand, or spiritual on the other, than the careless observer, or the thoughtless person, would imagine. We remember having this thought, for the natural world, brought very strikingly home to us some years since, when, as we were gazing on an extended prospect of unsurpassed and unimagined magnificence, we were told that, including ourselves, not more than thirty civilized persons had ever looked upon it. There it had been for centuries on centuries, resting in all its loneliness and grandeur; its lessons unread, its inspirations unfelt, save by a few wanderers whose footsteps had been led to it. And yet who could say that it had answered no purpose? Who could say it was nothing, that from its glorious mountain tops and its deep valleys, from its smiling lakes and its rushing torrents, from its spreading forests and its beetling crags, the "inarticulate voice of nature's praise," had gone up to God? The same principle holds all through, upon and beneath the earth and the sea. What beauties, what splendors, what prodigality and profusion of creative energy, live and pass away unseen by human eyes!

And even so it is in the Church. It is one of those similitudes of character, which go to show that nature and grace are from the same original. There, too, there are hidden glories and an unseen life. There, are heroic acts, and instances of self-denial, and penitential sorrows and devoted labors that are preserved in no human records. The nearest approach that was made to such a preservation was in the Diptychs, as they were called, of the Ancient Church; from which, in the Office for the Holy Communion, were read the names of those who had fallen asleep in Jesus, while at the close, the people gave thanks to God. Yet how imperfect, after all, was this memorial; and even it has passed away. Meantime all these unknown graces have not been unknown to God; they are written in a record that is better than any human one; and they shall all be known in that day, when, before they receive

the baptism of fire, "the earth and the sea shall give up their dead."

While, however, the analogy holds in the way just pointed out, there is one view, in which these unseen works of grace do live even upon earth. "No man liveth to himself alone, and no man dieth to himself alone." Each Christian soul is a centre of influences, the outgoings of which cannot be measured. In the Church of God, there is no individualization, no isolation. Each comes in some contact with another. Each has some influence upon another. Be the sphere great or small, this holds true. While, it is rarely they who have lived in the most exalted station, and wrought in the most extended spheres, that are chiefly to be considered here.

"What matter to ourselves the great?

What the heart touches, *that* controls its fate!
From the full galaxy we turn to one,
Dim to all else, but to ourselves the sun;
And still to each, in some obscurest life,
Breathes all the bliss, or kindles all the strife.
Wake up the countless dead! ask every ghost
Whose influence tortured or consoled the most;
How each pale spectre of the host would turn,
From the fresh laurel, to the glorious urn,
To point where rots beneath a nameless stone,
Some heart, in which had ebb'd and flow'd its own."

Thus from all souls influences go forth, as light proceeds from distant stars; and like it they travel on and on, till in other years, perhaps, and in far off places, they reach the spiritual eye of some human soul, and lead that soul on to heaven, or lure it down to hell.

These considerations, while they invest all life with a power and dignity, the contemplation of which is awful and subduing, give an especial glory to a Christian's life, and impart to it a special interest. In more ways than at first we are apt to think, are "the righteous" to be "had in everlasting remembrance."

To preserve, as our pages can preserve, and to extend, as they can extend, the honored memory of two faithful followers of the Lord Jesus, and two loyal sons of the Church, is our object now. And if the regards of personal friendship are added as we write, to those of one form of pastoral relation, our words will not, we trust, be on that account, less faithful. While, if the memory of these two brothers after the flesh and in the Faith, belongs more especially to the ancient Diocese in which we write, their good example enters into, and forms a part of that great heritage of holiness, which we receive from the ages before us, and whose treasures increase as years roll by.

These brothers, JAMES MITCHELL LAMSON SCOVILL and WILLIAM HENRY SCOVILL, belonged to a family, which is identified with the history of the Church in Connecticut. Their grandfather, the Rev. JAMES SCOVILL, was one of the Missionaries of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; holding the cure of the Parish in Waterbury, and officiating in adjacent places, from 1759 till after the war of the Revolution, when he withdrew to the Province of New Brunswick, where he died in 1808. He was one of that little band of zealous native-born laborers, who among many toils and persecutions, sustained the fortunes of our infant Church. For, one thing ought not to be forgotten in reference to the work of the Venerable Society in Connecticut. While she furnished with a liberality which will demand our grateful acknowledgment as long as we remain a Diocese, the means by which the Missionaries were principally supported, yet the land itself with almost no exception, supplied the men. Few of our early Missionaries were foreigners. Mostly, they were the sons of those sires who had left the English Church, returning to the faith of their forefathers. It was of God's good mercy that it was so. For it gave the Church, so to speak, the character of indigenous upgrowth from the soil.

In other ways too, this family was connected with the fortunes of the Church. The step-mother of the Missionary was the widow of the first Churchman in the town which afterwards formed his cure; and both here and in New Brunswick, by intermarriage and descent, it has always numbered faithful and useful Clergymen among its members. Such a parentage is an honorable one.

The brothers were both born in Waterbury: the elder in 1789, and the younger in 1796. Their early advantages were those enjoyed by young men of their age at that time. All the educational training which they received over and above what was afforded by the common schools, was at the Episcopal Academy in Cheshire, then presided over by the Rev. Dr. BRONSON. Till about 1816, they both continued residents of their native village; and then, while the elder still remained there, the younger went forth as so many others have done; though unlike many of them, he returned again after the lapse of some years to join his brother in a career of honorable usefulness, in which they went on hand in hand, till death first called the younger home.

To Lamson Scovill, more than to any other man, the young city of Waterbury owes its prosperity. His strong and practical mind early saw its advantages in natural situation for all

those arts of manufacture, which form so important an element in the prosperity of New England. When he reached a conclusion, and it was never hastily, never on a partial survey only of its grounds, never without careful and solitary consideration, he always acted. And in most cases, to act was to succeed. So it was in this. Soon after he attained his majority, he turned his attention to this important matter, and laid the foundations of that long course of honorable prosperity with which it pleased God to bless him. In 1827, his younger brother was associated with him, and from that period their native town became the home of both. To use the well chosen words of another, "From that hour, though a passing cloud obscured their prospects by the burning of their factory, a tide of success poured in upon the brothers which is allotted to few—the honorable reward of a course of indomitable industry, perseverance and judicious management. Never were two men better calculated for each other—both were actuated by the highest impulses of integrity, and their qualifications, though different, were so happily blended, such was the confidence between them, that in all matters of business they were known only as one. Both at the time of their death were more or less identified with nearly every kindred establishment in the place—and one can hardly turn his eye without being reminded of their joint participation in the progress and adornment of their native city—the welfare of which formed one of the leading objects of their ambition."

It is always a satisfaction to turn to a career like this, of persevering, upright, patient industry. Especially at a time when so many are "making haste to be rich," and so "falling into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition," it is thoroughly a comfort to point to such examples of probity and strict integrity. It is specially well to tell those just entering into life, that the most honorable success is the truest also: that the blessing of God rests, as nowhere else, on such honest labors: and that the best measures of what even the world regards as prosperity, are given to those, who by such a course as that of which we are speaking, avoid that coveting after money, which causes so many to "err from the faith, and pierce themselves through with many sorrows."

What lay at the foundation of the whole for these brothers, was their religious principle; not a mere feeling now flashing up, and now dying out: not a sentiment too nice to be brought into contact with the toil and recoil, the wear and tear of everyday life, and so kept in a sort of luxurious seclusion for Sun-

days and sacred services ; not an inert mis-named faith, which could say to a suffering brother, Depart in peace, be warmed and filled ; not a sour, censorious severity, harsh with all others, and easy only with itself ; but a living principle, which went into the family, and the community, and the business, and which, if it found strength in God's House on His own day of rest, yet used the strength so gained through all the week besides.

And now, this brings us to that of which we are more particularly called to speak, their position and relations as members of that branch of the Church of God on earth, in which they were baptized and confirmed, and in whose full communion they died.

They were Churchmen, not more by hereditary descent and training, than from firm convictions, and an intelligent appreciation of the claims of our Communion. Their loyalty knew no wavering ; and what they held they held not as half afraid they were wrong, balancing here and hesitating there, but in the generous confidence of a well-grounded assurance of the truth. Nor was theirs, the mere comfortable satisfaction of holding the truth, a sort of aristocracy of being in the right. They recognized that great principle which so many seem to forget, that responsibilities wait on privileges : that gifts involve correspondent labors : and that from them to whom much is given, much will be required. And so they were ready not only to be almoners for God, and to give freely of what was entrusted to their stewardship, but they were ready also to work. In the Diocese, in the Parish, in the Sunday School, as Trustees of the College, in all lines where anything was to be done, they could be relied on.

Of the large alms which the yearly record of St. JOHN'S PARISH shows, much was given by them. And the endowment of the Professorship of Natural Science in Trinity College, came from them, and one connected with them, not only in blood, but in even closer ties. One who was specially charged with the collection of that endowment, can never forget the way in which it was made. There had been some correspondence on the subject ; and at his own request for some definite proposition, it had been suggested to the elder brother, that he should consider whether he ought not to give the half. But it had been done without any urging or arguing, without anything in short beyond the suggestion of the consideration of duty. When the day for the decision came, he met the person with whom the communications alluded to were had, at his own door, and extending his hand, said : " I have

thought ever your suggestions; you are right: it is my duty to do it, and it shall be done." Not another word was spoken at the moment, but the pressure of the hand that was interchanged, and the moistened eyes with which the two looked at each other, said more than words. The same spirit was shown by the younger brother, even then stricken with the illness that brought him to the grave. And two other noble gifts—the allusion to which the living will pardon—completed on that day a work of love for Christ and His Church, which shall bear fruit long after he who came to ask help in his Master's cause, and they who so worthily gave it, are slumbering in the grave.

Is it necessary after this, to add that these brothers had that childlike, simple trust in the Redeemer and His suffering merits, which they who are trained in the grace of God, as the Church would train all her children, if men would let her, must always have? Alas! for an age which can make it needful. If it is, then here it is said distinctly. On this their lives were grounded, this made their deaths serene, in this they will rise in the resurrection of the just.

Lovely in their lives, they were not long divided in their deaths. The younger was called to his better home at a distance from his earthly one, though not entirely among strangers, on the 27th of March, 1854; and the elder entered into life on the 15th of May, 1857, amid the scenes and the friends of his early years.

The days of their burials were days to be noted. The silence of the Lord's Day rested on the city. Frequent emblems of mourning met the eye. The gloom was universal. Their fellow citizens and brother parishioners offered spontaneously all testimonies of respect. All was real. And he whose duty it was to commit all that was mortal of them to the trust of earth, felt as he spoke the solemn words, and heard the falling earth, that never should he utter those sublime consolations over better citizens, truer men, more faithful sons of CHRIST and His Holy Church.

There rest, till at "the judgment seat,
Though changed and glorified each face,
Not unremembered ye may meet,
For endless ages to embrace."

BOOK NOTICES.

MISSIONARY TRAVELS and Researches in South Africa; including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa, and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; thence across the Continent, down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean. By DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL. D., D. C. L. With two Maps by ARROWSMITH, a Portrait on Steel, and numerous Illustrations. One Volume. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 8vo. pp. 732. New Haven: E. Downes.

What Dr. Barth and his companions have done for North Central Africa, Mr. Livingstone has done for South Central Africa. He is a Scotchman by birth, a member of the Scotch Kirk in religion, and was sent to Southern Africa in 1840, by the London Missionary Society, where he has been traveling for sixteen years. Starting from Algoa Bay on the Southern coast, he penetrated the interior and reached the Western coast at Loanda, latitude about ten degrees South. This is a Portuguese city of about twelve thousand inhabitants, now rapidly decaying, and has a Romish Cathedral, a Bishop, Jesuit institutions, &c., &c., and several Negro priests. From thence he pursued his way in a Southeastern direction, across the entire Continent, traversing the great water-shed of the country, where the Nile, the Congo, and the Zambesi have their origin. This region is not elevated more than four thousand feet above the level of the Sea, and the traditional opinion of vast mountains, covered with snow in those latitudes, is probably fabulous. He pursued his way down the Zambesi, a vast river, and reached the Indian Ocean at Quillimane, latitude 17° South. The commercial interests of that region are dormant under Portuguese misrule and imbecility. He took passage at Quillimane, for England, July 12th, 1856. The book has great attractions, not so much as a record of travel and adventure, though of these it is full, but as opening up to the eye of the civilized world a new country, and dissipating a multitude of wrong impressions. Hitherto Africa has been generally represented as a vast and barren region, unproductive and inhospitable. Whether Professor Guyot's theory of the origin of this Continent be correct or not, yet the physical conformation and features of Africa are found to be nearly similar to those of South America. Vast portions of it are very fertile, well watered, having a teeming population, and capable of being the abode of science, commerce, and Christianity. So promising is the region opened by Mr. Livingstone, that a deputation from the British Association for the Advancement of Science had an interview lately with the Earl of Clarendon, to represent to the Government the importance of sending a vessel to survey the entrance to the Zambesi river, in South Africa, and to ascend the same as far as practicable for navigation. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen:—Rev. Dr. Lloyd, (President of the British Association,) Rev. Dr. Robinson, Sir R. Murchison, Mr. Macgregor Laird, and General Sabine. The Rev. Dr. Livingstone accompanied the deputation. Viscount Goderich, M. P., and Major-General Thomson, M. P., also presented memorials from the Leeds and Bradford Chambers of Commerce upon the subject of commercial intercourse with the parts of Africa recently explored by Dr. Livingstone. Efforts are also to be made to secure the coöperation of the Portuguese Government, whose influence preponderates at the mouth of the Zambesi River.

This large volume, to the naturalist, the philologist, the philanthropist, the political economist and the Christian, possesses much interest. The author greatly lacks scientific qualifications to describe what he saw; and his book is wanting in arrangement and generalization. He says, "he would rather cross the African Continent again, than attempt to write another book," and we readily believe it. But his present volume is full of valuable information notwithstanding. The Bechuana language is the court language of Southern Central Africa. Dr. Liv-

Livingstone was able to travel comfortably with it fifteen thousand miles beyond the settlement from which he set out. It has nearly supplanted the languages of many tribes. The Bible has been translated into this important tongue by Mr. Moffat. The wretched and mischievous effect of sectism, in weakening the power of Christianity in South Africa, Mr. Livingstone confesses and mourns over. So it is and must be the world over.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES in North and Central Africa. Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H. B. M.'s. Government, in the Years 1849-1855. By HENRY BARTH, Ph. D., D. C. L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, &c., &c. Volume II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 709. New Haven: E. Downes.

We gave in our last No. a sketch of the origin of the Expedition in which Dr. Barth was engaged, and of the general character of the results secured by it. We propose, when the work is completed, to give a summary of it. These discoveries of Dr. Barth and of Mr. Livingstone, bid fair to effect great changes in commerce, and, sooner or later, in the social condition of Africa. Dr. Barth is a thoroughly educated man, and his work is full of information and is written in good English, though its author is a German.

POETS OF THE 19TH CENTURY. Selected and edited by the Rev. ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT. With English and American additions, arranged by EVERT A. DUYCKINCK, editor of "Cyclopedia of American Literature." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 4to. pp. 616. New Haven: E. Downes.

This really elegant volume will be a most appropriate Gift-Book for the Season. The names of its Editors are a guarantee for the purity of sentiment which characterizes the selections. And this is everything in a work of this sort, read at moments when the heart craves sympathy and is most susceptible of impression. We allude to this, because one illustrated work of the season, issued, too, by a leading New York house, throws the embellishments of high Art around a character who ought to be consigned to oblivion or infamy. The selections in the present volume are also made with exquisite taste; several of them are among the finest gems of our language; and the Preface of the English Editor evinces that he knows how to appreciate them. They are taken from nearly one hundred and fifty of the Poets of the Nineteenth Century.

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It is published in elegant small 4to. form, printed on superfine tinted paper, richly bound in extra cloth beveled, gilt edges, price five dollars.

We will also do the publishers and our readers the kindness to add, that Messrs. Harper & Brothers will send this work by mail, securely enveloped in thick wrappers, postage paid, (for any distance in the United States under three thousand miles,) on receipt of five dollars.

We will also do ourselves the justice to say, that could we have had the American Editor's ear, we would have protested against some of the American Poets admitted, and some omitted.

INSPIRATION: A DISCOURSE, by EDWIN M. WHEELLOCK, at Dover, New Hampshire. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 16.

In calling attention to this piece of blasphemous raving, and such it really is, our only object is to place before our readers one of the latest but strictly legitimate developments of a certain school of "thinkers" at the present day, who are more numerous, more influential, more zealous and active, and who occupy posi-

tions of more importance, than is generally supposed. However we may classify men, who have almost no common bond of union among themselves, whether as Bunsenists, or Arnoldites, or Broad Schoolmen, or Bushnellites, or Unitarians, and however they may differ among themselves, as on many other points, so also as to the fullness with which they carry out their principles to their legitimate results, they all agree in one thing; in denying the office of the Church as "The pillar and ground of the Truth," and in denying that view of Inspiration which has always been held and taught in the Church. To what extent these infidel notions of Inspiration are held in our own Branch of the Church, we do not know. That they are held and taught at all among us, we do not affirm. But there has never been a great movement in the English Church which has not been felt among ourselves; and the present powerful reaction from the extreme *ecclesiasticism*, and from the tendency to *Medievalism*, but lately so rife at Oxford; a reaction in which such men as Macnaught, and Jowett, and Williams, and Stanley, and Maurice, and Donaldson, and Kingsley, figure conspicuously, is likely enough to exert its influence this side the Atlantic. In that movement, Inspiration is one, and only one, of the leading points at issue; though some of the names we have mentioned are not so immediately connected with it.

This question of Inspiration is a vital question. To destroy the authority of Inspiration, and of the Bible as an inspired Book, to sink Inspiration into a mere "breathing in of higher influences," differing only in degree, and yet seen alike in kind, in inanimate and animate nature, in the poet, the orator, the sculptor, the warrior, and the prophet, of course destroys the foundation on which those Doctrines and Institutions rest, which challenge our acceptance on the ground of Inspiration or Revelation alone. The human mind, unaided, never could have discovered or originated them; and as they are remedies, adapted to our fallen nature, so human reason in its pride has always, under one plea or another, rebelled against them. But we have never, in our own country, from any man professing to be a Minister of Christ, seen a more unblushing utterance of this impious self-conceit, than in the "Discourse" before us. It rivals in horrid blasphemy, Paine's "Age of Reason," and the sneering attacks of Morgan, Tindal, and Bolingbroke; it is only a little more decent. Here are specimens:

"By an unhappy and superstitious confusion of thought, notions have been fastened in these times to the idea of inspiration, that are both unscriptural and untrue. It has been shut up within that small section of the world's literature called the Bible, denied to all books but the books of the Bible, and denied to all men but the writers of those books. And this *fencing in* has been pushed to its limits by the ascription of an *infallibility*, such as nowhere else is seen." * * *

"Here then we see the holy spirit inspiring not alone the old prophets, but the animals and plants, the stars above and the waters beneath, with all that is between, the dull dead matter of which the world is made, and even the abodes of hell. What terrible radicals were David, and Moses, and Isaiah! How totally 'unevangelical' are their ideas of inspiration! What shocking 'infidelity' is this, to consider the planets as inspired to travel their orbits round, and to look upon the animals and planets as filled with the holy spirit, when they were simply performing natural functions!" * * * "Inspiration, then, we understand to be simply the breathing in of higher influences.

"Of course there are many degrees. There is the natural inspiration which flows from a lively appreciation of the beautiful and sublime in nature. The degree of its enjoyment depends upon fineness of organization. It comes to the instructed sight in every aspect of nature, 'whether it be the purity of virgin morning, or the sombre gray of a day of clouds, or the solemn pomp and majesty of night; whether it be the chaste lines of the crystal, the minute petals of the fringed daisy, or the waving outline of the distant hills.' Through these manifold forms and living garments of the All-Beautiful, comes the inspiration that we call natural; for earth and sky, and all between, are sources of constant inspiration to all well-constituted men.

"Above this is found the spiritual, or poetic, or human inspiration. Where the prompter is the spirit of man, inspiring us as an orator by his burning words, as a

musician by his sweet sounds, as an artist by the contrasts and harmonies of color; or when, in the stillness of meditation, thought bursts into flame, and soul-visions project themselves in exalted winged words; or the many-sided poet shapes into perfect utterance all the truths of human nature and the longings of the human soul; or when pondering the ideas of the infinite and eternal, the mind detects the immensity of the relations it bears to heaven and immortality, the frosts of indifference melt away, the old formulas of religious instruction break their husk, and give forth the seeds of wonder and of love.

"When the French at Sebastopol, recoiling twice before the grim face of the Malakoff, at last swarmed over ramparts, ditches, batteries and men, chanting the forbidden Marseillaise, it was the inspiration of that grand war-song that bore them on to victory." * * * *

"In the Psalms and prophecies, in Job, and in Revelations, we have the higher or spiritual, or poetic inspiration.

"While only in the gospel of the Crucified One, only in the words and life of the Son of God, our Master and Lord, do we find the inspiration that is divine, undimmed by the touch of error." * * * *

"This darkened Jewish fire of inspiration which Calvin and his spiritual progeny absorbed in preference to the undimmed light of the embodied 'Word,' has generated, as a natural result, the smoke of falsities and multiform heresies of dogma; engendering bigotry and 'evangelical' conceit, and enwrapping every saving truth of Christ in moral midnight.

"See what a monstrous chain of doctrinal errors come trooping in. *A Trinity of gods, made up of a Father, a Son, and a bird. A vicarious atonement, of which the essential virtue lies in the literal blood of Christ.* An instantaneous regeneration, the fruit of an eternal sovereign election. A justification grounded upon faith alone, to the exclusion of love. *An imputed, not an imparted righteousness. The resurrection of the body. A last judgment at the end of the world.* A personal second coming of the Lord in the clouds of heaven. And an actual conflagration of the globe by fire. All these are the outbirth of the dead, literal, sacrificial inspiration, of Jewish fallible men." (The italics are ours.)

"If, then, this body of doctrine, so replete with festering error, has its foundation laid in wrong views of Scripture authority, how pressing the necessity of a true philosophy of inspiration, one which shall discriminate between the DIVINE WORD, and the human and earthly matter, in which it lies embedded, like dust of gold in California placer. * * * *

"Many a pious female reads with edifying delight the song of Solomon, who would reject with horror the songs of Byron, or Moore, though they are written from the same kind of voluptuous, poetic inspiration.

"See, too, how with eyes askance, the votaries of book infallibility hate science. Every new stake that science plants, orthodoxy hastens to pluck up, though more often it merely impales itself. It sees the positive conflict between the letter of Scripture and the irresistible conclusions of science. It sees that the stubborn facts cannot be hid, and so it invents fantastic solutions of knotty texts, murdering syntax and etymology outright. 'It hears that Smith, or Owen, or Lyell, are reading God's handwriting in the rocks, affirming an age for our earth transcending by millions of years the petty chronology of the Mosaic period. Or it learns that Agassiz and Morton, scanning the field of anthropology, and exploring the archives of history, have gathered a mountain mass of testimony, going to prove a diversity of human races, instead of referring all mankind to a single pair. And its panic at these results reminds us of the poet's picture of old Priam's fright, when his curtains are drawn at dead of night, and word conveyed that half his Troy was burned.

"Only through belief in the American prophet Garrison, can come the true belief in the Hebrew prophet Moses. Such is the position of the popular religion in America to-day."

We think we have quoted enough. We avow our firm belief that on the ground of this question of Inspiration, and of the Church as the Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ, is to be fought the great battle of Infidelity at the present day; and

fought, too, within the ranks of professed disciples of Christ. How far Churchmen can fraternize with bodies which hold or tolerate such heresies, is another question, and an important one, which we do not here touch.

SERMONS OF THE REV. C. H. SPURGEON, of London. Second Series. New York : Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 441. New Haven : F. T. Jarman.

The first thing that strikes us on opening this volume, is, that these Sermons are not all of them new to us. One of them, Sermon III, from the text, Ps. cxxvii, 2, "For so he giveth his beloved sleep," we heard several months since from a popular preacher of our Church; and we gather from the papers of the day that several of the Sermons, by which the same Clergyman has gained a high and paying reputation as a preacher, were taken from the same or a similar source. If this is not "obtaining goods under false pretences," we know not what is. The same Clergyman has been somewhat conspicuous in publicly rebuking some of his clerical brethren for not marching under a certain party flag, and submitting to a certain party drill. However, Churchmen are learning more and more that true piety never boasts of itself, nor blows its own trumpet; and that there are some other things besides Charity which (for a little while at least) can be made to cover a multitude of sins.

We have studied these Sermons of Spurgeon, to see if we can find in them the secret of his popularity as a preacher; and we have come to the conclusion, that his Sermons have been thoroughly pruned before committing them to the press; and that much of his popularity must depend upon mere manner. If it is universally true that *poeta nascitur*, it is not universally and equally true that *orator fit*. There is a certain charm or fascination in the true orator, which can never be acquired; and though this higher region of eloquence is not requisite to ministerial usefulness, for multitudes of the most successful ministers have lacked it, still it, and it alone, can account for the prodigious effects produced by the delivery of certain discourses by certain men. We see enough in these Sermons of Mr. Spurgeon to attract present attention. There is a painful familiarity in speaking of the awful mysteries of the eternal world, which reminds us of Finney, and Burchard, and Boyle, of our own country; and there is a studied violation of the conventional proprieties of social life in his dealing with men and with human opinions, which will of course, for the moment, please the masses, as it is in a vein which they can appreciate. All this is, of course, of the *ad captandum* style, and will soon wear out. Thus, in a printed report of his Sermon on Sunday Morning, July 5th, Mr. Spurgeon is reported to have said, "And I just announce, that the first chance I get to preach in a parish Church, I will do it, and risk the consequences. They are our structures; they belong to all England; we can give them to whom we please; and if, to-morrow, the will of the sovereign people should transfer those edifices to another denomination, there is nothing in the world that can prevent."

The essential vulgarity of the man, is seen in the following report of another of his Sermons: "The speaker proposed to treat of the second part of the text, 'My expectation is from him.' Looking significantly for a moment, and pointing with his finger as if to some one on whom his eye had fixed, he said, 'You have a grandfather, or an old grandmother, or a great aunt. She has some thousands of pounds. Of course, you do not care for *them*, but your affection for her is quite overwhelming. You torment her with your anxieties about her. Your frequent inquiries after her health and the tenderness of your embraces are extremely teasing. You are waiting upon her continually. (Great laughter.) Why is this? Your expectation is from her. By-and-by you will hear that that health you have so tenderly inquired after is broken down, and then—that she is dead. You will mourn and grieve over her, and dress yourself in the deepest black, but oh! there will be a magnificent consolation in those thousands of pounds that have come at last!" (Laughter.)

Speaking of the duty of prayer in times of doubt, he said, "the proper way is to go to God straight at once, and before going to anybody else, and before you

have made up your mind. People often come to me for advice—mostly young people—who ask me if I advise them to get married—(more laughter)—whereas everybody knows that that is a subject on which people do not like advice, and on which they make up their minds on their own account."

On the whole, we conclude there is a vast deal of the merest "clap-trap" in this Spurgeon; and yet several of his printed Sermons contain much important truth and well put.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, devoted to Literature, Art and Politics. November, 1857. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company.

The appearance of a new Monthly from Boston, with so much of pretension and such an imposing list of contributors, is one of the literary events of the season. There is available ability enough in the country to make this Monthly the Blackwood of American literature. But will it be such? That is the question. One drawback to its success will be the intense provincialism of everything really genuine that comes from Boston. One of our Contributors, years ago, hit this Boston weakness in his description of the "Mutual Admiration Society;" and he hit it so well that the *sobriquet* has stuck to the Boston clique ever since. By the by, the late R. W. Griswold attributed the authorship of that Article to Bishop Doane of New Jersey; though it has not in it the slightest mark of his peculiar style. But this feature alone would not kill the new work. People would laugh at the "Mutual Admirations," and would read their Monthly notwithstanding. The great difficulty then, in the way of making this work what it ought to be, will be, we fear, the want of a true and broad Catholicity. For these men, if they are to discuss high questions of Christian Art, and Christian Literature, and Christian Politics, cannot go back much beyond themselves without discovering, what some of them seem never to have discovered, that there were some such things as these even before Boston was ever heard of; and that there is a certain breadth and depth of tone belonging to them to which alone the heart of Christendom will truly respond. Will the new Monthly recognize this key note? We shall see.

And then, again, if Christianity and Politics are to be served up as a regular dish, and these writers are to write in earnest, and not as mere abstractionists, we can easily enough give a sort of Yankee guess what the Bill of Fare will be, with such names as Emerson, and Whittier, and Quincy, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Paike Godwin, to cater for the public. If, therefore, the new Magazine is to be intensely sectional, intensely "humanitarian," and intensely radical and revolutionary, its history can be written at the start. It will blaze away like a sky-rocket for a while, to the astonishment and admiration of its friends, and die out at last like a sky-rocket, with an explosion, or for lack of material to keep up the combustion.

The best, though not the ablest Article in the present No., is "Pendlam," a Modern Reformer, said to be by the author of "Neighbor Jackwood." Wendell Holmes' wit scintillates a little in the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," but he writes better poetry than prose. Emerson oracles his *quantum* of transcendental moonshine. He has four Sonnets, which may be read in any direction, upward or downward, forward or backward, horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally almost equally well. The ablest Articles do not bear the Magazine stamp; and there are two or three not above the average mark of newspaper stories. On the whole, the Number has talent enough to promise well in this respect. But whether, with such a class of contributors, the work will possess unity of character, and still subserve the great cause of Christian Art and Christian Literature in our Republic, remains to be proved.

The December No. has since appeared. The mask is thrown off, and the stand taken. Henceforth there is no doubt where the "Atlantic Monthly" is to be found. There are two Articles in this No., one on "Thomas Carlyle," and one entitled "Where will it End?" which are thoroughly charged with the virus of the William Lloyd Garrison School; a School boasting of its liberality, yet made up of the most bitterly intolerant men in the country; men who seem to strive to outdo

each other, in uttering blasphemies against God and Religion, and in saying wicked things against the greatest and best men of our Republic. Washington, especially, is a special object of their malignant hate. We presume there is in the country enough of religious indifferentism, and provincial toadyism, and latent and open infidelity, as when combined, to give to this Monthly quite an enthusiastic reception.

LADY HUNTINGDON PORTRAYED; including brief sketches of some of her friends and co-laborers. By the author of "The Missionary Teacher," &c. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 319.

This sketch of the celebrated Lady Huntingdon, prepared by an admirer, and evidently a Wesleyan Methodist, presents an instructive commentary upon the religious history of England during the latter half of the last century. It is a well written sketch of her life, her conversion and religious zeal, her abounding liberality, her sympathy with the Wesleys, and Whitfield, and Fletcher; nor does it conceal the fact of her formal separation from the Established Church and the organization of the "Lady Huntingdon Connection," in 1783, and the consequent withdrawal from her Chapels of such men as Romaine, and Venn, and Townsend. In the breach which occurred between the Wesleys and Whitfield, in 1770, she adopted the strong Calvinistic doctrines of the latter, and wrote to Mr. Wesley that as long as he held certain sentiments, her pulpits were shut against him, and so they remained until her death. With all her faults of character, we doubt not that much of her eccentricity, and of the irregularity for which she is to be held responsible, grew up, in the outset, from the deep yearnings of her heart for a truer and deeper spiritual life than she found in the superficial morality and godless formalism which so much prevailed in the Church. It is easy enough to sneer at the Lady Huntingdon; it is better to learn wisdom from a development which has now become a matter of history, and which has resulted in the formation of perhaps the largest religious body of our country. To us, as Churchmen, the moral of her history is, that Apostolic life must be infused into our Apostolic Ministry, and Creeds, and Worship.

THE PSALMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, with Historical Introductions, and a General Introduction to the whole Book. By F. G. HIBBARD, Author of History and Geography of Palestine, etc. In two Parts. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 8vo. pp. 589.

There is not, we think, any one surer test of a truly devout mind, and of a state of preparedness for the worship and blessedness of the heavenly world, than a growing delight in the Psalms of David. Such, too, has been the judgment of the holiest saints on earth. The learned Salmasius, on his death-bed, said, "I have lost a world of time; if I had one year more, I would spend it in reading DAVID'S PSALMS and PAUL'S EPISTLES." The author of this volume has been industrious in gathering and compiling information as to the chronological order of the Psalms, their authorship, and the circumstances under which they were written. In all this, he adopts the most approved opinions; and in this respect especially his work is valuable. In his appreciation of the deep spirituality of the Psalms, and in the clearness with which he sees, everywhere, in them, the Person and Offices of JESUS CHRIST, and the glories and felicities of a brighter and better world, the author is thoroughly orthodox; and is in grateful contrast with the cold neologism of such men as Whately and the German School. As a practical Commentary, the work makes no pretensions; and is not to be compared in this respect with Bishop Horne, whose Commentary we wish was more thoroughly studied in the Church. But as a most important adjunct to the intelligent study of the Psalms, we know not where so much really valuable matter can be found in so small a compass.

THE ROMANY RYE. A Sequel to "Lavengro." By GEORGE BORROW, Author of "The Bible in Spain," "The Gypsies of Spain," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 8vo. pp. 141. New Haven: E. Downes.

It is difficult to tell precisely all the objects which the author hoped to accom-

plish by "Romany Rye." Judging from his Appendix, however, which is a long and somewhat ill-tempered defense of "Lavengro," we take the author to be a sort of grumbler in general, a kind of social scavenger, always a very disagreeable sort of body, and yet one who after all does a great deal of good. "Lavengro," it seems, disappointed the author. We conclude it did not sell. But so far from attacking critics, or appealing to public sympathy, as an abused man, and the victim of abuse from *castes* of all sorts whose intolerance, and shallowness, and vices, he has exposed, we conclude that the secret of his failure is of another kind. The truth is, he has been thumbing one string too long. The public have got tired of this perpetual slang about gypsies, and tinkers, and thimble-riggers, and blacklegs, and horse-jockies, even if it is cleverly told, and if its sly hits or open thrusts at Romanism and Germanism, and a rotten aristocracy, and snobism, and humbuggery in general, are well put, and well deserved. Besides, when Mr. Borrow takes to finding fault with the institutions of his country themselves, as well as their abuses, and holds up to contempt the noblest names in her history, he will be very apt to learn something about Mr. George Borrow which he never knew before. A good many men have learned a similar lesson in a similar way.

THE CITY OF SIN AND ITS CAPTURE BY IMMANUEL'S ARMY. An Allegory. By Rev. E. F. REMINGTON, A. M., of the Protestant Episcopal Church. With an Introduction by Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 336.

With Mr. Remington, as an author, we do not remember to have met before; but his Allegory, in all respects, in conception, language, taste, style, sentiment, sensibility, refinement, and doctrine, is quite in the vein of the Cheever School. The Allegory begins thus: "The City of Sin is built in the form of a circle. The streets, like so many radii, run from the centre to the circumference. Every street, lane, and dark alley, is paved with human skulls. The walls, of great thickness and exceeding height, are built of human bones, cemented with blood and tears." As a work of art, the book reminds us of the coarse, rough daubs, the pictures of demons, ghosts and hobgoblins which hang upon the walls of third and fourth-rate Romish Churches to frighten silly people, and to disgust sensible ones. We are happy to believe that there is among Churchmen no appetite to be fed with such intellectual and æsthetical *pabulum*.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PASTORS AND PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES, on the Chaplaincy of the General Government, viewed in its connection with extending the Redeemer's Name in the world. By LORENZO D. JOHNSON, Author of "Government Chaplains," &c. Washington, D. C. 1857. 8vo. pp. 31.

The object of Dr. Johnson in this pamphlet, is to call attention to the general subject of the Chaplaincy of our General Government. He treats upon the authority under which Chaplains have been appointed; the objections urged from time to time against their employment; the totally inadequate number to meet the wants of our Army and Navy; and especially the disgraceful practice of late witnessed, of men professing themselves Ministers of Christ, and yet hanging about Washington, electioneering for the appointment of Chaplain of Congress, log-rolling, button-pulling, fawning, and playing the sycophant, to the deep dishonor of themselves, and of the religion which they profess. The author urges upon "pastors and people to memorialize Congress, praying it to abandon the system which invites electioneering for a chaplainship, by a return to the usage of the Fathers, who employed those clergy only, who were located in the city or district in which Congress held its sessions; also praying for the organization of a Chaplain Board, for the purpose of elevating the standard of Chaplain qualifications, by opening the door only to devout and consecrated men; also for creating a new security that the supply of Chaplains in the Army and Navy shall hereafter come nearer to the demand."

Dr. Johnson gives some facts not generally known. He states, that since the year 1813, "There have served in the United States Army, for a longer or shorter

period, at posts and hospitals, eighty Chaplains. Of these, as nearly as we have been able to ascertain, forty-three have been Episcopalians; ten Presbyterians; five Baptists; three Methodists; three Roman Catholics; one Universalist; one of the Dutch Reformed Church; one Lutheran, and twelve whose church relations are not known."

"The first Chaplain appointed to the United States Navy, received his commission from President John Adams, and was ordered on board the first frigate ready for a cruise. From that time to the present, there have been appointed seventy-four Naval Chaplains; twenty-two of whom are Episcopalians; ten Presbyterians; nine Methodists; five Baptists; four Congregationalists; one Universalist; one Unitarian, and twenty-three whose church relations are not now known."

In respect to the great deficiency of Chaplains, it appears that in the Army, the United States and Territories are set off into six great military departments, embracing about ninety forts, barracks, and stations, besides twenty-six arsenals; occupied by officers and men, in all varying from twelve to eighteen thousand. And yet, to meet these wants, there are but *twenty-two* Chaplains employed.

As to the Navy, our present authorized naval force amounts to nearly nine thousand men, composing about ninety distinct crews, or congregations,—there being about eighty-six vessels of war, with crews numbering from fifty, to five, six, and seven hundred men. There are, in our Navy, but *twenty-four* Chaplains.

Dr. Johnson's pamphlet is an important one. We hope our Houses of Congress will frown upon any "Minister" who allows himself, in the language of another, to be "trotted out" as a candidate. A member of Congress openly declared,

"At the opening of every session of Congress ministers come here, either in person or through their agents, and log-roll to obtain the position of Chaplain. I think it high time this system should be abolished."

Said another:

"For myself I confess I have witnessed electioneering efforts connected with the Chaplaincy of this House, which are not compatible with the ministerial character."

It is high time that a public sentiment was aroused upon this whole subject, both to meet positive wants and to correct disgraceful evils.

SCEPTICISM A FOLLY: Five Letters occasioned by a Geological Article in the Westminster Review for July, 1857. By ADAM TOWNLEY, D. D., Incumbent of Paris, C. W. Toronto: 1857. 16mo. pp. 27.

We fully agree with the Reverend author as to the folly of modern scepticism; and the shallowness of most of the arguments with which Christianity is assailed in these days by some of the votaries of Physical Science. At the same time, there are no stronger believers in the Mosaic account of the Creation, than some of our modern Geologists; indeed, they affirm that that account is illustrated and confirmed by the progressive and more perfect developments of life as exhibited in geological researches; and they have quite as little sympathy with the infidelity of Agassiz, and Gliddon, and Nott, and the Westminster Review school, as the author can possibly have. We have no fears for the Bible. Its Chronology, its asserted Unity of the Human Race, and its historical fidelity, have outlived the sneers of the French infidels of the last century, and are even borne witness to by the researches of modern Science. The God of Nature is the God of Revelation; and He has not affirmed in one, what He has denied in the other; we only need to read both aright.

THE TRUE WOMAN: Or Life and Happiness at Home and Abroad. By JESSE T. PECK, D. D., Author of "The Central Idea of Christianity." New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 400.

The author of this book, Dr. Peck, is a Wesleyan Methodist; his work is strictly didactic, and is illustrated, he says, here and there by examples of the "true woman" in real life. But his examples are all taken from the Methodist denomination, with its multiform machinery, its Camp-Meetings, and Love Feasts, &c.,

&c., where woman, forgetting the injunction of the Apostle, and the modesty and instinctive delicacy of her sex, becomes the public exhorter and leader of devotion. The "true woman" must always revolt at such a public exhibition of herself; and as society advances in true refinement and social culture, the Methodists will abandon this as they are abandoning other of their peculiarities. Indeed, the whole genius and spirit of Methodism is of necessity undergoing a transformation. Its interior life, its practical workings, its tone and temper towards the Church, its discipline, its hierarchical despotism, its doctrinal steadfastness—all these are changing, and in the older parts of our country, are changing rapidly. Dr. Peck's book contains a great many good things, and some which are important outside the circle for which they were written.

THE ITINERANT SIDE; or Pictures of Life in the Itinerancy. Third thousand. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 268.

With all the other "sides" of the Ministry, there is, it seems, an itinerant side. Admirably suited as the itinerancy is for pioneer work, it is ill adapted to a well-organized state of society, where ministerial efficiency depends upon the minister himself becoming inwrought into the social structure, and upon the place he thus gains in the knowledge, affections and confidence of his people. This book is very well written, and, we doubt not, gives one of the features of Methodism truthfully. We see here one of the weakest points of the system, and where, sooner or later, it will yield to the force of circumstances.

ANNALS OF CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM. By the Author of "The Lives of the Popes." Ancient Martyrs. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 407.

A mere compend, evidently made by a one-sided man, well-enough in its way, but not possessing much value.

GUY LIVINGSTONE; or, "Thorough." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 339. New Haven: E. Downes.

This is an English reprint—a highly-wrought tale of merely worldly passion, effectively told. Its spirit and tone are thoroughly immoral.

THE OBJECT OF LIFE. A Narrative illustrating the Insufficiency of the World and the Sufficiency of Christ. Four Illustrations. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1857. 12mo. pp. 357.

This story is one of the publications of the London Religious Tract Society, from which the volume before us is a reprint, "with slight alterations." The story is well written and forcibly illustrates one great fact. But like a great many books, and a great many preachers, it does not go, nor look beyond that fact; mere conversion is everything; while life, culture, growth, means, Sacraments, are nothing. It is a good book for a certain purpose, and as far as it goes.

THE HASHKESH EATER; being passages from the Life of a Pythagorean. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 371. New Haven: E. Downes.

Whether we have fact or fiction in these pretended confessions of a "hash-eesh eater," we know not; yet none but a perverted and depraved heart can feast upon such insane ravings, even though the lofty genius of a Coleridge or a DeQuincey may have reveled in this sublimated sensualism, and mistaken it for the highest form of pure idealism. A great deal of our modern Coleridgeism is nothing more nor less than the dreamy reveries of the opium eater and the tobacco smoker, in set formulae.

LIFE STUDIES; OR, HOW TO LIVE. Illustrated in the Biographies of BUNYAN, TERSTEEGEN, MONTGOMERY, PERTHES, and Mrs. WINSLOW. By the Rev. JOHN BAILLIE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. 12mo. pp. 365. New Haven: E. Downes.

The author of this volume says, "CHRIST CRUCIFIED is not a mere fund in re-

serve—a kind of 'extreme unction'—to teach men how to die; it is the lever which is to move the life." This is a great thought and the volume was written to illustrate it. Yet it is only one of a circle of truths, all in harmony with each other.

A GUIDE TO THE HOLY SACRAMENTS. In a series of Lectures on the Baptismal Service; delivered in Trinity Church, New Haven, preparatory to Confirmation. By the Rector. New Haven. 1857. G. B. Bassett & Co. 12mo. pp. 120.

The Venerable Rector of Trinity Church is one of the few connecting links left which unite us to the Fathers of the American Church. His view of the nature, import, and necessity of the Sacraments, is that held by the old sound divines of the Church in England and in this country; the language of our Sacramental Formularies is guarded against perversion and misconstruction; while the spiritual and subjective qualifications required for the due reception of the Sacraments are enforced clearly and earnestly. Of course, the teaching of these lectures as to the character of man by nature, is radically opposed to the popular sentiment and popular theology of the day; which does away, not only with Sacraments, but with the Christology of the Old Testament, with the Atonement, with the Trinity, and with every thing that is supernatural in Christianity and its Institutions. Indeed, in all these respects, Dr. Croswell is a very old-fashioned man. And yet, a perfect simplicity of faith in what Christ has revealed, and an utter distrust in man's inventions, is the lesson which the Church will sooner or later learn.

ANNEKE JANS AND TRINITY CHURCH. The Title, Parish Rights and Property of Trinity Church, New York, from the Appendix to Bishop DeLancey's Twentieth Conventional Address, delivered in Oswego, Aug. 19th, 1857. Utica: 1857. 8vo. pp. 23.

Bishop DeLancey here presents, in a condensed form, the grounds on which the Corporation of Trinity Church has been assailed, and gives a complete digest of the case, showing, we think, beyond a doubt, the validity of the title of Trinity Church to the property which she holds, and her perfect right to its management, and to the distribution of its avails.

In 1836, the Commissioners of the Land Office, consisting of Messrs. Samuel Beardsley, John A. Dix, A. C. Flagg, A. Keyser and William Campbell, put their names to the following OPINION, and establish the following facts:

OPINION.

1. That the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, are a valid corporation, with full power to hold the real estate which has been referred to.

2. That it has a valid, subsisting, and absolute title to the lands referred to.

3. That it is entitled to the rents and profits of said lands, without any regard to the amount of income which they may yield.

FACTS.

They establish the following facts:

1. That in 1705, Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Province of New York, in the name, and as the act and deed of Queen Anne, made a lease, by which the lands called the Queen's Farm and the Queen's Garden, were granted and confirmed to the corporation of Trinity Church, and their successors forever, to be holden in free and common socage, paying the yearly rent of three shillings.

2. That the power of the Provincial Governor to make leases of the Crown Lands, was unlimited in 1705, when the lease in question was made.

3. That the lease was valid and effectual in its inception, and was so regarded during the continuance of the Provincial Government.

4. That the lease of 1705, had been regarded as a subsisting and valid grant, not only by the Provincial Government, to as late a period as 1750, when quit rent

was paid upon it, but by the Government of this State in 1786, when the quit rent reserved was finally commuted and satisfied.

5. That the corporation of Trinity Church has held these lands, claiming an absolute and indefeasible title to them from the time of the commutation and payment of said quit rent in 1786, (then, in 1836, *fifty* years, and now, in 1857, *seventy-one* years.)

6. That if the people of the State had then, in 1786, a right to these lands, that right has been lost by lapse of time, the right of suing for the recovery of lands being limited to *forty* years in this State, and in England and Provinces to *sixty* years.

7. And that the Legislature of the State have repeatedly recognized the corporation of Trinity Church, as a legal, valid, and subsisting corporation.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE. London. 1857.

In the July No. of this Periodical, we find a reprint of an Article from the April No. of the *Church Review*—"Does the Bible need retranslating?" together with some editorial comments designed for our own special benefit. The *Journal* says the "Americans get all at sea with their pointing," &c. We are disposed to leave the particular instance cited to the author of the Article, who, by the way, is a titled graduate of a distinguished British University. But our British cousins are so apt to indulge in such captious remarks, and seem to be so fond of reading us homilies on a good many subjects, that we are disposed to let them have a proof of their own accuracy in matters quite as important as "pointing." The following are a few specimens taken from what professes to be a standard work; viz, the *Encyclopædia of Geography*, a ponderous 8vo. of 1600 pages, edited by Hugh Murray, F. R. S. E., assisted by Professors Wallace and Jameson, of the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Hooker, of the University of Glasgow, and Mr. Swainson, F. R. S. and F. L. S., and published in Edinburgh:

"The United States Territory is separated from Canada by the St. Lawrence River." (p. 1327.)

"New England, now the most *flourishing* of the States," &c. (p. 1337.)

"The President continues in office four years, and may be reëlected. *But this has not taken place with any except Washington.*" (p. 1338.)

"The general aspect of the Eastern States is that of an *unbounded forest.*" (p. 1340.)

"The rivers running across the Eastern States have been united at different points, and it is expected that a continued interior line from North to South will be ultimately formed." (The writer is speaking of canals. p. 1342.)

"Dr. Franklin, once on a journey, judged it wise to bear upon his person a label, expressing his name, his business, whence he came, and whither he was going." (p. 1343.)

"There are twenty-five Colleges and seventy-four Academies under the patronage of the *General Legislature*, and a National University has been planned." (p. 1344.)

"Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, of the *State of New England*, and, until lately, of the *whole Union*, is built on a Peninsula." "East Boston, *where all the business is carried on*, consists of a number of narrow streets and alleys," &c. (p. 1346.)

"New Hampshire, *stretching south from Massachusetts*, occupies a very great part of the surface of New England," and in this State "nothing is more common than to see a grandmother at forty, and the *mother and daughter are often suckling children at the same time*" !!! (p. 1347.)

The *Moniteur*, the official journal of the French Government, in its issue of Nov. 26, 1857, commences an Article on our elections thus: "The States of New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, have gone," &c.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHURCH BOOK SOCIETY.

1. **LIFE OF THE REV. HENRY MARTYN, B. D., &c.** By the Rev. D. P. SANFORD, Brooklyn, N. Y. 18mo. pp. 223.

Mr. Sanford has done his work exceedingly well, in presenting so interesting and complete a sketch of one of the brightest intellects and most saintly men who have ever adorned the ranks of the Church's missionaries.

2. **THE LITTLE HOUSEKEEPER; or the Children at Forest Furnace.** By the Author of "Timid Lucy." 12mo. pp. 141.

The sweet influence of genuine piety in the humblest walks of life, in subduing the passions, curbing the temper, and smoothing the manners, is pleasantly illustrated in this story.

3. **SUNDAY AT OATLANDS; or Quiet Bible Talks.** By ALICE B. HAVEN, (Cousin Alice.) 18mo. pp. 146.

Those interesting portions of Old Testament History, which always chain the attention of children, are made to distill the choicest lessons of Christian wisdom by this agreeable writer.

4. **THE SCHOOLMATES: A Story of recent Experience.** 18mo. pp. 106.

A very well-written sketch of the religious character of three Schoolmates. It will, we doubt not, impress the duties of the Christian life and their necessity on the heart of many a careless school-girl. The writer knows how to probe the conscience, and to expose the flimsy excuses of the neglectors of religion. Her earnest work will do great good, for it treats the soul and its destiny as realities not to be trifled with.

5. **NOT A MINUTE TO SPARE.** 18mo. pp. 115.

This little volume is filled with incidents, showing how much is risked and lost by "not having a minute to spare;" and contains choice directions for the proper husbanding of time.

These five volumes are neatly published, are handsomely illustrated, are well written, and will form valuable additions to our Sunday School and juvenile libraries.

BISHOP DOANE'S EIGHTH BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS, at the Commencement of Burlington College, in St. Mary's Church, on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, 1857.

This Address is mainly a delineation of the life and character of WARREN LIVINGSTON, a graduate of Burlington; and who afterwards entered Oxford University, where he won high honors. He was both "a Christian scholar and a Christian gentleman;" and, so, an illustration of the theme of the Bishop's Baccalaureate Address. His death was the first which has occurred among the Alumni of the College.

CATALOGUE OF YALE COLLEGE, 1857-58.

This venerable College numbers *five hundred and sixty-five* Students in all its departments; and has *sixty-five thousand* volumes in its Libraries; besides the valuable Library of the American Oriental Society, now kept in the Library building.

CALENDAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD. 1857-58.

The Classes in this College number, Seniors 13; Juniors 11; Sophomores 11; Freshmen 22; in all, fifty-seven Students.

THE POCKET-DIARY FOR 1858. New York: Carlton & Porter. 18mo. pp. 224.

As a Pocket-Diary for mere business, it is as compact and as conveniently arranged as it well can be.

HARPER'S STORY BOOKS. No. 35. *VIOLA AND HER LITTLE BROTHER ARNO.* No. 36. *LITTLE PAUL*; or, how to be patient in sickness and pain.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE No. XCI. December, 1857.

This is the First No. of a new Volume of a work which has attained the enormous circulation of over *one hundred and seventy thousand* copies, and which distances in popularity all our American Monthlies. With such original contributors as Thackeray and Charles Reade, and many of our most popular American writers, it may defy competition in catering for the amusement of the public.

THE SALARIES OF THE CLERGY: With an Address from the Rt. Rev. Bishop GREEN of Mississippi. Published by the Society for Diffusing Christian Knowledge in the Diocese of Mississippi. Vicksburg. 1857. 8vo. pp. 24.

This strong and timely remonstrance against the pitiful salaries doled out to the Clergy in a very large proportion of our parishes, is a reprint of an Article in the last July No. of the Church Review. Its author is the Rev. JNO. TRAVERS LEWIS, LL. D., of Canada West. The salaries of Priests on our Western Rivers range from \$150 to \$300 per month, or from \$1,800 to \$3,600 per year. The wages of common deck hands are \$40 per month, or \$480 per year. In both cases board is included. Compare this with the miserable pittance on which our educated Missionaries are compelled to eke out a scanty subsistence.

We only add, that the Article, above alluded to, was, on its first appearance, most unjustly criticised, in the columns of one of our Church newspapers.

CATECHISINGS ON THE COLLECTS. By the Rev. CHAS. F. HOFFMAN, A. M., Curate of St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J. Philadelphia: H. Hooker & Co. 1857.

An exceedingly plain, simple, and interesting method of indoctrinating children in the truths of our most holy Faith, and so of making them intelligent Christians. The principle of making the system of Sunday School instruction accord with the beautiful Order of our Ritual, is gaining in the Church. And yet, the indifference, and worse than indifference, of the Books of the American Sunday School Union, is still adhered to, and persisted in, by men who have taken upon them the vows of the Priesthood.

Will you then give your faithful diligence, always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same, according to the commandments of God; so that you may teach the people committed to your cure and charge, with all diligence to keep and observe the same?

Answer. I will do so, by the help of the Lord.

Is this right? Is it honest? We need not ask, is it expedient? For expediency has nothing to do with the matter. Though, of course, what is right is always expedient.

REV. CHARLES BRECK'S FUNERAL SERMON, on the death of ALEXIS L. DUPONT, in Trinity Church, Wilmington, Del.

An appropriate tribute to a true-hearted son of the Church.

REV. JOS. JAMES RIDLEY'S Address to young men, in Trinity Church, Clarksville, Tenn., Aug. 30, 1857.

A bold appeal to young men in behalf of Christianity and the Church.

REV. MR. WASHBURN'S Convention Sermon at St. Paul's, New Haven, Conn., June, 1857. 8vo. pp. 18.

A heart-stirring appeal on "The Living Church."

REV. L. P. CLOVER'S Farewell Discourse, in St. John's Church, Johnstown, N. Y., 13th Sunday after Trinity. 1857. Published by request.

A beautiful and impressive discourse.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Barnes, James L.	Potter, H.	Nov. 8,	Christ, Hudson, N. Y.
Cromlish, John,	Potter, A.	Sept. 17,	St. Peter's, Blairville, Pa.
Earle, Wm. R.	Doane,	Oct. 13,	Christ Chapel, Elizabeth, N. J.
Esch, John Frederick,	Upfold,	Oct. 6,	St. James', Vincennes, Indiana.
Getz, Henry S.	Potter, A.	Oct. 11,	St. Paul's, Chester, Pa.
Gierlow, John,	Otey,	July 19,	Christ, Nashville, Tenn.
Gray, Joseph,	Otey,	July 19,	Christ, Nashville, Tenn.
Gorham, Wm. O.	DeLancey,	Sept. 23,	St. Peter's, Auburn, W. N. Y.
Loop, Charles F.	Hawks,	—, —,	—, St. Louis, Missouri.
Newlin, Joseph D.	Potter, A.	Sept. 21,	St. Mark's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Randall, Henry C.	Williams,	Oct. 29,	St. James', Poquetannock, Conn.
Spencer, Charles S.	Whittingham,	Sept. 20,	Mt. Calvary, Baltimore, Md.
Stow, William,	Clark,	Sept. 30,	Christ, Westerly, R. I.
Shipman, Jacob S.	DeLancey,	Sept. 23,	St. Peter's, Auburn, W. N. Y.
Van Antwerp, H. R.	DeLancey,	Sept. 23,	St. Peter's, Auburn, W. N. Y.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Barten, Otto-Sievers,	Potter, H.	Nov. 8,	Christ, Hudson, N. Y.
" Byllesby, Marison,	Potter, A.	Sept. 23,	—, Minersville, Pa.
" Coleman, T. K.	Whittingham,	Sept. 20,	Mt. Calvary, Baltimore, Md.
" Chittenden, R. L.	Whitehouse,	Nov. 11,	Trinity, Chicago, Ill.
" Dresser, D. W.	Whitehouse,	Oct. 21,	St. Paul's, Peoria, Ill.
" Latane, James A.	Meade,	Oct. 18,	Christ, Charlottesville, Va.
" Liggins, John,	Boone,	Jan. 11,	Mission Chapel, Shanghai, China.
" Mitchell, Walter A.	Doane,	Sept. 27,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
" McCormac, Johnston,	Scott,	Aug. 2,	Trinity, Portland, Oregon Ter.
" McClure, E.	McCookry,	Nov. 18,	Christ, Adrian, Michigan.
" Nowlin, R. W.	Meade,	Oct. 30,	St. Mark's, New Glasgow, Va.
" Purviance, Charles,	Potter, H.	Nov. 8,	Christ, Hudson, N. Y.
" Wilbur, Sydney,	Smith,	Oct. 18,	Ascension, Frankfort, Ky.
" Williams, Pelham,	Burgess,	Sept. 23,	St. Philip's, Wiscassett, Me.
" Williams, C. Moore,	Boone,	Jan. 11,	Mission Chapel, Shanghai, China.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Christ,	Potter, H.	Oct. 20,	Hudson, N. Y.
Christ,	Potter, H.	Oct. 22,	Greenville, N. Y.
Church of the Redeemer,	Potter, A.	Sept. 22,	Lower Merion, Pa.
St. John's,	Whitehouse,	Nov. 15,	Kewanee, Ill.
St. John's,	Williams,	Dec. 9,	New Haven, Conn.
St. Paul's Chapel,	Williams,	Dec. 10,	New Haven, Conn.
St. Paul's,	Whitehouse,	Oct. 11,	Manhattan, Ill.
St. Paul's,	DeLancey,	Oct. 14,	Oxford, W. N. Y.
Trinity,	Johns,	Nov. 28,	Washington, Va.

OBITUARY.

DIED, the Rev. WILLIAM WHITE BOURS, Rector of St. John's Church, Jacksonville, Florida, at Jacksonville, Nov. 5th, aged 31 years.

Mr. Bours was born in Attica, N. Y., in 1826. He engaged early in life in mercantile pursuits in Geneva, N. Y., but in 1852 became a Candidate for Holy Orders, and was ordained Deacon, under the new Canon, in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., Dec. 18, 1853, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop DeLancey. After assisting in St. Peter's Chapel, Geneva, and in St. James' Church, Syracuse, he sought a warmer climate, and became Rector of the parish in which he died. He was ordained Priest, Aug. 14, 1855, in Christ Church, Binghamton, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop DeLancey. In September last, he came to the North for his family; but hearing of the ravages of a *malignant fever* in his parish, hastened home, that he might be about his Master's business. He was constantly busy, visiting the sick, administering Baptism and the Holy Communion, burying the dead, and consoling the sorrowing. On the 27th of October, he wrote, "I am well, but very *tired to-night*." The next morning he attended two funerals, and then his strength gave way, and he needed the care which he had so freely given to others. One crisis was past on the third day, and hope revived, but on the fifth his freed spirit, dropping its earthly tabernacle, rested in the bosom of paradise. One says of him, "He was yet in his youth, but he was rich in the gifts of God's own Spirit, in faith, and hope, and charity; he matured rapidly under the pressure of holy influences. He won his people's love, and the admiration of all around him, by his frankness, his boldness in the cause of Christ, his entire devotion to his work, his warmth of heart, his earnestness in word and deed. The whole community felt their loss and mourned for him; *all* attended his funeral, and for a time, at least, an impression was made on minds and hearts which have long seemed insensible to the strivings of God's grace within them. May it become rooted and grounded in them forever. The idea expressed in one of his letters was realized: they begin to feel that the Church is 'a reality.' This was his aim always, to prove that the *faith* and *worship* of God in Christ are *realities*, the Pastor's office a real one, the *invisible* world 'no cunningly devised fable,' the Heaven of God's promise a true rest and home for the believing soul."

DIED in the Mission Home, at Cavalla, West Africa, June 13th, Rev. HUGH HAMILTON HOLCOMB, son of Lemuel C. Holcomb, of Granby, aged 32.

Mr. Holcomb was born in Granby, Conn., May 25th, 1825. He was educated by his father, a teacher of great experience and skill for literary eminence and professional success, and entered Washington, now Trinity College, in 1841. Leaving this institution in his senior year, he entered the senior class of Union College, Schenectady, and graduated with honor in August, 1845, at the age of 20 years.

For several years after leaving College, Mr. Holcomb resided in Washington, D. C., holding an office under the General Government and engaged in the study of the law. In 1852, he was admitted to the Bar in the District of Columbia.

Thus far, a career of literary, professional and political success seemed to open before him. But God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor His ways as our ways. His location at Washington brought him near a class of men at Alexandria, whose hearts God had touched with love for the souls of their fellow-men, perishing in heathen ignorance and sin. He made up his mind that there were honors of a more enduring kind, which every rational mind ought to prize, and that there were pursuits connected with the well-being of the soul in this world and the world beyond the grave, which men ought to estimate at their due.

Resolving to devote himself to the ministry and the cause of missions, he entered the Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va., and passing through the three years' course of study, was ordained Deacon by Bishop Meade, June 29, 1855.

On the 14th of March, 1856, he sailed for Africa, and landed at Cape Palmas, June 13, just one year before his death. His short Missionary career was passed at Cavalla, where his modest, unassuming manner and great kindness, endeared him to all the members of the mission family. He took an active part in preaching amongst the natives, and in all duties assigned him.

Thus has there fallen, in the vineyard of his Master, another faithful laborer, who hesitated at no self-denial, who was discouraged at no sacrifices he was called to make. Having forsaken all for Christ, he labored in faith and hope for a short time for the good of Africa's children, and having calmly fallen asleep in Jesus, he now rests from his labors.

We have materials for a more extended obituary of the deceased, which, perhaps, could be better given to the Church in a different form.

DIED in the early part of November, the **REV. RICHARD F. CADLE**, of the Diocese of Delaware.

In the removal from his earthly labors of Mr. Cadle, the Church has lost one of her oldest and most faithful missionaries. Prepared for the ministry under the oversight of the late Bishop Hobart, and ordained by him, he was for many years at the head of the Mission among the Oneida Indians at Green Bay, Lake Michigan, at the outset of our Missionary efforts.

In 1853, Mr. Cadle took charge of the Churches at Seaford, Laurel, and vicinity, in Sussex county, Delaware. In this extensive and arduous field his labors were unwearied. His holy life and kindness of spirit, his interest in the young, and his assiduous attentions to the sick and the bereaved, won for him universal regard. In his intercourse with others, Mr. Cadle was eminently the Christian gentleman. As a preacher, he was fervent and impressive, shunning not to declare the whole counsel of God. As a pastor, he was affectionate and earnest. The sentiment of veneration and esteem for his character was not confined to the people of his own charge, but was shared by the whole community in which he resided, and was testified by the assemblage of sincere mourners at his funeral.

His last end was peace—his dying words, "the blood of Christ is sufficient for all things."

The funeral services were conducted in St. Luke's Church, Seaford, on Wednesday, Nov. 10th, by the Rev. Messrs. M'Kim, Martin and Wright, of Sussex county, an impressive discourse being delivered by the first named gentleman, to a very numerous and deeply affected congregation.

DIED in New York, October 10th, the **REV. ISAAC PARDEE**, aged 53 years.

DIED at Holly Grove, Northampton County, Virginia, September 27th, the **REV. JOHN M. CHEVERS**, Rector of Hungar's Parish, in the 27th year of his age.

Mr. Chevers was ordained Deacon by Bishop Meade, July 16, 1852, and Priest by Bishop Johns, at Lynchburg, Va., May 28, 1854.

During the three years he had the charge of Hungar's Parish, he succeeded in winning the confidence and esteem of all classes of the community, and was rapidly rising into a sphere of great usefulness.

DIED, at Arlington House, Va., Oct. 10, 1857, **GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS**, in the 77th year of his age.

He was grandson of Martha Washington, by her first husband, John Parke Custis, and the only surviving member of the Washington family. When a child he was a member of Washington's household, and daily sat at his table. He possessed a strong taste for poetry and the fine arts, and his early speeches on the death of General Lingán, and the overthrow of Napoleon, are still remembered for the finished beauty of their conception, and their eloquence. As a connecting link between the past and the present, Mr. Custis has long been looked upon with much interest by his countrymen; and his boundless hospitality, intelligent liberality, and open, friendly manner towards all who happened to make his acquaintance, had secured him a host of friends. Nothing delighted him more than to contribute to the happiness of others in any way within his power. With fine conversational powers, and fond of talking of the early days of the Republic and the men of that time, no one ever failed to find him a most interesting and agreeable host and companion. He was married early in life to Miss Mary Lee Fitzhugh of Virginia, a lady of great excellence of character, who died in 1853.

Mr. Custis left but one child, a daughter, the wife of Col. Robert Lee, U. S. A., now serving at San Antonio, Texas. Mrs. Lee resides at Arlington, where she has long devoted herself to the duty of smoothing the declining years of her parents.

Arlington, the homestead estate of the family, lies on the south bank of the Potomac river, opposite Washington city, and above the bridge. It embraces about eleven hundred acres, left the deceased, we believe, by General Washington himself.

The funeral of Mr. Custis was on Tuesday, Oct. 13th, and was attended by numerous civic and military delegations, embracing many officers of the Army and Navy, members of the Bar, and a large concourse of distinguished citizens. The coffin was borne by a group of his own attached servants. The Rev. C. B. DANA, Rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, performed the services at the mansion and the grave, and, as his Pastor had also ministered unto the deceased during his illness. At Christ Church, Washington regularly worshiped, and the records of its Vestry attest the personal interest of the Father of his Country in sustaining the institutions of the Church. Mr. Custis was a thorough believer in Christianity, and a Communicant also in Christ Church, Alexandria.

DIED, at London, England, Oct. 10th, **THOMAS CRAWFORD**, the distinguished American Sculptor, aged 44 years.

He was born in New York city in 1813. His genius was of a high order, as his statue of Washington for the State of Virginia, his works in our National Capitol, his statue of Bethoven, &c., &c., abundantly testify. His funeral was attended from St. John's Chapel, New York city, Dec. 5th, and his remains rest in the beautiful city of the dead at Greenwood.

DIED, Nov. 21st, at Middlebury, Vt., **HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR, LL. D.**, aged 79 years.

He was born at Litchfield, Conn., May 31, 1778; graduated at Yale College in 1797, in a class distinguished for talent and scholarship; was a teacher for a while in the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire; was admitted to the Bar in 1800; and was a member of the Senate of the United States for twelve years from 1820. For many years he has been Senior Warden of the Parish at Middlebury, universally respected and esteemed for his great excellence and worth of character.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

The annual Meeting of the Board of Missions of the Church was held in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, on Wednesday, Oct. 14, and continued until Friday, Oct. 16. There were present the Bishops of Virginia, of Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maine, South Carolina, North Carolina, Delaware, Califor-

nia, Iowa, the Assistant Bishops of Virginia and Connecticut, the Missionary Bishop of China, and the Provisional Bishop of New York. There was also present a pretty full representation of clerical and lay members from all parts of the Church.

The Report of the Foreign Committee was read by the Rev. Mr. DENISON. The receipts have been from Oct 1, 1856, to Oct. 1, 1857, \$70,673.60, of which there was contributed for

Greece,	\$ 496.67	
China,	8,042.28	
Africa,	19,599.13	
South America,	554.00	
Specific,	7,080.20	
General Fund,	34,951.32	\$70,673.60
Cash on hand last Oct.,		379.23
		\$71,052.83

Expenditures:

Greece,	3,345.01	
China,	27,223.79	
Africa,	27,461.95	
South America,	4.50	
Specific purposes,	7,346.25	
Publications,	3,610.61	
Salaries,	3,356.75	
Rent,	431.00	
Interest on loans, and discount on uncurrent money, bad bills, &c.,	240.83	
Traveling expenses,	68.48	
Office expenses, foreign postage, &c.,	292.90	
Returned balance of loan outstanding October 1, 1856,	500.00	73,882.07
		\$2,829.24
Balance due Treasurer,		

In addition, \$20,000 have been paid as the Bohlen Gift for the special object of opening a new station in the interior of Africa, paid by the children of the late Mrs. Jane Bohlen, of Philadelphia, in accordance with her dying request.

Of the African Mission the summary of the statistics for the six months last received is:—

Communicants,	305
Confirmed,	75
Baptized (Infants 8,)	29
Native assistants,	18
Candidates for Orders,	5

Of the China Mission the statistics are:—

Clergy: Bishop, five Presbyters, and two (native) deacons, in all	8
Ordinations to Priest's Orders (Messrs Williams and Liggins), ..	2
Baptisms since last report—Male 1, Female 4, (of whom three were from the girl's school,)	5
Confirmed,	5
Communicants,	29
Marriages,	2
Funerals,	3

In regard to South America, the opening seemed very promising, but the Committee had in vain sought for a laborer to occupy the ground.

The Greek Mission, now in its 27th year, was never more useful or successful.

The Rev. Dr. VAN KLEECK, Secretary, read the Report of the Domestic Committee. He gives the following table of Parishes and Contributions, which is valuable for future reference.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTING PARISHES.

DIOCESES.	NUMBER OF CHURCHES CONTRIBUTING IN				AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED IN			
	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.
Maine,	7	5	6	6	\$ 109.00	\$ 185.28	\$ 112.09	\$ 170.86
New Hampshire,	8	7	8	8	202.83	238.20	186.80	222.78
Vermont,	18	17	16	20	329.58	155.54	169.91	324.70
Massachusetts,	23	24	42	28	1,243.40	1,451.97	1,792.43	1,841.74
Rhode Island,	14	17	15	28	492.41	998.81	790.98	949.87
Connecticut,	59	66	77	67	2,434.85	1,944.48	2,677.12	2,605.08
New York,	132	119	135	187	9,236.42	9,455.28	12,428.12	21,776.61
Western New York,	58	53	74	84	1,608.65	1,934.96	1,745.75	2,534.27
New Jersey,	26	28	30	25	821.26	925.17	971.95	1,127.40
Pennsylvania,	47	40	57	50	1,071.82	2,081.42	2,653.84	1,935.05
Delaware,	13	10	11	18	165.98	185.85	218.20	888.86
Maryland,	43	47	48	47	1,587.07	1,494.96	1,916.51	2,086.92
Virginia,	26	32	36	58	781.24	1,122.92	1,194.78	1,702.25
North Carolina,	19	11	22	27	825.78	518.23	650.41	771.48
South Carolina,	26	23	29	32	1,952.26	1,601.40	2,123.74	1,774.98
Georgia,	9	7	11	11	819.00	470.25	1,230.27	726.80
Florida,	2	4	6	7	47.50	112.51	99.10	176.94
Alabama,	7	10	19	19	192.55	313.70	598.67	761.20
Mississippi,	2	10	10	11	435.00	674.80	387.50	674.65
Louisiana,	5	4	6	14	146.05	88.70	184.00	440.59
Tennessee,	4	5	12	11	277.00	118.00	326.28	468.29
Kentucky,	4	8	8	9	146.05	143.90	190.45	490.07
Ohio,	11	18	24	26	212.85	365.39	768.59	657.46
Indiana,	10	11	17	16	97.80	78.90	222.58	201.00
Illinois,	24	10	19	25	163.26	136.45	565.52	721.83
Michigan,	22	11	20	18	366.19	524.27	861.51	793.11
Wisconsin,	11	20	23	20	122.36	283.43	230.62	330.40
Minnesota,	3	16	11	6	45.00	108.18	128.15	130.75
Iowa,	1	2	11	5	8.00	29.00	219.51	294.66
Missouri,	4	7	10	13	87.35	143.60	234.40	778.71
Arkansas,	1	1	2	4	57.75	41.00	74.00	75.77
Texas,	2	4	10	6	81.00	50.50	158.00	59.27
Indian Territory,	—	—	—	—	—	15.00	10.00	10.00
California,	—	1	10	9	—	25.00	464.45	399.50
Oregon,	—	1	—	2	—	15.00	—	152.00
Washington Territory,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54.00
Miscellaneous and Legations,	—	—	—	—	12,448.84	14,222.15	11,074.65	7,042.58
Totals,	620	652	835	842	38,404.15	42,107.60	47,245.17	55,586.98

In the Domestic field, there are *four* Missionary Bishops and 128 Presbyters and Deacons; 12 stations are vacant; 41 missionaries have been added during the year; 22 have resigned. High character is given to the great body of Missionaries, for zeal and efficiency. The following table is interesting and valuable:—

State.	Sq. miles.	Population.
Maine,	35,000	583,169
New Hampshire,	8,030	317,976
Delaware,	2,120	91,532
Georgia,	58,000	906,185

State.	Sq. miles.	Population.
Florida,	59,268	87,445
Alabama,	50,722	807,337
Louisiana,	41,376	585,302
Mississippi,	47,151	606,526
Tennessee,	44,000	1,002,717
Ohio,	39,964	1,980,329
Kentucky,	37,680	982,405
Indiana,	33,809	988,416
Illinois,	55,409	1,306,576
Michigan,	56,243	509,377
Wisconsin,	53,924	552,109
Iowa,	50,914	326,014
Minnesota,	141,839	150,000
Missouri,	65,037	682,044
Arkansas,	54,500	342,905
Texas,	325,520	341,782
California,	188,982	264,445
Oregon and Washington,	323,821	60,000
Kansas,	122,000	50,000
Nebraska,	275,000	20,000
	2,170,309	14,244,582

All these are embraced in the present Missionary field.

As to funds, \$4798 40 have been received from legacies, \$2,899 70 from the Episcopal Missionary Association, for the West, with \$3,285 77, contributed to that association, together with various miscellaneous items. Total during the year, \$55,586 93. Debt last year between \$12,000 and \$13,000. Present liabilities \$9,762 14. Increase of receipts this year over last, \$6,341 76. The growth in amount is steady:—

1853,	\$23,856 43
1854,	38,404 15
1855,	42,107 60
1856,	47,245 17
1857,	55,586 93

The number of contributing parishes increases also, but slowly:—

1853,	506 Parishes.
1854,	620 "
1855,	652 "
1856,	835 "
1857,	842 "

The Annual Sermon was preached on Wednesday evening, by the Rt. Rev. BISHOP DAVIS, of South Carolina, from St. John xviii, 36.

The Meeting for public addresses was on Thursday evening in the Church of the Ascension; and addresses were made by Bishop KIP of California, the Rev. Dr. STEVENS, Bishop LEE of Iowa, the Rev. Dr. TYNG, and Bishop McILVAINE of Ohio.

On motion of Rev. Dr. STEVENS, it was ordered that the third resolution, relative to the missions in India, be transmitted to the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with a letter of sympathy from the Presiding Bishop.

The BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA, from the Committee appointed to fill vacancies, reported the following:

Rev. Mason Gallagher, of Western New York, *vice* Rev. Dr. Proal; Rev. C. T. Quintard, of Tenn., *vice* Rev. Charles Tomes; Dr. Benjamin McVickar, of Wisconsin, *vice* J. S. Colt, Esq.

On motion of Rev. Dr. TALBOT, it was referred to a special committee of seven to make inquiries as to the mode of conducting the Western Missions.

The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Ohio, the Rev. Dr. Vinton of Boston, and the Rev. Mr. Gadsden of S. C., were appointed to issue a Special Appeal to the Church in behalf of the Board.

The Board adjourned to meet at Baltimore, on the second Wednesday in October, 1858.

In looking over the Reports made by the Secretaries of the Foreign and Domestic Boards, we are surprised at the small number of parishes which have contributed to either Board. Out of 2,024 parishes, only 843 give to Domestic, and only 846 to Foreign Missions. Nor is this all. Several of the wealthiest parishes in the country are put down, year after year, at sums disgracefully small. In amount of money given, New York heads the list; and Connecticut stands next. Still the good work is prospering and is beginning to reach the vast wealth which has hitherto been locked up against it.

CHURCH IN MINNESOTA.

The Primary Convention of the Church in Minnesota assembled at St. Paul, Sept. 16th, and continued in session three days. A Diocese was organized, a Constitution and Canons considered and adopted, Officers chosen, &c. Bishop Kemper was unanimously requested to continue his Episcopal oversight over the Diocese. The Constitution and Canons (prepared by the Rev. S. W. Manney) contain some new features, most of which were adopted. One Article of the Constitution, and a sound one, was laid over to the next Convention. It is in these words: "The Bishop being the principal order in the Convention, no act passed by the other two orders shall be valid and obligatory, without his approval, which approval shall be given at the time of the passage of the act."

In the organization of Parishes, by Canon VIII, "The Rector is *ex-officio* President of the Vestry, and a member of the same."

By Canon V, the right to vote at Parish Meetings is given to "all male adults who are communicants, or who have been baptized or confirmed, and regularly attended the public worship of the Church."

Canon VI, says: "As every consecrated Church is placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Diocese, it is hereby declared that in this spiritual jurisdiction is included the right of the Bishop to use such Church for all services not inconsistent with the 'Form for the consecration of a Church or chapel,' and to prevent its use for the performance of any service inconsistent with the same." "Whenever a priest is instituted or regularly settled in a parish or church, then the right of the Bishop to use such church for the performance of any Holy Office shall be confined to his visitations, and extraordinary occasions.

The ninth Article of the Constitution makes laymen members of the Standing Committee; but requires that they shall be communicants.

The thirteenth Article contains something new. It provides that "The Bishop and Clergy may sit as a distinct House; and as such shall be known as the Diocesan Synod; all whose duties and functions shall be defined and limited by Canon."

The Canon on the "Diocesan Synod" was laid over until the next Convention. The spirit of these features of the laws adopted by the Church in Minnesota, is as old as the Church herself, and we are glad to see a step in the right direction.

AN OLD VIRGINIA CHURCH IN RUINS.

A Virginia paper has the following. No comments are needed. If Virginia Churchmen can read such a story unmoved, we have nothing to say:

"A solitary traveler lately stopped his horse by the road-side, near the source of Potomac Creek, in Stafford County, Va., and fastening his horse to a tree, proceeded to force his way through a thicket of bushes and brambles which surrounded the massive walls of "old Potomac Church," rising in solemn majesty amid some giant forest trees, which the good sense and piety of some honest farmer left as a beacon to the taste of a generation that is no more.

"It was a sad scene. There within a short distance of several small frame houses, for worship, stood this magnificent old ruin, in solitary grandeur, a memento of the past. Washington, Madison and Monroe, no doubt often trod its courts, for it was on the direct route from their homes in youth, and the Capitol. Some master genius had planned and built it, for even in its ruins, it far surpasses all other old country Churches that we have seen in Virginia, or indeed in any State. And it may yet be filled with eager worshipers, if some pious hand could be found to re-roof its massive walls. Two thousand people could find ample standing room within its spacious courts, whose magnificent arches are exposed to the combined effects of the weather, the frost, and the outward pressure of a dissected roof."

ROMANISM IN NEW YORK CITY.

As one instance in which we see the workings of Popery strengthening itself in our large cities, we have the following :—Some time ago the Common Council of this city gave a large piece of city property to the Romanists, for a "Roman Catholic Asylum." Recently, Mr. Blunt applied to the Supreme Court, in behalf of the tax payers, to restrain the city corporation from transferring the land, and the asylum from receiving it. Judge Roosevelt refused to grant the injunction, but allowed an order to show cause why it should not be granted.

The property is of large value. The application to the court represents that the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York, for the nominal consideration of one dollar, and without any real consideration, conveyed to the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society in the city of New York, in fee, a piece of land fronting on the Fifth Avenue, extending from Fifty-first to Fifty-second street, and extending back from said avenue four hundred and fifty feet. That on the same day they leased to the said society, the residue of the said block, extending to the Fourth Avenue, and being of equal dimensions to the land conveyed in fee, for the yearly rent of one dollar, reserving, however, to the grantors, the right to terminate said lease at any time by resolution. That the part of the block thus leased, has now become of great value, viz, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars and upward; and that on the 15th day of last October, without the said lease having been rescinded, a resolution was passed by the Board of Councilmen, directing the Controller to execute a perpetual lease of the land to said society at a yearly rent of one dollar, which resolution was adopted by the Board of Aldermen on the 19th, and approved by the Mayor on the 21st of October.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

The Board of Trustees of this proposed University met in session in St. John's Church, Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 25th. There were present the Rt. Rev. Bishops Atkinson, of N. C., Elliott of Ga., Green of Miss., Otey of Tenn., Polk of La., Rutledge of Fla., and Cobbs of Ala.; the Rev. Drs. Curtis of N. C., Pise of Tenn., Lay of Ala., and Scott of Fla.; the Rev. Messrs. Gregg of S. C., and Dunn of Texas, and Dr. Thomas D. Warren and Hon. Thomas Ruffin of N. C., Col. C. T. Pollard, and Dr. L. H. Anderson of Ala., Hon. F. B. Fogg of Tenn., Gen. Whitfield, and Hon. G. R. Fairbanks of Florida.

There were present, but not members of the Board, the Rev. Messrs. R. Johnson and William N. Hawks of Ga., John L. Gay and J. H. Ingraham of Tenn., R. A. Cobbs, R. D. Nevins, J. M. Mitchell, and E. Denniston, of Ala., and a goodly number of Laymen from several of the Dioceses interested in the enterprise. Also, Pres. Carnes, of Burritt College, Tenn.

The Committee on Location reported in favor of Suwanee Mountain, a beautiful plateau on the Cumberland range in Franklin Co., Tenn., about ten miles from the Alabama line, and near the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad; and this location, after fourteen ballots, was unanimously adopted.

A correspondent says: "A branch Railroad Company have generously given us 5000 acres of land for the location of our Institution, and in addition have made sundry liberal offers of coal and timber, and of gratuitous transportation on their

road. On this tract of land there are to be found in great abundance, every material for the building even of a large city. Besides sand and clay, and lime, the mountain top abounds with a heavy growth of both oak and pine, and its sides unfold quarries of the finest stone. Several varieties of this stone were exhibited to our Board, some of which were capable of receiving a marble polish. In the centre of this tract, and within a circle of a mile and a half diameter, are *twelve* springs of free-stone water, affording a sufficient supply for a population of ten thousand. The largest of these springs pours forth more than a thousand gallons to the hour; and is so elevated that its waters may be conducted by pipes to the second story of any of our contemplated buildings."

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY AND ITS REVISED BIBLE.

An adjourned meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society, was held at the Bible House, on Thursday, Nov. 12, where there was a discussion of intense interest and great importance.

Dr. Vermilye, from the Committee on Versions, read the report of that body, reciting the history of their work, &c., &c, closing with a resolution to re-commit the work for the purpose of revising the accessories to the text of the present revised edition.

Rev. Dr. Ferris moved the *acceptance* of the report.

Rev. Dr. McLane seconded the motion and added that the Committee have fixed opinions as to the headings, and are yielding much when they consent to revise their own work.

Rev. Dr. Tyng made a characteristic speech and defended the action of the Board.

Dr. Turner criticised the work of the Committee in some particulars, and sustained it in others.

Rev. Dr. Spring, Chairman of the Committee on Versions, made a powerful speech defending the right and propriety of all that had been done, and yet submitted a resolution, that the Society return to the edition of 1839.

Rev. Dr. Potts advocated a return to the old editions, denying the constitutional right and the expediency of the changes that have been made.

The Board then adjourned for one week. On Thursday, Nov. 19, the discussion was resumed.

Dr. Vermilye made an elaborate and able speech in defense of the revised edition, reciting the entire history of the work, and earnestly protesting against yielding to the pressure from without, by which the action is assailed. He contended that the opposition is local and not worthy of being regarded. The Episcopal Church, he said, is entirely satisfied, and so is the New School Presbyterian, and other large bodies, and the opposition is confined mainly to the Old School Presbyterian Church, who were led on by one man, &c.

Rev. Dr. Bedell of the Episcopal Church, wished to say that Dr. V. was altogether mistaken in assuming that the Church was pleased with the work. He had conversed with many; had traveled extensively; and did not know of but one (Rev. Dr. Tyng) who was satisfied. He mentioned Bishops McIlvaine, Eastburn, Burgess and Meade, as regretting the work, and declared the dissatisfaction to be deep and wide-spread.

Mr. Prime presented the recent action of the Synod of Pittsburgh, one of the largest bodies in the Old School Presbyterian Church, beseeching the Board to restore the Bible to its former condition in all matters affecting the sense.

Dr. Matthews spoke of the great dissatisfaction prevailing and the necessity of retrogression to prevent farther alienation.

Dr. McLane defended the revision, and so did Dr. Tyng and Dr. Storrs.

Dr. Muhlenburg submitted a proposition that we open a correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society in reference to a commission from all the churches of the Protestant, English-speaking world, to consider the question of revision.

Dr. Potts advocated prompt action to allay the increasing agitation of the popular mind. He called in question the constitutional right of the Society to alter the text, and showed that the opposition was not "unintelligent," as some had called it, or factious or sectarian, but was earnest, conscientious and extensive.

Finally, after much conversation, the presiding officers, four Vice Presidents, were directed to appoint a Committee of nine to whom the whole matter shall be referred to report at a future meeting of the Board.

There are two opinions widely prevailing, that unite a vast body of men, and among them the most learned, intelligent and earnest friends of the Society, in opposition to the recent revision of the Bible.

1. One opinion is that the Constitution restricts the Society to the publication of the Bible as it was at the formation of the Society. In the first article of the Constitution it is provided that

"The only copies in the English language, to be circulated by the Society, shall be of the version now in common use."

2. Another large, perhaps larger number of members, believe that it is highly inexpedient to disturb the public mind with the revision question when it is plainly impracticable for the American Bible Society under its present Constitution to make any important improvements in the translation.

FINANCIAL EMBARRASMENTS OF 1857.

Within thirty days previous to Oct. 20, the following railroad companies are reported to have either gone to protest on their floating debt, suspended, or made an assignment of their property:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Total Liabilities.</i>
New York & Erie,	\$38,000,000
Illinois Central,	24,000,000
Philadelphia & Reading,	20,000,000
Michigan Central,	14,000,000
Michigan Southern,	18,000,000
Cleveland & Toledo,	7,500,000
Milwaukie & Mississippi,	7,000,000
La Crosse & Milwaukie,	14,000,000
Cleveland & Pittsburg,	6,000,000
Delaware, Lackawana & Western,	10,000,000
Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac,	5,000,000
North Pennsylvania,	6,000,000
Cumberland Coal Company,	6,000,000
Huntingdon & Broad Top,	1,200,000
Steubenville & Indiana, estimated,	5,000,000
Total,	\$181,700,000

Of individuals, or of firms in business, the total number of failures, officially reported since the 1st of August, is about nine hundred. It is estimated that the total liabilities of these suspensions will amount to full ninety million of dollars. The want of employment and the great scarcity of money have brought great distress upon multitudes in the large cities and manufacturing towns.

In consequence of these embarrassments a number of the Rt. Rev. the Bishops of the Church, have set forth a special Prayer to be used at Morning and Evening Service, and have exhorted the Clergy to inculcate, both publicly and privately, the exercise of forbearance, patience, charity, and heavenly mindedness.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF SLAVES.

Aside from what we are doing for this class of the population of the South, we take the following from recent Reports:

SOUTH CAROLINA.—From the late Report of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of South Carolina. Conference of the Methodists, as published in the *Southern Christian Advocate* of Charleston, S. C., it appears that the "Conference began a regular system of ecclesiastical operations among the plantation negroes of the low country, twenty-six years ago; and that at the present time, there are twenty-six missionary stations, on which are employed thirty-two ministers. The number of church members is 11,546, including 1,175 whites. The missionary revenue has risen from \$300 to \$25,000."

MISSISSIPPI.—The Annual Report of the Missionary Secretary of the Mississippi Methodist Conference, gives the following interesting account of the work within its bounds: A most interesting department of our missionary work, looks to the religious training and teaching of the thousands of slaves which are found within the limits of the Mississippi Conference, and in our division of the Methodists.

The colored people generally receive our instructions gratefully, and many of them are soundly converted, live religiously, and die as none but Christians can die. Most of our missionaries are employed in this vast and widening field. The simple earnestness of our system suits their natures, and they are made better and happier.

All of our Domestic missions are represented as prosperous. In some of them gracious revivals have taken place. Not one of them is to be given up; and an increased demand is made for men to occupy this growing field.

Within the limits of the Conference there are in all—

Thirty-one missions. Twenty-four are filled by members of the Conference, the others by Local Preachers.

Eleven of these are wholly or in part to whites.

Twenty exclusively to the negroes.

Seven hundred and sixty-nine white members.

Four thousand five hundred and thirty-five colored.

There are one hundred and seventy-two preaching places.

Twenty-three hundred children are catechised.

Eighteen of these missions are self-sustaining.

Seven of them receive aid from the Parent Missionary Society, to the amount of \$2,100.

ALABAMA.—The proceedings of the Synod of Alabama (Old School Presbyterian) have been printed in pamphlet form. The Synod embraces four Presbyteries, fifty-one ministers, one hundred and one churches, and three licentiates, and seven candidates for the ministry. It met in Marion on the 19th of October.

They passed the following resolution presented by the committee of bills and overtures:

Synod are gratified in learning from the reports of the Presbyteries, that so generally special attention is paid to the spiritual wants of our colored population, both by direct preaching of the Word, and by Biblical and Catechetical instruction.

GEORGIA.—In Georgia the same influential body of Christians are persevering in the spiritual instruction of the slave population. In the Narrative of the state of religion in the Synod of Georgia, lately issued, the following testimony is borne to labors in behalf of children and servants:

From every quarter within the bounds of our Zion, the good tidings reach our ears that the Lambs of the Flock, together with the Domesticates about our hearths, and the laborers upon our farms, participate largely in the toils and prayers of our ministers.

GERMAN INFIDELITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

An American writer uses the following language:

"To understand the subject, we must look at the actual state of things in the struggles for liberty in Europe in 1848 and 1849, when France became a republic,

and all Germany, as well as Italy and other countries, was agitated to its centre. As republicans, the American people sympathized with all who would throw off the yoke of oppression; but when it appeared, as it soon did, that many of the leaders in that struggle were Socialists, Communists, Agrarians, and Infidels, ready perhaps to re-enact the bloody scenes of the French Revolution; that the watchwords, 'Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,' meant liberty to sin and to violate every wholesome law of God and man, to use every one's property and person as unbridled licentiousness would require—we paused, and ceased to wonder that intelligent Christians of Continental Europe hesitated and stood back from the contest.

"Many of those who in 1848, were loudest in their clamor for 'Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,' are now inhabitants of the United States, and they find just as much here which they wish to revolutionize as they did at home. Instead of rejoicing in our political and religious freedom to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience, they make the public outcry in wide-spread Infidel periodicals, 'Americans are to some extent politically, free; but they are not so in religion; they are a priest-ridden, enslaved people; full freedom remains yet to be won! We will win that freedom, the freedom which was sought by Thomas Paine, not only from British rule, but from priestcraft and superstition,' both Papal and Protestant; and the birth-day of this vagabond drunkard, this outcast from civilized society, is celebrated at Cincinnati, at St. Louis, at Milwaukee, by torchlight processions, infidel speeches, feasting and dancing. These Infidels avowedly regret the smattering of religion found even in the Deism of Tom Paine—they call for *Pantheism* and *Atheism*. A leading German Infidel paper declares, 'It is indispensably necessary to throw off not only Christianity, but the so-called Deism, as an unworthy fetter, as a restraint no longer to be endured.'

"Seven German Infidel papers in this country, some of them with a weekly circulation of 4000, advocate this Pantheism or Atheism. Their main object is, not politics, but to assail the Bible and all forms of religion. One of the oldest of them goes so far as to recommend the *abolition of religious liberty*, declaring that where that liberty produces mischief, as it does in this country in the hands of the priesthood, in must be done away."

A German paper in St. Louis says:

"No individual can live as a human being; in no family can true happiness flourish; the whole human race is hastening on ways of error, so long as the (scheuslichsten Pölpnze) most abominable hobgoblins—*God, future existence, eternal retribution*—are permitted to maintain their ghostly existence. It is, therefore, the great task of every genuine revolutionist to put forth his best powers for the destruction of this flagitious non-trio, viz: the hobgoblins of a God, future existence, and future rewards and punishments.

"Self-preservation is the first and most prominent instinct of every living creature, as well as of man. So soon as our relations assume the form stated above, (namely, so soon as want of employment and high prices of provisions ensue,) then this instinct of self-preservation makes its right effective, and the very natural impulse (Drang) is awakened to *fall to*, seize hold and take, whatever is needful to life, especially bread and meat. Laws, customs, morality, *religion*, and whatever these straight-jackets of social life may be called, have indeed considerably circumscribed this instinct of self-preservation, especially when it assumes the form of seizing hold of what others claim."

There are in this country Infidel Schools and Infidel Clubs, which patronize Infidel publications and spread systematically Infidel sentiments. In the Western States especially these efforts are abundant.

THE GERMAN PRESS IN AMERICA.—The Quincy Tribune gives a list of the German papers and periodicals which are published in the United States and Canada. The number given is 121, yet the list is by no means a complete one, and there may be twenty or thirty more. On an examination of the list, we find that there are 9 in Illinois, 3 in Iowa, 10 in Wisconsin, 9 in Missouri, 3 in Kentucky, 4 in Indiana, 1 in Michigan, 17 in Ohio, 18 in New York, 1 in New Jersey, 88 in Pennsylv-

vania, 3 in Maryland, 1 in Virginia, 1 in South Carolina, 2 in Louisiana, 3 in Texas, 1 in the District of Columbia, 1 in California and 5 in Canada West. The New England States have none.

OPPOSITION TO ENGLISH MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS ORIGIN.

The English Church has for many years been prosecuting the Missionary work vigorously and successfully in South Africa, where there are now *three* Missionary Bishops, more than *twenty* Presbyters, numerous churches, schools, &c. The Reports of these Missionaries speak of efforts unceasingly made to injure the Church by her enemies. There has lately been in the United States a Presbyterian Missionary from Natal, Rev. Wm. Campbell, and a strong effort has been made to secure men and money for his aid, and that of Presbyterian Missions in that country. The Rev. Dr. Anderson and others endorsed his application. Among other statements in his "Appeal" is the following, which our readers will readily understand.

"In this part of South Africa, there are several teachers of grievously unsound doctrine, and it seems to us important that their influence should be counteracted by an increased number of faithful evangelical ministers, whose labors among the colonists would, we doubt not, have a happy influence on our own among the heathen."

CHRISTIANITY IN CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENT.

A correspondent of a London paper says that during his visit of six hours in the gallery of the House of Lords he heard more religious speaking, more said "for Christ and the Gospel, than there has been spoken in both houses of Congress for forty years."

We do not doubt the truth of this statement. With all our boasted "reforms" and noisy pharisaism, and mawkish philanthropy, and sickly sentimentalism, everything like a positive Christianity, or a distinctly defined doctrine of the Cross, is dying out; and would, we fear, even now, be scouted from our Congressional Halls.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF ANTIGUA.

The RIGHT REV. DANIEL GATEWARD DAVIS, D. D., Bishop of Antigua, expired suddenly, from disease of the heart, at his residence in Bryanston street, London, Oct. 25th. Dr. Davis was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1814, and after filling various offices in the Church at home, was, with four others, consecrated in Westminster Abbey in 1842. The Diocese is worth £2,000 a year, from the Consolidated Fund. It is in extent seven hundred and fifty-one square miles, with a population of one hundred and five thousand. It comprises Antigua, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica. The nomination of the Bishop's successor is with Mr. Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary, by whom it has been conferred upon Venerable Hugh Wiloughby Jermyn, M. A., Archdeacon of St. Christopher's. The Archdeacon was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1841. After holding some small appointment in the Church, he was nominated to the incumbency of the Parish of Forres, Scotland, and subsequently to the deanery of Moray and Ross. This he resigned in 1854, on being appointed to the Archdeaconry of St. Christopher's.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF HURON.

The Rev. BENJAMIN CRONYN, D. D., of London, C. W., was consecrated Bishop of Huron, (this instead of "London" being finally settled as the name of the new Diocese formed out of Toronto,) in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Wednesday, Oct. 28th, the Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, aided by the Bishops of Winchester, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Hamilton Verschoyle, M. A. of Dublin, Ireland, from Rom. i, 16.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

On Sunday, Sept. 20th, the Rev. JOHN BOWEN, LL. D., was consecrated Bishop of Sierra Leone; the solemn rite being celebrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Peterborough and Victoria.

The new Bishop of Sierra Leone passed several years of his early life in the Canadas. He was ordained in 1846 or '47, to the curacy of Knaresborough, on the nomination of the Rev. Andrew Cheap, who was then Rector, having previously graduated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1849 he visited Palestine under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, in a Missionary capacity, though at his own expense, and thence proceeded to several countries in the East. He remained in Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt, two or three years. On his return to England he was presented to the rectory of Orton Longville, by the Marquis of Huntley. In 1854, he again visited the scene of his former labors, and preached the Gospel in Arabia and in Nazareth, and other places, where he gathered together little bands of Christians. He returned to England last year, and has since resided on his living; but it being but of small population he has made frequent tours, to stir up others on behalf of the Church Missionary work. Bishop Bowen is a man of independent fortune, his seat is Milton-house, Pembrokeshire, where he has considerable property.

THE COLONIAL EPISCOPATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Church of England will, in the course of a few weeks, have thirty-seven Bishops in the Colonies and Dependencies of the British crown. There are at present thirty-three English Colonial Bishops, viz: Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta; Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Toronto; Dr. Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand; Dr. Parry, Bishop of Barbadoes; Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar; Dr. Davis, Bishop of Antigua; Dr. Austin, Bishop of Guiana; Dr. Nixon, Bishop of Tasmania; Dr. Spencer, Bishop of Jamaica; Dr. Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland; Dr. Medley, Bishop of Fredericton; Dr. Chapman, Bishop of Colombo; Dr. Perry, Bishop of Melbourne; Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town; Dr. Short, Bishop of Adelaide; Dr. Tyrrell, Bishop of Newcastle; Dr. Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land; Dr. Smith, Bishop of Victoria; Dr. Dealtry, Bishop of Madras; Dr. Mountain, Bishop of Quebec; Dr. Fulford, Bishop of Montreal; Dr. Binney, Bishop of Nova Scotia; Dr. Harding, Bishop of Bombay; Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal; Dr. Barker, Bishop of Sydney; Dr. Ryan, Bishop of Mauritius; Dr. Bowen, Bishop of Sierra Leone; Dr. McDougall, Bishop of Labuan; Dr. Hale, Bishop of Perth; Dr. Courtenay, Bishop of Kingston; Dr. Harper, Bishop of Christ Church, New Zealand; Dr. Cotterell, Bishop of Graham's Town; and Dr. Gobat, Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem. To these will very shortly be added, by consecration, Dr. Cronyn, who has been elected Bishop of Huron, Upper Canada; Mr. Hobhouse, who has been designated to the Bishopric of Nelson, New Zealand; Archdeacon Hadfield, who has been designated to the Bishopric of Wellington; and Archdeacon Williams, who has been designated to the Bishopric of Taurangar, an exclusively Maori district. As soon as tranquillity is restored in India, arrangements will be completed for the establishment of three new Bishoprics there—one at Agra, for the Northwest Provinces; one at Lahore,

for the Punjaub; and one at Palamcottah, for the Missionary Province of Tinnevely. When these appointments are made, the number of English Colonial Bishops will be forty.

NEW CHURCH MOVEMENT FOR INDIA.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, have drawn up a statement anticipatory of the meeting to be presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to the extension of the Episcopate in India, upon which the appeal to the public in aid of the new movement will be based. This statement has received the sanction of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Nelson, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Wensleydale, Mr. Gladstone, M. P., Mr. Justice Coleridge, Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, Sir John Patteson, M. P., Mr. Mowbray, M. P., Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Norwich, the Dean of Canterbury, Mr. Puller, M. P., Sir H. Dukenfield, Archdeacon Hale, Archdeacon Sinclair, and other noblemen and gentlemen who compose the Council of the Society. They stated that the See of Calcutta was erected in 1814, and that in 1834 an Act of Parliament was passed, enabling the Crown to erect two new Sees at Madras and Bombay. The extreme length of the Diocese of Calcutta, in a straight line from Peshawur to Singapore, is nearly three thousand miles, almost as great as the distance from London to Jerusalem. It is proposed to subdivide this Diocese by the erection of two additional Sees—one for the Northwest Provinces and another for the Punjaub. The Northwest Provinces, with Oude, would form a Diocese about five hundred miles in length, and contain an area of one hundred and nine thousand square miles, with a population of thirty-four million—a Diocese which would be nineteen thousand square miles larger than the whole of Great Britain. The Diocese for the Punjaub would be almost as large as Great Britain, its extreme length from Umballah to Peshawur, being about four hundred and seventy miles, and its area eighty-six thousand square miles, with a population of thirteen million. It is also proposed to subdivide the Diocese of Madras, by the erection of a See near Tinnevely, the most southern district of India. The Bishop would be a Missionary Bishop living in the middle of a Diocese where there are few Europeans, and of which almost every part would be within a day's journey. The income required for such a See would be much less than in the case of a Bishop residing at Madras or Bombay, with vast distances to travel in every direction. There can be no doubt (says the official statement) that if her Majesty's Government shall think fit to recommend the appointment of a Bishop for Tinnevely, the necessary funds will be cheerfully contributed by the supporters of English missions. The three Bishoprics, therefore, which the meeting on the 26th of Nov. was to recommend for immediate formation, are, one at Agra, for the Northwest Provinces; one at Lahore, for the Punjaub; and one at Palamcottah, for the Missionary Province of Tinnevely.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE MUTINY IN INDIA.

Wednesday, Oct. 7th, was generally observed in England, as a day of Fasting and Humiliation over the awful calamities in India. The gross neglect of its Christian duty on the part of the Government, was boldly declared.

In a Sermon, in St. Paul's, London, Rev. Canon Dale said: "More than half a century had elapsed since the establishment of British supremacy in India, when it was declared by one of the most eloquent orators who ever pleaded the cause of the oppressed, that if our Indian conquests were to be as suddenly lost as they had been speedily acquired, not a trace would remain to show that Pagan India had ever been held in subjection by a professedly Christian nation."

In Westminster Abbey, the Very Rev. the Dean said, alluding to the opium traffic, "It was a hideous fact that the Government of India raised a revenue of some millions from trafficking in this poisonous drug, which was so destructive

both to the body and soul of millions in the East. The East India Company annually exported 100,000 chests of opium, forcing it upon unwilling nations, upon China above all, despite of their laws and their remonstrances. This was the crying sin, but it was ours also, for the Government of England was so constituted and so responsive to the national views and feelings, that whenever the people of England were resolved that this thing shall not be or that other thing shall, those who administered their affairs were bound to put the resolution into effect."

At Christ Church, Hoxton, Rev. W. Scott said: "Such a day as this must do us as a Christian people, much good, but the days of fasting should be attended by a proper spirit, lest we should add sin to sin. Our Indian empire was annexed by a trading company, a commercial company on a large scale. It profits us little to talk of Clive, Hastings, and annexation of kingdom after kingdom and state after state. What better is the Hindoo for having been under British rule for about a century! They are as brutal and atrocious now as they were, and we now feel the disasters resulting from our neglect of teaching them."

At St. Philip's, Clerkenwell, the Rev. W. B. Wroth, said: "While a Christian Government should avoid offending needless prejudices, two things might at least be expected of it. First, that it should sternly forbid everything opposed to sound morals and humanity; and, secondly, that it should not directly or indirectly encourage heathenism. The heathen would have more confidence in us if we showed by our deeds that we believed the Christianity we professed. We had taught them the art of war, and they used their knowledge against their teachers; but we had not taught them the law of Christian love, and terribly had our neglect been visited on us. We had now an opportunity of showing that we were actuated by the spirit of love, at least to our own flesh and blood."

At these services collections were taken in behalf of the sufferers in India, and the Indian Relief Fund already amounts to more than £200,000.

In some quarters the Romanists not only refused to recognize the day, but have fairly gloated over the hellish scenes of violence, carnage, and lust.

The venerable Bishop of Calcutta, in a Sermon in his Cathedral, on the 24th of July, said: "It has long appeared to thoughtful persons that one of the chief sins of India is the close connection with the vices and idolatries of Brahminism, and the detestable licentiousness and bitter hatred to Christianity of the followers of the False Prophet. In this opinion I concur. . . . We have a hundred years of offenses to answer for, those of Lord Clive and Mr. Warren Hastings, as well as of our rulers since. I fear we have too much continued in the spirit, if not in the acts, of our fathers. Even in our own times, I remember well the struggle of twenty long years, under the great and eminent Wilberforce, that was necessary to secure a free admission of our missionaries into India. I remember the cruel treatment of Dr. and Mrs. Judson, whom I knew at Moulmein—the forced resort of Dr. Carey and his pious companions to the Danish settlement of Serampore—the prohibition to Dr. Buchanan to publish his sermons on the Prophecies—the disgraceful delay in disconnecting Government with the pilgrimages to Jugernaut—and the salutes to idols and other ceremonies at Madras, which compelled the brave and noble Sir Peregrine Maitland to resign. Even my friend and brother, Bishop Corrie, was rebuked by the Madras Government in 1836, for the mildest exercise of what he considered his appropriate duty in expressing his sympathy with Sir Peregrine on that occasion. . . . Another subject of deep anxiety to the Christian mind is the connection of our Government with the opium traffic. We seem to have been gradually entangled in a system of measures by which we are administering this drug to the ignorant heathen of China in a manner directly contributing to destroy their bodies and souls by thousands and tens of thousands. No doubt her Majesty's Government at home has a large share in this guilt. . . . Another sin weighing on the neck of India is the favor shown to the anti-social and anti-Christian civil system of caste. It is as much a degradation of a large part of the human species as the old exploded theory of the natural inferiority of the negro race. I conceive it is contrary to the whole spirit of British jurisprudence, as well as to the laws of God, to recognize such a theory."

Should, therefore, these terrible scenes in India have the effect to arouse the Christian conscience of England to a sense of the neglect of the past, and lead the Government to at least withdraw its countenance from heathen and Mohammedan idolatry, and to offer free toleration to the religion of the Cross, one great end will have been gained by this sacrifice.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Now that all eyes are turned toward British India, a brief historical notice of the gigantic corporation that controls the destinies of so many millions in that far distant country, will be interesting. We clip the following from the Canadian *Merchants' Magazine* :

"Two hundred and fifty-three years ago, some traders in London united together to raise a capital of £30,000, wherewith to trade to the East Indies. They obtained a charter, under which the management of their affairs was entrusted to a committee of twenty-four of their members, chosen by themselves. In 1624, authority was granted to the company by the king to punish its servants abroad, either by civil or military law. In 1661, a new charter was granted, by which the company was allowed to make peace or war with or against people or princes, not Christians, and to seize all unlicensed persons, and send them to England. Other parties attempted to get into the trade by bribing the various governments of the day; at one time, when the old company offered to loan the government £700,000 at four per cent., their rivals offered £2,000,000 at eight per cent. In 1708 the rival companies united, and by a loan of £1,200,000 to the government, without interest, purchased further privileges, which have been the basis of their subsequent charters. In 1784 a new feature was introduced into the system—that of the Board of Control, by which in effect, the political power (though under the name of the government) was vested in the directors. In 1813 the trade to India was thrown open, and in 1833 the trade to China was not only made free, but the company was precluded from commercial operations; and thus we find that the functions for which it was originally organized ceased altogether, and by a combination of circumstances, it had gradually assumed others of a most anomalous description; when, in 1853, a committee of twenty-four private gentlemen were absolute sovereigns of one hundred millions of people."

CHURCH SYNODS IN AUSTRALASIA.

It will be remembered that as far back as 1850, the six Bishops of Australasia expressed their opinions on the importance and necessity of establishing Provincial and Diocesan Synods for regulating the affairs of the Church.

Synods have been established in three out of the six Dioceses whose Bishops met in 1852, in Melbourne, Adelaide and New Zealand; in Tasmania the first step has been taken, and in Sydney and Newcastle alone has nothing been done. They had the precedents of other colonies before them, sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishop of SYDNEY declines to act at present, and a spirited meeting of clergy and laity has been held in his Diocese on the subject, Rev. Canon Walsh in the chair.

In NEW ZEALAND the Church Conference has agreed to the following resolutions respecting the future ecclesiastical government of the Church in the Dioceses of those islands :

1. That the Clergy, Bishops and laity vote in this Conference as three distinct orders, an actual majority in each order being necessary to carry any question.

2. That any system of Church government in this colony should emanate from the Church itself, and be founded on the principle of a voluntary compact; and in the case of its being found necessary, then that application be made to the Colonial Legislature for legal powers enabling the body to hold property.

3. That the governing body should consist of three orders, viz, Bishops, Clergy and laity, and that the consent of an actual majority of each order should be necessary to the validity of its rules.

4. That the name of this governing body be "the General Synod of the United Branch of the Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand."

5. That the constitution of Diocesan Synods should be similar to that of the General Synod, but that the question of an appeal to the General Synod, from the veto of any one order, should rest with each Diocese to decide for itself.

6. That it shall rest with the General Synod to determine on what principle all patronage shall be exercised in the several Dioceses.

7. That, saving the rights of the Church and the Crown, the nomination of a Bishop shall lie with the Synod of the Diocese, to be sanctioned by the General Synod, and by it to be submitted to the authorities of Church and State in England for their favorable consideration.

[This was framed in accordance with the suggestion of H. M. Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Labouchere, in his letter to the Governor-General of Canada, as seen in page 50 of the *New Zealand Church Almanac* for 1857.]

8. That the mode of administering discipline towards all persons in holy orders, in this branch of the Church, shall be decided by the General Synod.

9. That the branch of the Church in this colony doth hold the Christian doctrine and sacraments as the United Church of England and Ireland doth explain the same.

10. That the General Synod of this branch of the Church of England hath no power to make any alterations in the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordination Service, or the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

11. Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the General Synod from accepting any alterations of the above-named formularies and version of the Bible, as may from time to time be adopted by the United Church of England and Ireland, with the consent of the Crown and of Convocation.

12. Provided, also, that in case a license be granted by the Crown to this branch of the Church of England to frame new and modify existing rules (not affecting doctrine,) with the view of meeting the peculiar circumstances of this colony and the native people, then that it shall be lawful for this branch of the said Church to avail itself of that liberty.

13. Provided, also, that in case (which case they strongly deprecate) of a separation of the colony from the mother country, or a separation of Church and State in England, it be lawful for the General Synod to make such alterations as the altered circumstances shall require.

14. That the doctrines taught by the Bishops, Clergy, catechists, and schoolmasters, wholly or partially endowed and maintained by the proceeds of property held under this constitution deed, shall not be repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England; and that it shall be the duty of the trustees of such property to obey all such instructions as shall from time to time be issued to them by the General Synod for the purpose of guarding the trusts from being applied to the inculcation of doctrine repugnant to that of the Church of England.

15. That a select committee be appointed to prepare a draft report, showing the grounds on which the conference had been led to the conclusion that it was expedient to organize the members of the Church of England in this colony for the purpose of self-government, as a branch of the said Church, and the reasons which have influenced the conference in agreeing to the resolutions which have been passed with a view to that object.

16. That the General Synod shall have power to make any regulations controlling and superseding any regulations which may have been made by any diocesan Synod.

17. That a tribunal shall be constituted in New Zealand by the General Synod, to decide as to the repugnancy or otherwise of any doctrines taught by persons under their authority, to the doctrines of the Church of England.

18. That the conference recommended the Constituent Assembly to appoint some Court of Appeal from the tribunal referred to in the preceding resolution.

19. That a General Synod be held at least once in three years, at such time and place as shall be appointed by the General Synod.

20. That any act that shall have obtained the consent of all the diocesan Synods shall be taken and be an act of General Synod; provided always that it be not an act repealing or altering an act of the General Synod.

21. That, subject to such limitations as may from time to time be prescribed by the General Synod, every male of the age of twenty-one years and upwards who shall sign a declaration that he is desirous of uniting himself with the members of this branch of the Church of England, under the provisions of this constitution, shall, if duly registered for that purpose, be entitled to a vote at the election of a lay representative for the General Synod.

22. That as it appears to the conference desirable that the members of the Church of England in this colony should be united together as a branch of the said Church, and that a representative governing body, or General Synod, should be established for the management of the affairs of said branch, in order to avoid delay in the inauguration of the said General Synod, the conference do now proceed to act as a constituent assembly, and to prepare measures necessary for carrying the above-mentioned objects into effect.

Besides the Bishops of New Zealand and Christ Church, the assessors present were—Clergy: Archdeacons Henry Williams, William Williams, Hadfield, Abraham, and Paul; the Rev. G. A. Kissling, and the Rev. James Wilson. Laity: Messrs. Hirst, Swainson, Stafford, Tancred, Haultain, and Prendergast.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—ELECTION OF A NEW PRIMUS.

The stated annual meeting of General Committee of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society was held in the Hall, 51 George Street, Edinburgh, on Wednesday, 30th September, 1857, at twelve o'clock, previous to which there was Morning Prayer in St. John's Episcopal Church. Prayers were said by the Rev. Daniel Fox Sandford. The Lessons were read by the Very Rev. Edward Bannerman Ramsey, Dean of Edinburgh; the Right Rev. Charles Hughes Terrot, D. D., Bishop of Edinburgh, and *Primus*, officiated at the Communion Service, at which an Offertory was made in aid of the funds of the Society.

There were present the Right Rev. Bishop of Edinburgh, *Primus*; the Bishops of Argyll, Brechin, Glasgow, Moray, St. Andrews and Aberdeen; the Very Rev. Deans of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Moray, and Aberdeen; the Venerable Archdeacon Aitchison; the Rev. T. Wilkinson, H. M. Inspector of Schools; the Honorable and Rev. H. Douglas; the Honorable G. F. Boyle; Sir James Cochrane, Chief Justice of Gibraltar; John Stirling, Esq., of Kippendavie; Alex F. Irvine, Esq. of Drum; William Forbes, Esq. of Medwyn; R. Robertson Glasgow, Esq. of Mountgrennan; and a numerous body of Clergy from all parts of Scotland; and H. J. Rollo, W. S. Secretary and Treasurer.

Prayers having been said by the Right Rev. Bishop of Edinburgh,

The Bishop of Brechin said he had to make an announcement, which he was sure would be received with great pleasure by all present, and especially by those belonging to the Diocese of Edinburgh, that yesterday, in consequence of the death of Bishop Skinner, it fell to the Synod of Bishops to elect a new *Primus*, on which occasion the Synod unanimously elected BISHOP TERROR in his place.

The meeting was a spirited one. Measures are being taken to make up to the Church by donation the loss in the withdrawal of the Royal Gift, which was £1,200 a year. About £12,000 are already subscribed.

At a meeting of the "Scottish Episcopal Church Society" in Inverness, Sept. 16, the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Moray and Ross gave the following historical sketch of that Church.

"The time was, as you all well know, when our Church was in Scotland what the Church of England is now in England, the Established Church of the country. The social, religious, and political troubles which agitated Scotland during many years subsequent to the Reformation, and more especially during the period of the Great Rebellion, pressed so heavily upon the fortunes of our Church that it became necessary for us to recover the succession of our Episcopate

through the Church of England. This was accomplished for us at the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second. Episcopacy was restored, and the Reformed Church of Scotland became the *Established* Church of Scotland; and so she continued until the Revolution in 1688, when, on the abdication of James the Second in favor of his son, and on the establishment of William the Third on the British throne, the alternative was left to her of taking the oath of allegiance to the new King or of forfeiting her position as the Established Church of the country. Whatever opinion may now be formed by some as to the wisdom or necessity of the step which the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Church felt constrained to take in these trying circumstances, those who have approved and appreciated the disinterestedness of those Ministers and Laymen who, a few years since, severed themselves from the present Establishment in Scotland, cannot fail to appreciate the like disinterestedness, and yet greater sacrifices made and manifested in 1689, when the fourteen Bishops and Archbishops, together with the great body of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, surrendered, not only rank and station, but in many hundred instances all that they possessed, rather than be guilty, as they believed, of breaking the oath of allegiance which they had already sworn to the successors of the abdicated King. The Government seized the Episcopal and Capitular property; Presbyterian Ministers succeeded to the livings vacated by the Clergy, and from that time Presbyterianism became the Established religion of Scotland.

Though thus deprived, for conscience' sake, of all its wealth and honors, the Church still survived. It struggled on in poverty and dependence until a yet heavier blow fell upon it. After the '45 the anger of the Government fell upon the Episcopalians, as the members of the old Church were called, and statutes of the most penal character were passed, forbidding more than four Episcopalians to meet together for common worship, over and above the members of the family. Any Clergyman officiating where more than four were present, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment—and for a second offense was transported for life. No Scottish Peer who attended such a service could be elected a Representative Peer, or could vote for one. No Layman, guilty of a like offense, could be elected a member of Parliament, or vote for one, or could hold or vote for any municipal office. The effect of such severe and crushing statutes told heavily upon the already impoverished Church; and at the end of more than forty years, during which these statutes were in operation, the old Church of Scotland was nearly annihilated; for in the year 1792, when these statutes were repealed, her 14 Prelates were reduced to 6, and her Congregations to between 30 and 40. Her preservation at all, under such circumstances, could be attributed to the finger of God alone. She was the same Church as before—her doctrine and discipline unchanged; she was no new Church in Scotland, but the same old Church 'cast down, but not destroyed.'

Within the last eighteen years, the Church Schools in Scotland have increased from *seven to eighty*; and the Congregations from *seventy-six to one hundred and fifty*.

RELIGION IN GERMANY.

A gentleman every way qualified to form an opinion, lately in Germany, thus writes to an American religious paper, from Nuremberg:

"I learned from my ministerial friend that his flock consisted of twenty hundred souls, of whom fifty or a hundred attended church. He remarked that it was difficult to do anything, and was much discouraged. Immorality, exceedingly gross, one-third of the new population being illegitimate; no regard paid to the Sabbath, or sacred things; poverty and suffering abounding everywhere—one would think he had cause of sorrow. And yet it is only the same story that I hear everywhere in Germany. * * * * * This, to one who feels a universal brotherhood in men, dispels the romance associated with the name of Germany in the new world. Sad, indeed, is the fate of the German people, and darker, still darker grows the future. God only knows what the end shall be."

It may be safely said that in Germany the Reformation has proved a miserable failure; and whether that country deserves to be called a Christian country is hardly an open question.

The following is perhaps a little more hopeful: A European correspondent of the *Congregationalist* describes an interview with Tholuck, in which the latter referred to his earlier lectures at the University of Halle. He said: "When I came here, all the professors were Rationalists, and all the students bitterly opposed to evangelical religion. It was very trying to be compelled to lecture to those who doubted, and disbelieved, and opposed all you said, and who would receive the most sacred things with derision. Often I have read my *heft* with the tears flowing down my face behind it. One day I spoke of the fact that the pious professors who founded this University, and taught here first, Spener and Francke, and the rest, used to meet once a week to pray for the conversion of the students, and the story was received with a shout of laughter from the whole four hundred students in the room. O, it went to my heart." He spoke of his gratitude to God, that things have so much changed now, and that he had the labor and sorrow in his youth and rest in his old age. In reply to a question, How many now are Christians? he said, "Probably all acknowledge the Bible to be the word of God, and out of the four hundred students (in theology,) perhaps one hundred and fifty are serious: But we cannot say how many are truly converted."

FRANCE.

Our London papers of Sept. 16, bring accounts of the death, at Paris, of M. AUGUSTE COMTE, aged 60 years; the ablest Exponent of the "Positive Philosophy," and whose works, edited by Miss Martineau, have been published in New York by Mr. Blanchard. M. Comte's first cardinal error, after his rejection of Revelation, is his application of the inductive method to ethics and religion in all its length and breadth. The result to which he comes is not only grossly infidel, but absolutely atheistic. And yet this same method of reasoning, the inductive, underlies nearly all the anti-Church and anti-Sacrament teaching of the day. It is the natural reaction from Scholastic and Romish dogmatism. There is more in this fact than lies upon the surface.

SPAIN.

A new Ministry has at length been formed. Martinez de la Rosa is first Secretary of State to the Queen, and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Joseph Casans, Minister of Justice; Finance, M. Mon; Navy, Admiral Bustillos; Interior, Bermudez de Castro; Public Works, Salaverria; War, Admiral Armero, President of the Council. The Admiral has been twice Minister of the Navy, in 1840 and in 1848. M. Salaverria has held the position of Minister of Finance in the Cabinet presided over by General O'Donnell. All the members of the new cabinet belong to the liberal conservative party.

ROMANISM AND RATIONALISM IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The looseness with which the reins of discipline are held in the State-bound Church of England, have led to the holding and the teaching of errors there, such as would not be tolerated for a moment in our own Church.

Here is an example in one direction. At the late Evangelical Alliance, at Berlin, an English Clergyman, after complimenting the rationalist, Chevalier Bunsen, and adverting to the approaching union of the two Royal families, stated the "desire felt in England for a union also of English and German theology. People in England had for a long time been horrified at the idea of German theology being introduced there; but now they were as desirous of learning divinity from German theologians as of receiving instruction in science at the hands of German investigators."

Nor is this all. We learn that the Dean of Canterbury, and the Rev. Messrs.

Brook and Carr Glynn, of the Church of England; Dr. Steane and Rev. Baptist Noel, of the Baptist denomination; Rev. Mr. Scott, a Wesleyan; and the Rev. Mr. Sherman, an Independent minister, divided with each other the labors of celebrating the sacramental rite of the Holy Communion. The heresies and infidel speculations of such men as Macnaught, and Jowett, and Maurice, &c., have been alluded to in our previous pages.

Here is an example of another kind. The *Union Newspaper*, conducted by a Romanizing party in the English Church, lately had the following, and much more of the same sort: "Pardon me for seeming to dictate to you; but I know you will not quarrel with me for speaking my mind. England then, I will say, has a double mission to fulfill: let her return to Unity, for Unity is the basis of religion; and Unity cannot be obtained but by communion with that great Church, which Christ and His Apostles founded as the common centre of all other Churches, the Holy Roman Church—that is, the Apostolic See. But, in returning to Unity, England must bring us back to social and political Christianity, from which our military despotisms and our mad democracies are equally distant: in fact, if I may sum up my idea in one sentence, I should say, England has to restore herself to the Unity of Catholicity, and afterwards to restore the Catholic nations to the sense and practice of Christianity. This, it seems to me, is England's Mission."

From a letter upholding Confession as a Sacrament, we take the following: "May it not be doubted, whether those who know the truth, and yet use not this means of grace, do 'unfeignedly believe Christ's Holy Gospel,' when they so easily absolve themselves at Matins, and after the easy religious fashions of the day, approach the Blessed Sacrament at an after-breakfast Communion."

We make the following extract from a most eulogistic review of Sermons to Non-Catholics, by "Frederick Oakley, M. A., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster," without one word to intimate that the preacher had deserted the Church of England:

"The second and third discourses, on The Cross of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, are most ably done, and deserve careful attention; and the same may be said of those on the Confessional, (Nos. vi and vii,) from which we intend to give an extract as bearing upon and illustrating the principles enunciated in 'Mission Papers,' and by our valued correspondent 'D. N.' The Lectures on Sacraments and Sacramental Religion, are likewise treated with remarkable power, and yet with great simplicity and clearness of language, evidencing the fact that Canon Oakley, while a sound and accurate theologian, has exactly discovered the way to influence for good, and with effect, the middle classes of the people of England."

It surely can occasion no surprise, and no regret, when men holding such sentiments, on either extreme, are found going to their own place.

THE DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL is not, we are glad to find, to be suffered to come into operation without another effort to arrest its triumph over the principles and consciences of Churchmen. It has been resolved to present a petition to her Majesty, setting forth two or three important points, and begging that the order in Council, necessary to put the Act in operation, may be postponed until Parliament has had time to reconsider the subject. At a late meeting of the London Union on Church Matters, it was resolved to promote the formation of Church Unions in Parishes, so as to secure greater sympathy and support from all classes of the Laity; and it was also proposed that a declaration should be drawn up and signed by the Clergy, pledging themselves not to celebrate those marriages legalized by the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act, which are contrary to the law of the Church, and also not to permit the solemnization of such marriages in their Churches or Chapels by any other person.

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